

[REDACTED]

BOX 163. NAVAL AIDE's FILES A7-1 to A14

[REDACTED]

2. A8-2 INTELLIGENCE - MILITARY INFORMATION OTHER THAN OWN: December 16,
1941 - March 6, 1945.



A8/P

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.



6 March 1945

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

The memorandum of the Director of Strategic Services dated 18 November 1944 on the establishment of a central intelligence service was referred to the Joint Chiefs of Staff for comment and recommendation. The matter has received careful study and consideration.

In view of all the circumstances it appears that the possible advantages to be gained by the reorganization of intelligence activities and the establishment of a central intelligence service at this time, are outweighed by the known disadvantages.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff therefore recommend that further consideration of and action on this proposal be deferred.

For the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

WILLIAM D. LEAHY,
Fleet Admiral, U.S. Navy,
Chief of Staff to the
Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy.

Copy to:
White House Files ✓
Admiral Leahy
General Marshall
Admiral King
General Arnold

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In reply refer to Initials
and No.

Op-16-FA-5
(SC)A8-2/EF
S E C R E T
Serial 02580016

Copy of 6

NAVY DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS
WASHINGTON

17 OCT 1944

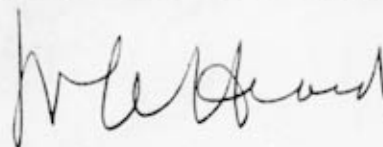
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE NAVAL AIDE TO THE PRESIDENT

- Subj: Digest of Certain Intelligence Data - comments regarding.
- Ref: (a) NavAide Secret ltr to DNI, 20 Sept 1944, signed by Wilson Brown.
- Encl: (A) Ltr. dated 8-26-44 from Lt. Comdr. George H. Earle, USNR, with Exhibits -
(A) Last four pages of an article by a White Russian professor.
(B) Article in French by the same professor referred to above, with map and three photostats in Russian.
(C) Article on Soviet Foreign Policy in the Near Future.
(D) Article re Rumania.
(B) Ltr. dated 9-3-44 from Lt. Comdr. George H. Earle, USNR, with Exhibits -
(A) Article "La Conquete du Monde et l'Histoire de l'URSS."
(B) Article "Nouvelles recentes de l'URSS".
(C) Briefs of the above enclosures.
(D) Translation of Exhibit (B) to enclosure (A).
(E) Translation of Exhibits (A) and (B) of enclosure (B).
(F) O.N.I. Evaluation of Material.

1. The enclosures to reference (a) have been translated from the French and Serbian languages, and briefs in English of their contents are forwarded as enclosure (C).

2. A tentative evaluation has been included as enclosure (F). It is respectfully suggested that, as the material is rather political than naval, the State Department is more competent to evaluate.



W.A. HEARD
Captain, U.S. Navy
Deputy Director of Naval Intelligence

SECRET

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EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF THE NAVAL ATTACHÉ
TURKEY

August 26, 1944

My dear Admiral:

I enclose material of some interest and possible importance. Will you again be kind enough to select that which might be of interest to the President?

Exhibit A - Last four pages of an article written for me by a white Russian Professor here. The first 8 pages I have eliminated as unimportant.

Exhibit B - Another article in French by the same Professor on the future foreign policy of Russia with map and three photo tabs in Russian.

Good translators here that can be trusted are almost impossible to find so in order to avoid long delay I am forwarding them in original.

Exhibit C - "Soviet Foreign Policy in the Near Future" (in English)

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF THE NAVAL ATTACHÉ
TURKEY

This (Exhibit C) is written for me by a man born + educated in Russia, of Polish parents. The Poles consider him their greatest expert on Russian conditions

Exhibit D. - The information herein is obtained, for the most part, from a Roumanian Secretary here just arrived from Roumania. Paragraph 2 is the interesting part of this article.

Very respectfully yours,
Gayett Cable

Exhibit A

In his speech delivered at the Politburo of the Communist Party on 19 August 1939, Stalin said: 'I am telling you again, it is in our interest that war should start.... It is important for us that this war should be long and all belligerent parties exhausted and wholly destroyed at the end of it. That is why we must accept the pact offered us by Germany, and try our best to see that the war lasts a long time....' Then he offers the following strategic plan: 'The peaceful penetration of the Soviets, bearers of Communism, deep~~ly~~ into the West. To penetrate into the North of Europe into the Baltic States and Finland and become masters of the States of the Scandinavian Bloc. In Central Europe it is necessary to take Poland, Slovakia, Czechia and Hungary, or at least extend Soviet influence to cover those states. In the South it is necessary to take Rumania and the Balkans and make a peaceful occupation of the Straits. In the European conflict, while apparently neutral, the USSR must help the weaker side in order to lengthen the war, until the Capitalistic and Fascist States are altogether spent, and discontent which has set among the popular masses in those countries has formed the ranks of vanguards of a World Revolution. Then would be the moment to start a revolution in all the belligerent countries with the parole: 'Down with Imperialistic warfare'. The Red Army and the Red Fleet, backed up by the forces of the other States which would have signed an agreement with the Soviet Union, based on strategic and economic advantages obtainable as described above, will enter France, England, Italy and Germany as liberators.' (Page 12 of this speech in shorthand).

This was the situation in the USSR and her program concerning the second world war. They were so sure that it would be possible to put this plan through and remain neutral until

the USSR saw fit to do otherwise, that three days before the war with Germany broke out, when the German Ambassador Haydar Akay (he told us so himself) visited Comrade Molotov and in a friendly talk attracted the latter's attention to the possibility that the USSR might very shortly be attacked by Germany and that the situation looked serious, Molotov smiled nonchalantly and answered him calmly: 'There is nothing serious on, don't worry, these are very simple and purely economic misunderstandings. We shall give the Germans a little more wheat and naphtha and they will be content, and everything will continue as before.' And yet another proof: On the same night, before the German attack started, Moscow Radio continued to disparage the plutocrats and the British Bourgeoisie.

It is no secret any longer that the USSR was getting ready to come into action in 1942 only, when according to their estimates the European States should be in that exhausted state described above by Comrade Stalin.

We could quote many more things from Comrade Stalin's speeches which are also part of the catechism compulsory for all students in the USSR, and for the Communists in all the countries of the world --because it is Comrade Stalin, and only he, who has a right to interpret Marxism and Leninism and his interpretations are law for all-- but we feel that what has been said hitherto is proof enough to those who 'have ears and want to use them' that Marshal Stalin is the same 'man of steel' of the World Communist Party he has been for over 35 years when Lenin first nicknamed him 'Stalin'.

Now as at that time, the Communist Party and the World Revolution are still the ideals of Stalin to which he has sacrificed a lifetime of 65 years, while the Russian people and all the other peoples on earth are to him like so many

'guinea pigs' on whom he wants at all costs and regardless of sacrifices or the means used, to experiment with the grandiose idea of a new Communist World according to the theories of Marx and Lenin as interpreted by him. The quotations given above are of the period 1924-1940 when Stalin was the indisputable Dictator both over the Communist Party and over the Soviet Union. He still is that same Dictator, as is seen from the quotations given above, all of which were taken from books which are compulsory reading in all the schools of the USSR and in all the 'cells' of the Communist Party, the Kolhozs, factories and the Red Army. This proves to us that, if on account of the present political situation, Stalin faces the great Democracies wearing a mask, under that mask the people of the USSR and the Communists of the world can still see the same face which they knew before the beginning of the war with Hitlerite Germany.

It would be ridiculous to expect from a man of Stalin's caliber and character that at the age of 65 he should betray ideals for which he has fought so long and even risked his life (He has been an active member of the Communist Party for nearly 40 years, from the day the Party was founded), at a time when he is nearing the end of his days and when the goal is so close at hand. And why should he want to do such a thing, he who did not hesitate to sacrifice to the Moloch of Communism his best friends when he thought they had deviated from the right course, who killed tens of thousands of peasants from all the peoples of Russia among whom there were many Georgians, possibly some near relatives, when these peasants refused to give up their scanty property and enter the Communistic Kolhozs described by Marx and Lenin and interpreted by him, Josif Vissarionovitch Djougashvilli-Stalin? Is it likely that he should do it to

please his new 'friends' --President Roosevelt, the Christian-Idealist, and Mr. Churchill, the old anti-Communist, whom Stalin appropriately qualified in many of his speeches and in whose friendship he has no faith? Or would he do it, that the Anglo-American financiers and capitalists might as of old 'exploit the undeveloped peoples' and extract the 'surplus value of labor' from the workmen in their own countries in order to get richer themselves? No, a thousand times no! It cannot even be conceived that a man with his perseverance and his purely Georgian stubbornness should ever think of such a thing. No, Stalin remains the same Chief of the Proletarian World Revolution that he was before this war, and his aim is always the same. In order to reach this aim more easily he may comply with the newest developments, with purely oriental guile, he may change his course when this is necessary, but with every passing day he works closer and closer to the final issue of this historic drama.

In another article we shall demonstrate how Stalin has persevered in his foreign policy, always and in all the stages of the present conflict. We end this article by reminding the reader of these words from the Bible: 'Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God: but to others in parables; that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand. (St. Luke, Chap. 8, Verse 10.).

A. Karpatsky

12 August 1944.

La politique extérieure des Soviétiques.

Exhibit B

C'est un fait incontestable que si Hitler désirait une guerre, au moyens de laquelle il espérait d'acquérir des nouvelles territoires pour l'Allemagne et même d'établir sa suprématie dans le monde entier, il a pu déclancher cette guerre seulement après que Staline le lui a permis, en concluant avec lui à Moscou un pacte au mois d'août 1939. Et Staline le fit consciemment au moment même où tout dépendait de lui. Aurait il conclu alors au contraire un pacte avec les démocraties/les Anglais et les Français/, dont les missions étaient justement à Moscou, et qui attendaient de jour en jour la conclusion d'un accord avec eux, l'attaque de la Pologne par les Allemands, qui dépassa de deux semaines seulement la date de la conclusion du pacte Soviëto-Allemand, n'aurait pas eu lieu, et le monde entier serait préservé des atrocités de cette guerre qui dure voilà déjà 5 ans. Si fourbe qu'il ne l'est, Hitler n'aurait jamais osé de passer en attaque, ayant dès le début contre soi les forces unies de l'Angleterre, de la France et de l'URSS, qui avaient encore l'Amérique en réserve, et n'étant pas alors sûr non seulement de la collaboration immédiate du Japon, mais même de l'Italie.

Donc, si Hitler est incontestablement l'acteur principal et le criminel de cette guerre, c'est Staline qui en est un investigateur clandestin, et de ce fait il n'est pas moins coupable que Hitler lui-même. De même est coupable le Parti Communiste, dirigé par Staline, car c'est lui qui assume une dictature sur le peuple Russe, comme les Nazis gouvernent le peuple Allemand, et il faut y ajouter, que proportionnellement les Communistes/2,5 millions sur 200 millions/étaient bien moins nombreux en Russie que les Nazis en Allemagne.

Mais quel but avaient donc Staline et les dirigeants du Parti Communiste de l'URSS de pousser Hitler et l'Allemagne dans une guerre, qui d'après leurs prévisions devait se transformer indubitablement en une seconde Guerre Mondiale? Nous avons tâché de l'expliquer dans notre article précédent: d'après les propres paroles de Staline cette seconde Guerre Mondiale doit indubitablement être suivie si non tout droit de la Révolution Communiste Mondiale, du moins d'une révolution pareille dans plusieurs pays/J. Staline. Les questions du Léninisme. Pages 570-572/, ce qui doit en tout cas renforcer considérablement l'Union Soviétique, affaiblir le front des pays capitalistes et accélérer cette Révolution Générale.

Nous avons vu aussi que pour persuader ses collègues du Politburo du Parti Communiste d'accepter le pacte avec l'Allemagne Hitlérienne, le camarade Staline à leurs avait dit le 15 août 1939 textuellement: "Je vous répète encore une fois qu'il est dans notre intérêt que la guerre commence. Pour nous le principal est que la guerre dure longtemps et que les deux parties belligérantes s'épuisent et soient complètement extirpées. C'est à cause de ça que nous devons accepter le pacte que l'Allemagne nous offre et nous devons travailler à ce que la guerre dure le plus longtemps possible."... Puis, ayant en vue l'extirpation graduelle des pays belligérants, il trace au Politburo un programme stratégique, qui devra être graduellement accompli par l'URSS à mesure que cette extirpation des pays belligérants devienne de plus en plus grande, et les Soviètes, qui devaient rester neutres d'après lui, vont de ce fait même devenir de plus en plus forts. D'après ce plan les Soviètes, comme porteurs du Communisme, devaient pénétrer le plus loin possible à l'occident. Ils devaient devenir graduellement maîtres des pays Baltes, de la Finlande/n'oublions pas que leur premier coup fut porté vers ce pays/, et enfin des pays Scandinaves/la Norvège avait un très grand Parti Communiste vers ce temps/- tel était son programme pour le Nord de l'Europe. Pour l'Europe Centrale il préco-

nise l'occupation graduelle de la Pologne, de la Tchécoslovaquie et de la Hongrie, et au Sud de l'Europe il veut s'emparer graduellement de la Roumanie et des Pays Balcaniques et occuper "passivement" les Détroits Turcs. Il considère, qu'ayant conclu un pacte avec l'Allemagne, l'URSS, tout en restant formellement neutre, pourra aider le côté qui sera le plus faible, à fin que la guerre continue et que les Etats capitalistes et fascistes soient saignés à bout, que le mécontentement des masses populaires se développe dans ces pays et que les cadres de la Révolution mondiale y soient prêts. C'est alors que viendra le moment de provoquer des révolutions, et les forces armées de l'URSS, en se basant sur les nouveaux territoires, cités plus haut, viendront comme libérateurs en France, en Angleterre, en Italie et en Allemagne. /Page 12 de son discours/.

Tel était le plan de la Révolution Communiste Pan-européenne, qu'exposa le camarade Staline devant ses collègues du Politburo pour les convaincre dans la nécessité de conclure le pacte avec l'Allemagne Naziste. Quelles étaient les concessions territoriales que fit alors l'Allemagne aux Soviètes, nous le verrons plus loin. Mais ce qui est encore plus remarquable: quand à cause de l'attaque, que l'Allemagne fit à l'improviste en été de 1941 contre l'URSS, le camarade Staline a dû pour gagner la confiance des Anglo-Américains masquer pour quelque temps ses intentions réelles et même faire souscrire à un de ses subalternes la Charte d'Atlantique, qui est, entre nous soit dit, très favorable à ses plans, ^{mais} dès qu'il se trouva dans une situation meilleure, il revint de nouveau à son programme.

Ici ne sera-t-il pas vain de dire quelques mots à ceux qui pensent, que le communisme n'existe déjà plus en Russie et qu'il sert seulement d'un paravent pour masquer l'ancienne politique impérialiste de la Russie, à laquelle l'URSS est revenue par force des choses, comme elle a dû revenir au nationalisme russe dans la politique intérieure du pays. Dans l'article précédant nous avons déjà démontré qu'il n'y a rien de pareil en fait de la politique intérieure, depuis nous avons reçu de l'URSS encore des preuves éclatantes, que nous nous réservons le droit d'exposer dans un article suivant. C'est pourquoi nous ne parlerons ici que de la politique extérieure de Staline et son Politburo.

Le programme si-devant mentionné par Staline englobe en résultat final l'Europe entière, qui devra d'après la théorie de Lénine-Staline devenir un unique Etat Soviétique. Quoique la Russie des Tzars était un grand pays très puissant, sa politique extérieure était infiniment plus étroite. Cette politique était dictée par les intérêts nationaux et économiques de ce pays, plus ou moins bien compris par ceux qui la dirigeaient, mais n'avait jamais eu de prétention d'unir à la Russie non seulement le monde entier, mais même une des grandes puissances de l'Europe.

Les plus enragés des pan-slavistes-le groupe le plus impérialiste, si on peut le nommer ainsi, revait à l'union pan-slave, qui même d'après eux devait être formée d'Etats indépendants, seulement patronnés par la Russie-le seul Etat Slave réellement grand et fort. Les Slaves qui étaient en dehors des frontières de la Russie, étaient des petits peuples, subjugués: deux provinces Polonaises en Allemagne, des Russes dans la Galicie Orientale et en Russie Subcarpatéenne, des Polonais en Galicie Occidentale, des Serbes en Voyévodine et en Bosnie, des Croates en Croatie et Slavonie, des Slovènes en Slovénie, des Tchèques en Tchéco-Moravie et des Slovaques en Slovaquie-le tout en Autriche Hongrie, et puis les trois petits royaumes des Balcons: la Serbie, la Bulgarie et le Mon-

ténégro-et s'est tout. Et encore, comme nous l'avons dit, tous ces petits peuples, excepté la Galicie Orientale et la Russie Subcarpatéenne, ne devaient pas être joints à la Russie, mais devaient former des Etats indépendants, où devaient entrer aussi les provinces ethnographiquement Polonaises de la Russie, qui devaient être séparées d'elle.

D'autres cercles influents ne voulaient même pas ça, mais préconisaient à se défaire des provinces purement Polonaises de la Russie et de recevoir en échange la Galicie Orientale et la Russie Subcarpatéenne, régions ethnographiquement Russes.

Telles étaient les visées nationales de la Russie, quand aux visées économiques elles se bornaient au besoin d'un si grand pays, comme la Russie, d'obtenir une issue libre aux mers méridionales. Dans ce but on voulait ou obtenir les Détroits Turcs avec Constantinople, vers lequel il y avait encore des attractions purement religieuses et idéalistes, ou pousser dans le golf Persan et d'y obtenir un port tout droit sur l'Océan. Puis pour protéger les Arméniens chrétiens des massacres des Turcs et surtout des Curdes on pensait d'unir à l'Arménie Russe les vilayets Arméniens de la Turquie.

Tous les plans de l'expédition Russe vers les Indes Britanniques étaient des chymères, inventées d'un bout à l'autre par les ennemis de la Russie pour quereller cette dernière avec la Grande Bretagne. Les Bolchéviques ont publiés tous les documents secrets de la diplomatie Russe, et, comme on pouvait s'y attendre, il n'y en a rien de pareil.

Telles étaient en réalité les prétentions plus que modestes de l'Empire des Tsars. Nous avons développé ici seulement le programme européen du camarade Staline et de son parti, et nous voyons combien il diffère de celui de la Russie. La Russie, aussi forte qu'elle était, ne pouvait même songer à quelque chose de pareil. Car, ayant déjà dans ses frontières assez de population non russe, elle ne voulait pas s'affaiblir d'avantage, en annexant des grands territoires avec une population étrangère, et puis ses forces, si grandes qu'elles n'étaient, n'auraient jamais été suffisantes pour la conquête non seulement du monde, mais même de l'Europe.

C'est tout à fait autre chose avec l'Union Soviétique. Premièrement le Parti Communiste et Staline, qui y assume une dictature sans pareil dans l'histoire, sont des représentants d'une doctrine internationale, qui a pour but définitif de créer sur toute la terre un nouveau Monde Communiste sur les débris du Monde Capitaliste et Impérialiste, qui doit être démoli jusqu'au fond par des révolutions prolétariennes du même genre que celle de la Russie. Secondement Staline et le Parti Communiste ont des alliés dans le monde entier - les communistes, dont le nombre est plus ou moins grand dans chaque pays de la terre, et qui, d'après les instructions qu'ils reçoivent de Moscou, travaillent à la destruction des régimes de leurs pays. C'est pourquoi Staline, dont la politique n'est rien d'autre que celle du Politburo du Parti, peut se permettre des visées, que la Russie ancienne n'aurait jamais eu la témérité d'envisager, et qui, sauf peu d'exceptions, sont contradictoires à ses intérêts nationaux. En tâchant d'englober de leurs tentacles, par étapes, ou d'un coup, c'est autre chose - le monde entier, Staline et le Parti Communiste ne songent même pas, si cette politique est profitable ou non aux peuples de l'URSS, et aux victimes que ces derniers doivent supporter. Ils regardent seulement, si tel ou tel plan est réalisable pour le moment, et s'il l'est, il le poussent à tout prix jusqu'au bout. De ce point de vue ils sont des réalistes profonds, comme l'a justement remarqué Mr. Dévis dans son livre: "Mission to Mos-

Quand aux points peu nombreux, où la politique de Staline se confond avec celle de la Russie ancienne, ça a lieu non par ce que telles étaient les tendances de la Russie Tzariste, mais par ce que les prescriptions de Marcos, ou de Lénine sont les-mêmes pour ces cas. Nous pouvons le démontrer par un exemple tout récent: Nous avons déjà dit que la Russie, ou plus-tôt certaines groupes politiques russes songeaient à ce que la Russie s'empare des Détroits turcs, à fin d'avoir un accès libre à la Méditerranée. Vers la fin du XIX siècle l'écrivain et philosophe célèbre russe Dostoyévsky était le représentant le plus éminent de ces groupes. Et il est justement considéré comme réactionnaire par les Soviètes/'Histoire de SSSR, II partie. Manuel pour l'école moyenne, approuvé par le Commissariat de l'Instruction Publique. Tirage 100.000 volumes. Page 244/. Mais si cet écrivain propageait ses idées dans son 'Journal des écrivains' célèbre, oeuvre que justement les Bolchéviques ont défendu en Russie, le considérant d'être réactionnaire, le Gouvernement Russe n'avait jamais eu l'idée d'introduire dans les manuels des écoles des conceptions pareilles. Et voilà ce que nous trouvons à la page 164 du manuel soviétique, que nous venons de citer: 4. Cette politique traditionnelle/le désir d'obtenir les Détroits/de la Russie des Tzars, était COMME LE SOULIGNE ENGELS dictée par son passé historique, par ses conditions géographiques et par la nécessité d'avoir les portes ouvertes dans l'Archipel'. Marcos et Engels, Oeuvres. Vol. IX, page 439/. Donc, quand la thèse est approuvée par Marcos-Engels, elle est juste, et doit non seulement être accomplie, mais même propagée parmi toute la population, les enfants y compris.

Il n'y a pas de doute, qu'outre le pacte officiel, il y avait des paragraphes secrets, qui garantissaient à l'URSS les compensations territoriales pour sa neutralité dans le conflit de l'Allemagne avec les Démocraties. Naturellement nous ne possédons pas le texte original de ces paragraphes, et nous ne savons pas s'ils vont être jamais publiés: l'Allemagne ne peut le faire pour ne pas montrer son jeu double envers la Turquie, qu'elle sacrifiait au profit de l'URSS et l'Italie, et les Soviètes n'ont pas de nécessité à le faire. Mais nous possédons d'autres données qui prouvent l'existence d'un pareil accord, et confirment que Staline par cet accord et par les autres concessions qu'il espérait d'obtenir à mesure que l'Allemagne allait s'épuiser, poursuivait ponctuellement le programme qu'il avait tracé au Politburo la nuit mémorable du 15, VIII, 1939.

Tout d'abord un de nos amis a vu personnellement dans un des départements secrets du 'Aussenamt' du Parti N.S. à Margartenstrasse à Berlin à la fin de Juillet 1939 la carte du partage projeté entre l'Allemagne et l'URSS de la Pologne. Cette carte prévoyait justement les frontières qui avaient été établies quelques mois après. De plus alors déjà il a su, que l'URSS en même temps qu'elle menait les pourparlers avec les Démocraties à Moscou, négociait avec l'Allemagne en Turquie et à Berlin. Nous savons qu'un état proche aux Démocraties avait été prevenu de ce fait.

Puis suivit la guerre et l'occupation de la Pologne par les Allemands et les Soviètes. Après la guerre de l'URSS avec la Finlande, à laquelle l'Allemagne assista comme spectateur, puis l'occupation des pays Baltes, faite sans aucune objection de la part de l'Allemagne, enfin l'occupation de la Bessarabie et de la Boukovine, où les Allemands ne firent aussi aucune objection, mais seulement introduisirent leurs troupes dans le reste de la Roumanie. Tout, comme nous le voyons, a été accompli d'après le programme de Staline.

Encore en été de 1940, peu après la débâcle française, un de nos amis, auquel nous croyons comme à nous-mêmes, a vu chez le représentant de la Komintern pour

les Balcons, un Bulgare qu'il connaissait sous le nom de Zaharov, à Istanbul (la représentation de la Komintern pour les Balcons, qui se trouvait à Vienne et puis à Prague, fut transférée à Istanbul, quand ces villes furent occupées par les Allemands), une carte de l'Europe Orientale et de la Turquie. Zaharov lui avait montré cette carte, à cause d'une discussion politico-géographique, car il n'avait pas d'autre sous la main. Mon ami a eu cette carte un temps assez court dans les mains, puis sur les questions qu'il posa à Zaharov, ce dernier se remit et cacha la carte. Quand même mon ami a pu voir qu'il y avait des lignes de division sur cette carte: une grande ligne ininterrompue et des lignes ponctuées.

La ligne ininterrompue commençait au Nord de la Norvège entre les ports de Tronsé et Narvik. Ensuite elle suivait la frontière occidentale de la Finlande, les mêmes frontières des pays Baltes, puis la frontière, établie en 1939 entre l'Allemagne et la Pologne, ensuite la frontière Soviëto-Hongroise et Soviëto-Roumaine en laissant la Boukoutine et la Bessarabie du côté des Soviëtes. Puis elle passait par la ligne Midia-Enos sur le territoire européen de la Turquie, passait en Anatolie en englobant les Détroits, là, en commençant près de la ville de Pergame, elle suivait une voie horizontale jusqu'au fleuve de KIZIL Su Irmak, et de cette place elle suivait une voie plus ou moins sinueuse jusqu'au coin, où se rencontrent les frontières de la Turquie, de l'Irak et de l'Iran. Voir l'annexe N:1/.

La ligne ponctuée englobait presque toute la péninsule Balcanique: le reste de la Roumanie, sauf la Transilvanie/la partie/que la Roumanie a du céder à la Hongrie, la Yougoslavie, sauf le nord de la Voyévodine, la Slovénie et le nord de la Dalmatie, la Bulgarie, une partie du territoire Grèque entre la Struma et la frontière Turque, et le territoire Turque jusqu'à la ligne Midia-Enos.

La péninsule Balcanique, englobée par la ligne ponctuée, ainsi que le territoire Turc, englobé par la ligne ininterrompue, étaient partagés en plusieurs parties par des lignes à ponctuation mince et portaient des inscriptions suivantes: 1. La Moldavie Roumaine avait une inscription: Moldavskaya S. Rep./République Moldavienne socialiste ou soviétique?/. Cette inscription passait dans la Bessarabie du Nord à travers la ligne ininterrompue, pour montrer que tout ce territoire ne faisait qu'une république. 2. Le reste de la Roumanie, sans une grande partie de la Dobroudja, portait l'inscription de la Rep. S. de Valachie. 3. La Serbie dans ses frontières de 1913, augmentée de la Voyévodine/partie/et diminuée au Sud, portait l'inscription de la Rep. S. Serbe. 4. La Croatie et la Slavonie formaient la Rep. S. Croate. 5. La Bosnie et l'Hertzégovine - la Rep. S. Bosniaque. 6. Le Monténégro dans ses frontières de 1913 plus le district de Kattaro - la Rep. S. Monténégrienne. 7. La Macédoine Serbe et Bulgare avec une partie de la Macédoine Grèque - la Rep. S. Macédoine, enfin 8 - la Bulgarie, diminuée de la Macédoine bulgare, mais augmentée de la Dobroudja et du territoire turc et grec - la Rep. S. Bulgare.

Le territoire Turc au Nord de la ligne ininterrompue était partagé en trois parties: 1. La partie européenne, les Détroits, ainsi que le territoire de l'Anatolie jusqu'à une ligne, qui allait à peu près verticalement de la Mer Noire à Erzin-djan, et de là descendait vers le coin de la frontière Turco-Irako-Iranienne, étant ici limitée par la ligne ininterrompue, portait le nom de la Rep. S. Turquie. 2. La partie du Nord du reste du territoire Anadolien portait le nom de la Rep. S. Arménienne, et cette inscription passait sur le territoire de l'Arménie Soviétique, et 3. La partie méridionale de ce reste avec l'inscription, qui passait sur le territoire d'Iran, portait le nom de la Rep. S. Kurde.

A ce qu'il paraît le partage des Balcons et de la Turquie était pour ce

si détaillé, car s'agissait justement la région de l'action du camarade Zaharov. A la question de mon ami sur la signification de ces lignes, il reçut de lui la réponse, que la ligne ininterrompue délimitait les territoires, pour l'occupation desquels au temps propis les Soviètes avaient déjà le consentement de l'Allemagne, tandis que celles qui étaient englobées par la ligne ponctuée en gros, désignaient les territoires, que les Soviètes considéraient d'être dans leur zone, et pour l'occupation desquels ils escomptaient d'obtenir le consentement de l'Allemagne, à mesure que cette dernière va s'extirper dans la guerre. Puis il expliqua que la Slovénie, la Dalmatie, ainsi que la plus grande partie de la Grèce devaient être provisoirement cédées à l'Italie, pour obtenir son consentement sur le reste. De même l'Italie devait obtenir le Sud de l'Anadolie, limité au Nord par la grosse ligne ininterrompue, ~~et ce dernier était déjà un fait accompli.~~ Nous avons encore une confirmation de la carte du camarade Zaharov. Deux mois après que notre ami a vu chez Zaharov cette carte, dont il avait informé le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères Yougoslave, ainsi que le Consul Général Yougoslave à Istanbul, M. L. Hadji-Djordjévitch, qui est actuellement Ministre Yougoslave au Caire, ce dernier, étant en visite chez le Consul Général d'Italie, vit chez lui une carte de la Turquie, dont le territoire était partagé justement par une ligne tout à fait conforme à celle de la carte de Zaharov. Il n'a pas eu la possibilité d'interroger son collègue italien sur les causes d'un partage pareil du territoire Turc, mais cette coïncidence le frappa énormément. /Annexe N°2-Photo de la description de la carte de Zaharov, tirée de la lettre de M. D. Liotitch au Prince Paul de Yougoslavie/.

Enfin encore une autre preuve: Le mouvement national Yougoslave "Zbor", a publié dans son "Bulletin", le N°54 du 5, IX, 1940/voir annexe N°3-photo du bulletin avec la lettre/ une lettre, qu'ils avaient reçu de leur informateur de l'URSS, très bien callé chez les Soviètes, où il cite les aspirations des Soviètes telles, qu'elles étaient vers ce temps. Ces aspirations comprenaient: la Finlande, le Nord de la Norvège, au Nord de Narvik/, la Bulgarie et presque toute la péninsule Balcanique (sauf l'Albanie, la Dalmatie, la Slovénie et l'Epire Grec, qui devaient être cédés à l'Italie), la Roumanie, la Hongrie/la partie de la Pologne et les pays Baltes étaient déjà occupés par eux/et une partie du territoire turc les Détroits y compris. Ici nous voyons aussi une coïncidence complète avec le programme de Staline.

Tels étaient les désirs des Soviètes avant leur rupture avec l'Allemagne qu'ils ne préconisaient pas du-tout, en tout cas pour 1941, comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné dans notre article précédant. Sûrement au commencement les Allemands ayant satisfait les désirs des Soviètes par les régions, embrassées de la ligne ininterrompue, ne pensaient pas aussi à les attaquer, en tout cas avant la fin de leur guerre avec l'Angleterre. Naturellement qu'ils savaient peut-être beaucoup de faits du genre que nous avons décrit, mais d'abord l'aile gauche des Nazis était très inclinée à un accord complet avec les Soviètes, et puis pensaient ils peut-être de les tromper à leur tour et de régler ses comptes avec eux après avoir battu l'Angleterre.

L'attaque fut décriée
A ce qu'il paraît, seulement après l'entrevue de Hitler avec Molotov à Berlin au commencement de 1941, quand celui-ci lui posa la question des cessions de nouvelles territoires, mais non des Détroits-cette question a été déjà résolue bien avant entre eux, et Hitler a menti, quand il le dit dans son discours peu après la rupture avec l'URSS-, mais des Balcons d'après la carte du camarade

Zaharov.

7. Zaharov

Zaharov. Peut-être Molotov posa brutalement cette question, comme l'a affirmé Hitler, et qui sait, si un diplomate plus habile avait alors traité cette affaire de la part des Soviètes, peut-être Hitler n'aurait pas attaqué en 1941 l'URSS, et le sort du monde serait tout à fait autre actuellement. Mais quand Hitler vit que ses ~~plans~~ plans d'avoir déjà contenté les Soviètes, ou de pouvoir remettre au plus tard les autres exigences et puis les tromper, ne pouvait être réalisé, et que l'unique voie, qui lui restait vers le Proche Orient-Belgrade-Salonique devait aussi être cédée, il désista de régler son compte avec les Soviètes sans attendre la fin de la guerre avec les Anglais. La convention militaire, que conclurent les Soviètes avec la Yougoslavie peu de temps après le confirma dans cette désision.

Quand aux Soviètes: ils voulaient tant de rester en dehors du conflit, qu'ils n'hésitèrent pas à prier de quitter Moscou les représentants de la Yougoslavie, leur nouvelle alliée, dès que cette dernière fut battue par les Allemands. Conformément au programme de Staline, ils tâchaient en même temps d'obtenir amicalement de l'Allemagne son consentement d'occuper des nouvelles bases économiques et stratégiques pour la réalisation de leurs projets futurs.

Mais voyons maintenant comment tourna l'affaire après que le 21 Juin 1941 les Allemands attaquèrent l'URSS, et le camarade Staline devint l'allié tout d'abord des Anglais, et puis des Etats Unis, quand ces derniers entrèrent en guerre avec l'Allemagne après avoir été attaqués par les Japonais, avec lesquels il continua et continuait quand-même d'entretenir des relations amicales conformément à son programme d'épuisement des pays capitalistes. Au commencement, pendant que les affaires allaient mal, quand les Allemands avançaient comme un torrent et les troupes de l'Armée Rouge se rendaient par centaines de milles avec leurs tanks et leurs ^{canons} avions / nous nous reservons le droit de parler de ça ailleurs /, et ne voulaient pas se battre avec les Allemands, croyant que ces derniers viennent seulement pour les libérer des Communistes et du Communisme, Staline et les dirigeants du Parti Communiste furent très déferants: les églises qui restaient furent ouvertes, le Patriarche élu, les héros de l'histoire russe, même des princes et des tzars furent célébrés et des décorations en leurs noms furent établies, l'Armée fut de nouveau dotée de grades et d'épolettes, presque les-mêmes qu'avait l'ancienne Armée Russe. La propagande devint si nationaliste, qu'on pouvait même s'attendre, qu'aujourd'hui ou demain Staline va placer sur sa tête la couronne des Tzars et se proclamer l'Empereur de toute la Russie.

Ce fut de-même avec la politique extérieure, qui devint conciliante jusqu'au dernier degré. Les Soviètes signèrent la Charte d'Atlantique et rétablirent leurs rapports diplomatiques non seulement avec les Yougoslaves, qu'ils firent revenir à Moscou, mais même avec le Gouvernement Polonais de Londres. Ils permirent à une partie des Polonais internés de quitter l'URSS. Ils aidèrent à la formation d'une armée Polonaise, qui après avoir été formée devait partir de l'URSS pour aider aux Anglais. Le général Sikorsky, président du Gouvernement Polonais, visita Moscou et conclut avec Staline un arrangement, qui devait retourner à la Pologne toutes les provinces purement Russes, que les Bolchéviques cédèrent aux Polonais en 1921 d'après la paix de Riga, et qu'ils récupérèrent à l'Union Soviétiques en 1939 d'après leur accord avec les Allemands. De même des déclarations, quoique assez vagues, permettaient à conclure, qu'il envisageait la possibilité de retourner aux Etats Baltes leur indépendance, et à la Finlande ^{laurels} ses acquisitions de 1940.

8. Mais
Mais quand les Allemands, qui pensaient avoir déjà conquis la Russie, jetèrent le masque des libérateurs et proclamèrent par la bouche de Hitler que leur intention est de détruire la Russie et d'asservir le peuple Russe, ça souleva tout le peuple de la Russie contre ces faux libérateurs, qui l'avaient trompé, et quand grâce à ça les Allemands commencèrent à subir des revers, Staline et ses compagnons sentirent que le sol redevient plus ferme sous leurs pieds et revinrent peu à peu à leur politique communiste à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur. Comme nous avons déjà parlé de leur politique intérieure dans notre article précédent, nous nous bornons ici à démontrer, qu'en fait de politique extérieure ils sont déjà complètement revenus au programme de 1939 de Staline et à la carte du camarade Zaharov.

Commençons par le Nord. Nous savons des journaux que les Anglo-Américains ont conclu un accord avec le Gouvernement émigré de Belgique et des Pays-Bas. En même temps eux et aussi les Soviètes ont conclu des accords avec le Gouvernement émigré de la Norvège, ce qui conformément à la carte de Zaharov prouve, que pour le moment les Soviètes n'ont pas d'intérêt pour la Belgique et les Pays-Bas, mais qu'ils l'ont pour la Norvège.

Passons à la Finlande. Nous sommes informés de sources sûres, que pendant les pourparlers de ce printemps concernant une paix séparée entre ce pays et l'URSS, s'étaient justement des personnes influentes finlandaises, qu'on savait être en bons rapports avec les Soviètes, qui menaient une campagne contre la conclusion de cette paix. Involontairement vient à l'esprit la question, que les Soviètes n'avaient alors aucune intention sérieuse de conclure une paix aux conditions magnanimes qu'ils avaient offertes à la Finlande. De leur part ce n'était qu'un jeu pour démontrer surtout aux Américains, que les Finlandais sont des agresseurs et des fachistes enragés contrairement aux Soviètes passifs, et de faire ses derniers rompre leurs relations diplomatiques avec la Finlande, en mettant ainsi ce petit pays à la merci de l'URSS. Et ils réussirent dans leur but. Ça tombe aussi dans les yeux, que quand on commence de nouveau parler de la paix en Finlande, c'est le général Russe et monarchiste Mannerheim qui devint Chef d'Etat. C'est celui qui à la tête des Finnois Blancs nettoya en 1918 la Finlande des Communistes, et non un Communiste, ou un Social-Démocrate. Et son Gouvernement est aussi formé pour la plus part de conservateurs. De sorte, que si un Gouvernement pareil va souscrire une paix avec les Soviètes, qui sera arrangée d'une manière qui permettra au moment propice d'organiser une plébiscite en Finlande et de l'occuper définitivement à la manière des Pays Baltes, il n'y aura pas de groupes influents qui pourra protester, car ce ne seront pas sûrement les Communistes Finnois qui le feront.

Plus loin - les Pays Baltes - s'est déjà fini avec eux, personne n'en parle plus, et le Radio de Londres répète après le Radio de Moscou, que telle ou telle ville de la République Soviétique Estonienne, Letonienne ou Lituanienne a été occupée hier par les troupes de l'Armée Rouge.

Puis vient la Pologne, cause officielle de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale. Du point de vue de chaque vrai nationaliste Russe: Grand-Russien/seule branche du peuple Russe, à la quelle les Bolchéviques permettent de porter le nom des Russes/, Petit-Russien, que les Bolchéviques à l'insu de leur soit-disant nationalisme ont baptisés des Oukrainiens à la manière Polono-Jésuite, quoique et par leur sang et par leur religion, et par leur culture et par leur Histoire se sont des vrais Russes, dont le dialecte ne diffère plus de la langue littéraire Russe, que les dialectes des Grands-Russiens, ou enfin un Blanc-Russien, qui sont aussi

traités de même, c'est irrélévant, la part de la "Pologne", qu'obtinrent en 1939 les Soviètes, n'embrasse pas tous les territoires ethnographiquement Russes, ce que d'ailleurs les Soviètes confirment aussi/voir l'article de M. Borissov dans le journal: "La classe ouvrière et la guerre", N:8, page 17/. Mais ce n'est pas ça que veulent les Soviètes de la Pologne.

Actuellement, après leur comédie avec Mikolaytchik, qu'ils engagèrent de venir pour des pourparlers, et puis, quand il était en route, conclurent un accord avec le "Comitet Polonais" à Moscou, composé de leurs agents. De sorte, quand il vint, ils l'engagèrent de parler non avec eux, mais avec ce Comitet, qu'ils reconnurent d'être le Gouvernement de la Pologne. Après la comédie et en même temps tragédie de la toute récente insurrection en Varsovie, que les Soviètes, dont les troupes étaient déjà dans les faubourgs de cette ville, ne voulurent pas soutenir, car c'étaient des nationalistes Polonais, que les Allemands exterminaient et épargnaient ainsi le travail à l'NKVD. Et ce ne sera pas toujours possible de rejeter son crime sur un autre, comme dans la fameuse affaire de la forêt de Katine. Après leur déclaration, qu'ils désirent voir à la tête de la Pologne un gouvernement, amical à l'URSS. - Enfin après tous ces et beaucoup d'autre faits on voit bien ce que les Soviètes désirent de la Pologne. Ce ne sont pas les territoires Russes qu'ils convoitent, ces territoires-ils les céderaient volontier, si ça convient à leurs plans, malgré qu'ils savent bien tous les martyrs que la population Russe y a subi pendant les 18 ans, que les Polonais les avaient dans leurs mains - ça les inportent peu et ne touche nullement. N'ont ils pas eux-mêmes massacré des millions des paysans et des ouvriers Russes, quand ils le trouvaient nécessaire. Ils convoitent toute la Pologne, et c'est pour ça qu'ils veulent, que le Gouvernement Polonais, qui prendra le pouvoir dans ce pays tout de suite après sa libération, dès à présent soit composé de leurs gens, ce qui leurs assurera une plébiscite favorable quand le moment viendra, et d'unir la Pologne comme une nouvelle République Soviétique à l'URSS.

Pour la Tchécoslovaquie la chose est déjà prête par l'accord avec Bénéch. Par cet accord ils lui ont sacrifié la malheureuse Russie Subcarpatéenne, qui a été tant martirisée par les Tchechs justement quand Bénéch était tout-puissant en Tchécoslovaquie, car ils sont sûrs, que le Gouvernement Tchécoslovaque sous Bénéch sera toujours favorable à leurs plans. D'ailleurs ils ont déjà découverts ces plans: Avant deux jours le Radio de Moscou dans son émission de 11h1/2 du soir a communiqué en Russe, que l'organisation Polonaise en Amérique: "Tadéouch Kostyuchko", qui y est très puissante, a proclamée que la Pologne future devra être dans des relations bien plus étroites qu'une alliance avec l'URSS. Quelles donc peuvent être "des relations plus proches qu'une alliance", si ce n'est une fédération?

En Hongrie, où il y a tant de paysans-prolétaires/sans terre/et d'ouvriers et où les Social-Démocrates sont submergés par des Communistes, dont le travail légal est défendu, la situation pour une révolution Communiste est très favorable. Les Soviètes n'ont qu'à traverser les Carpates, et le pays se trouvera à leurs pieds. En Roumanie la situation est presque la-même. De plus dans la partie de la Moldavie que les Soviètes ont occupée, ils ont établi un régime si tolérant et si correcte, que la population en est enchantée après la brutalité des Allemands et le pillage des employeurs Roumains. Leur conduite pareille est connue dans tout le reste du pays, où la population

les attend, comme des libérateurs.

En Yougoslavie leur politique est encore plus claire. Ils ont forcé les Anglo-Américains à désavouer le héros national du peuple Serbe, le général Draža Mihailovitch, qui n'a jamais cessé sa lutte contre les occupants Allemands, et que toute la presse Anglo-Américaine sous peu acclamait d'être un des meilleurs généraux des Alliés, uniquement par ce qu'il est royaliste et anti-communiste. D'autre part M. Choubachitch, que le Roi Pierre a dû se nommer Ministre-Président, vient de conclure un accord avec l'exposé des Soviètes, le fameux terroriste et communiste "Marechal Tito" - Josef Broz, dont le pseudonyme le démontre clairement. En effet Tito se déchiffre en Serbo-Croate comme: Meina Internacionalna Terroristička Organizacija - Organisation internationale terroriste clandestine. D'après cet accord tout le pouvoir dans la Yougoslavie libérée doit passer dans les mains de Tito et son Comité, ou autrement dans les mains de l'URSS. Un fait encore plus frappant: Tito a publié déjà depuis longtemps la structure, que devra avoir la Yougoslavie fédérative et républicaine, et le nombre des républiques fédératives, ainsi que leurs noms correspondent ponctuellement à la carte du camarade Zaharov, sauf qu'il y ajoute la République Slovéne qui devait alors provisoirement être cédée à l'Italie, comme l'a expliqué dans son temps Zaharov. A présent l'Italie est battue et cette cession tombe tout naturellement. Quand au régime démocratique que promet actuellement à cette fédération le marechal Tito, ou autrement son maître réel, le marechal Staline - on peut actuellement tout promettre aux Anglo-Américains pour les tranquilliser, d'ailleurs Staline considère le régime de l'URSS d'être aussi un régime démocratique, seulement démocratique-prolétarien.

Le jeu des Soviètes avec la Turquie concernant l'entrée de cette dernière en guerre contre l'Allemagne est bien connu. Les menaces, que le Radio de Moscou blasphème en Turc chaque soir, après que les Turcs ont rompu leurs relations diplomatiques avec l'Allemagne sont toutes récentes. C'est pourquoi nous n'allons pas nous y arrêter pour ne pas encombrer notre étude.

Mais l'appétit vient en mangeant. C'est pourquoi les Soviètes tâchent actuellement non seulement de s'assurer les points stratégiques et économiques pour la réalisation de la révolution pan-européenne, mais de réaliser une partie de la révolution même. Autrement comment pourrait-on saisir la création par eux du Comité National Allemand de Moscou, presque entièrement composé de communistes Allemands et des généraux Allemands, plusieurs dizaines avec le marechal van Paulus à la tête. Et un pareil Comité promet d'instituer un régime "libre et démocratique" en Allemagne. De plus il assure les Allemands, qu'ils pourront obtenir une paix honorable sans la reddition inconditionnelle, qu'exigent d'eux les Anglo-Américains. Et comment pourrait-il faire ça par l'intermédiaire du Radio de Moscou, s'il n'avait eu pour ça l'autorisation du Gouvernement Soviétique?

De plus maintenant les Soviètes tâchent de s'assurer aussi des points stratégiques et économiques et pour une révolution Pan-Asiatique. C'est pourquoi ils mènent une propagande acharnée dans le monde Arabe, qui, d'après nos informations, a un grand succès parmi les masses de la population de la Syrie, du Liban et de l'Irak. De même ils tâchent de s'assurer à tout prix l'Iran et d'y déloger les Anglo-Américains. C'est pourquoi la conduite de leurs troupes et de l'NKVD est exemplaire dans ce pays, et il offrent au Chah et à son Gouvernement des arrangements différents pour les attirer. D'ailleurs nous pensons

que tous ces faits et bien d'autres encore, sont bien connus à la diplomatie Américaine et Anglaise, c'est pourquoi nous ne nous arrêtons plus à eux. Mais si on a de l'intérêt pour cette question, nous sommes prêts de donner les détails qui nous sont connues dans un article spécial.

Il va sans dire, que les Soviètes, s'étant une fois brûlés les mains sur l'Allemagne, vont très prudemment vers leur but. Ils prennent aussi en considération les forces armées colossales, que les Anglo-Américains ont actuellement mis sur pieds. Mais après que la guerre en Europe sera finie, ils escomptent que vue leurs régimes démocratiques, les Anglo-Américains seront obligés de démobiliser une grande partie de ces forces. Quand à Staline, -lui, comme un Dictateur, il pourra retenir sous les armes les siens tant qu'il voudra. Il pourra enrôler autant qu'il veut de chinois pour l'industrie et l'agriculture de l'URSS. C'est alors qu'il pourra passer à la réalisation définitive de son programme. Dans son action il pourra compter sur la collaboration de certains éléments gauches en Angleterre et en Amérique. Actuellement, d'après l'ordre de Moscou, ces éléments se tiennent tranquilles, sauf "la 4-ème International" qui, comme "Trotzkiste" apparemment feint d'être en opposition à Moscou et même une propagande défétiste dans ces pays, mais en réalité travaille aussi sous ses ordres.

Nous sentons que nous devons finir notre article par ces mots: Tout ce que nous avons décrits dans nos deux articles est forcément bref et de ce fait superficiel. Mais si quelques-unes des questions que nous avons touchées paraissent non assez convaincantes ou superficiellement développées, nous sommes prêts à donner des détails supplémentaires et d'autres preuves. Nous faisons ça uniquement dans le but, pour que ceux, qui tiennent dans leurs mains le sort du monde, soient informés des faits qui, peut-être ne leurs sont pas connus, et qu'ils puissent sauver l'humanité du danger qui s'approche.

A. Karpatsky.

Le 18 août 1944.

Annexe N: 2. Exhibit B.

тих слова успети да зна праву истину, да поверује у њу, да је прихвати и да је да извршити?

Што ипак пишем лежи у гласу који у мојој души говори, да тако морам писати, јер да изван тога нема спаса народу, Држави, Престолу и Династији.

Пишем, дакле, у нади у Милост Божију, чијој моћи нема граница и која може учинити да дух Вашег Краљевског Височанства буде отворен, буде пријемљив за предлоге које Му подносим — и које недостојан иначе не бих смео чинити.

Одговарајући, дакле, тој нади ја сам имао и снаге и смелости да напишем све ово, а видећемо да ли је ово писмо инструменат Божије милости или Божије правде.

Јер, неки мој пријатељ, иначе један од најдуховитијих људи ове земље, рекао ми је, и ја сам Вам то једном и написао: »Говори и пиши Димитрије. Говори и пиши, али знај, нема нам спаса. Говори, јер си потребан као сведок пред судом Божијим. Нико те чути и схватити неће, иако је то и за чување и схватање лако; јер су срца затворена.«

Не усвоји ли, Ваше Краљевско Височанство, ово што пишем, ево каква ће нам бити сутрашњица.

Удар ће доћи споља, као што сам показао. Стаће насцепати и черечити. У том тренутку вероватно ће доћи и удар из Хрватске. Мислим да је то баш план Италија да не удара на Далмацију да не би некакo изазвала реакцију Хрвата против себе, већ на Албанију, јер тиме нам сече пут ка Солуну (а ту су Хрвати више него равнодушни), па кад криза дође у врхунац, онда долази удар из Хрватске.

Један мој пријатељ успео је да види у иностранству, у једном совјетском надлештву, карту (по цену свог живота, зато Вас молим да ово нарочито држите у тајности,

јер су они то опазили и знају да је он то видео, али не знају за његове везе са мном).

На тој карти је дебелим линијом обележена граница Совјетског савеза и ту су обухваћени: од Норвешке, линија северно од Наранка, лука Тромзе, остављајући пругу Наранк—Шведска, изван граница Совјетских, — цела Финска, — све Балтичке државе — (од Пољске оно што се сада држи), од Румуније, оно што је већ заузето, па и преко тога: само мој пријатељ није успео да види детаље. Од Турске, Цариград са облашћу која се граничи западном Бугарском, на линији Енос—Мидија, а источно широким захватом у Анадолији и ка Црнојморској обали, тако да су мореузи обухваћени...

На Балкану, изван те линије, мој пријатељ је видео тачкицама обележене границе: бугарска совјетска социјалистичка република, која обухвата знатан део Србије; српска совјетска социјалистичка република, која обухвата Србију са сасвим мало јужне Србије и Санџака, делом Босне и делом Војводине северно од Новог Сада; хрватску совјетску републику која обухвата Бановину Хрватску без Далмације; црногорску совјетску социјалистичку републику која обухвата Црну Гору, улаћану делом Херцеговине, Босне, Санџака и Пећке области. Словеначка није самостална. Далмација исто тако. Румунија је подељена на молдавску и алашску совјет. соц. републику.

На питање мог пријатеља шта значи она дебела линија на коју су тобоже Совјети добили пристанак Немачке, — а оне друге линије су оно на чему ће радити Совјети, где је све у народу спремно да се и оствари, и на шта се надају да ће Немци и Италијани, уз извесне уступке, бити принуђени да пристану.

Ето Вам политике Италије с једне, Совјета с друге стране.

Кад будете дошли пред ту ситуацију, са данашњом

Мониторинг по русским.

GERMANS IN RUSSIA

7.15 31.35 48.86

8.30 31.35

10.15 $\frac{146}{39}$ 19.83 20.75 $\frac{151}{22.5}$

13 19.83 20.75 25.55

16 24.73

18.15 31.35

18.45 31.35

21.15 49.75

23.30 25.55 49.75

1.15 ~~25.55 49.75~~ 1339 m.

19.30 *Бухарест по русскому X.*
BUCHAREST IN RUSSIAN

Кауф по сербскому

22.20 CAIRO IN SERBIAN $\frac{79}{58.4}$

22.30 *Финляндия* $\frac{96}{39}$
FINLAND

Военный Союз националистов русского народа.

$\frac{23.15}{48.89}$

$\frac{66}{59}$

MILITARY NATIONALISTS UNION OF THE RUSSIAN NATION

Генерал-полковник

Echelle : 1 : 8 000 000

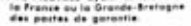
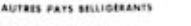
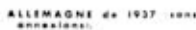
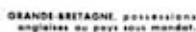
Echelle : 1 : 8 000 000

LÉGENDE

LÉGENDE

— Nouveaux limites des États — Limites de subdivisions étatiques
— Anciennes limites des États — Chemins de fer
Importance des villes

- **PARIS** Capitales d'Etat
- **PRAGUE** Anciennes Capitales
- **LYON** Villes de 1^{re} importance
- **Bristol** Villes de 2^e importance
- **Troyes** Villes de 2^e importance
- **Reims** Autres villes



[illegible]

Exhibit C

Soviet Foreign Policy in the Near Future

I

The recent Soviet military successes and the problem of URSS
post-war political possibilities.

The debate on the post-war policy of the Soviet Union and its role in world affairs of to-morrow can be boiled down to two conceptions:

1. The Soviet Union, weakened by the war, will not be able to afford a dynamic foreign policy and will be obliged to coordinate its moves with Great Britain and the United States of America;

2. The Soviet Union, having rapidly rebuilt their industry and economy, will take advantage of the competition between the great powers to carry on an independent and even aggressive external policy.

The latter view has more grounds of being correct than the first because even now Soviet war losses are being compensated by economic development of the Eastern provinces of the state. Furthermore, the Russians possess an unique ability in exploiting their man-power; this is important if it be taken in consideration that the population of the Union will be very large even after the war. In case of lack of man-power, however, it will be possible to have large numbers of cheap labour by means of compulsory recruitment in the occupied countries of the West or import from China or Germany.

One of the most important factors heralding an independent external policy of the Soviet Union is its ability to secure external successes even in periods of comparative material weakness. This is due to the high perfection attained by the Soviet state machinery in the art of intervention, by propaganda and diversion, in the life of neighbouring and hostile countries, to great ability in diplomatic manoeuvre and, finally, to the geographic and political situation of the Union, which enables its leaders to find alliances among the great powers competing among themselves.

In periods when real material power declines, the Union usually rejects any policy of moderate compromise and follows the path of real or apparent, but always spectacular concessions to its allies. This state of things has the seemingly paradoxical effect that Russia secures greater results when she is weaker. This is so because in periods of real power she is driven to brutal acts by over-confidence in her own strength and thus awakens fear and opposition in the civilized world. A proof of the above may be found in what happened between 1919 and 1925 when Russia, weakened by many years of war and revolution, succeeded in acquiring a very real influence in Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and control of Outer Mongolia, to emerge out of her isolation and awaken the greatest misgivings in Great Britain with regard to her Empire.

On the other hand, in the years 1930-1939, when Russia attained a high level of material organization and power, her influence diminished, especially in the East, and her policy was often one of appeasement and opportunism. The shrinking of the Komintern's influence during that period may be taken as an example. The moral and political elements of Russia's power, those that carried her through the greatest difficulties after the revolution, were lost in the boom of the five year plans and the new credo of the material power. A confirmation of this may be seen in the events that happened between 1815-1854, this being a historic analogy a contrario. At that time Russia was just out of the 1812 war, ravaged and exhausted, but was able to dominate completely Central and Eastern Europe thanks to the moral and political advantages secured by her victory over Napoleon.

It must be also taken into account that there always exists the possibility of an understanding between Russia and Germany. This may be brought about either through the conclusion of a separate peace, secret or open, during the war with Napoleon, Russia concluded a secret agreement with Metternich by virtue of which Russian and Austrian armies were to spare each other in battle or by a return to collaboration after the defeat of Germany.

The Union's Asiatic policy is of the same kind. Kremlin is perfectly satisfied until the Anglo-American Pacific forces are engaged in fighting Japan, thus giving Russia a greater liberty of action in the Middle East and Europe. Russia will move only when Japan will be already beaten and unable to keep in check the Anglo-Americans. The Russian attack on Japan will then come at a moment when it will have lost all significance for the Allies.

Another important aspect of present Russian policy and her future development is Russia's tendency to attract the peoples of the East by means of all sorts of concessions. The Commissariats of Defence and Foreign Affairs of the Union Republics, the nationalistic propaganda of the Arab pro-Soviet press, certain pro-Kurd tendencies in the Union's diplomacy, the winning over of the Armenians in the Middle East, propaganda carried out in India, for the first time in the history of the Soviet Union—openly/"Soviet Union News"—monthly/, the efforts to come to an understanding with the Orthodox Church abroad and the pro-Islamic accents of Soviet propaganda—all this tends to prove that in case of open competition with Great Britain and the U.S. in Asia—Russia will easily find friends and support among many Eastern peoples or will assume the role of their defender and champion against the imperialism of the European powers and the U.S. It can be stated even now, that the Arab anti-British group, till now of a pro-German orientation, have recognized Russia as their potential ally in the struggle against the British. This is already clearly visible in all Arab countries and in Persia.

Last but not least, the Soviet Union's policy of return to Russian tradition and the apparent break with the Komintern will be of great help to that country. Retaining all the organizational and dynamic values of bolshevism, Russia keeps them hidden behind a screen of patriotism. She continues to inspire and feed all the nationalist, "anti-imperialist" and revolutionary movements all over the world and refuses any responsibility because she has repudiated the Komintern.

Summing up: The Soviet Union has every possibility to carry on a very active and even aggressive foreign policy after the present war. To this aggressive policy Russia will be driven by the necessity of occupying new inhabited territories which will provide her with cheap man-power and will employ her newly-born and influential military caste. Russia has always shown, in theory as well as in practice, strong expansionist tendencies and it is rather hard to believe that she will not make the most of her post-war opportunities.

Soviet Russia and the Straits

The Straits have lost some of their importance with regard to Soviet policy and Soviet-British relations. Their significance is clearly smaller now than in the period previous to 1914. Instead, the Caspian Sea-Persian Gulf "bridge" has gained in importance. In spite of this it will surely be important for Russia to take control of the Straits after having re-taken the northern shores of the Black Sea and brought all of that sea under her influence. Analysing Soviet Russia's policy and her tactics of alternative pressures and concessions, it can be foreseen that she will try to obtain control of the Straits at a chosen moment. This she will endeavour to do peacefully or even at the price of certain concessions—improving the Russian Turks' conditions of life, promises as to possible compensation in Syria and Northern Iraq/Mosul/, she will perhaps promise to abstain from backing the Kurds and the Armenians—in order to make Turkey join her post-war political system. Thus Ankara will lose all but a nominal sovereignty over the Straits, will become nothing more than a screen, with Russia as a decisive factor behind her.

Soviet Russia and Post-War Trade

Trying to appease the suspicions of the capitalist countries of the West, Soviet Russia employs the most different methods, such as the return to Russian tradition, the liquidation of the Komintern, introduction of liberty of religion, etc., and lately spreads the mirage of enormous post-war industrial orders to the factories of Great Britain and the United States.

After a detailed analysis of Soviet economic needs, their ability for quick industrial reconstruction, their complete indifference as to the primitive conditions of life in the Union and the needs of its population-and what follows, a complete lack of interest in the reconstruction of the ~~XXXX~~ industries working for the needs of consumers-we find the Soviet promises greatly exaggerated. We can foresee that the orders will be of a much more modest nature than is now promised and their division among the different companies and countries will depend primarily on the necessities of the Soviet foreign policy rather than on economic reasons. Thus, Germany and Chechoslovakia will be the countries to gain most from this state of things. Furthermore, Soviet Russia will try to use the whole business of orders and deliveries in ^{such} a manner as to promote the rivalry between the U.S. and Great Britain and to come to an agreement with one of them against the other.

Exhibit W.

The sensational Rumanian volte-face was not altogether unexpected to observers of Balkan problems. It was known that as early as in October 1943, after the first series of major German defeats in Russia, several Rumanian leaders worked out a plan whereby Rumania was to break with Germany and put up a democratic government which was to proclaim to the world the will of the Rumanian people to cooperate with the Allies. These leaders were aware that such an action would result in a rather useless demonstration of Rumania's true sentiments and would be easily strangled by the Germans. The plan was, therefore, temporarily abandoned; the successful German counter-offensive of November 1943 compelled the Rumanian politicians to put it off once more. They waited for their opportunity and meanwhile tried to bring about a stronger collaboration between all democratic groups. In spring 1943 they succeeded in creating "The Front of Free Rumania" composed of populists/agrarians, Maniu's party, liberals/Dinu and George Bratianu, socialists and communists/professor Constantinescu-Iasi and L. Petrascanu. A permanent Executive Committee was formed this summer. Only the liberal group of King Carol's former prime minister Tatarescu did not join the front. The Committee held regular meetings and the Government tolerated its activity. The aim of the Front was to seize power at the first sign of German collapse in order to bring about to an understanding with the Allies. The following persons were active abroad as representatives of the Front: Prince Stirbey-sent to Cairo last March; the closest collaborator of Titulescu and former Minister to Poland, Visheiano-sent to Cairo last April; to a certain measure the Rumanian ministers to Turkey and Portugal-Cratzeanu and Cadere. During these talks and negotiations the Rumanian opposition wanted to find out if Rumania will be allowed to negotiate not only with Russia but with all the three great Allies at the same time. They considered this to be important in spite of the good impression made in Bucarest by the Molotov's declaration concerning Russia's attitude towards Rumania and promising the return Northern Transylvania to Rumania.

Paragraph 2

This activity could not be kept entirely secret and the Germans knew about it all the time. On August 3rd Hitler summoned Antonescu to Vienna and asked him what he intended to do with the increasing activity of the Rumanian opposition. Antonescu answered that Rumania's decision will depend on: 1. Whether Germany will be able to hold out in the East; 2. Whether or not Hungary will start an action directed against Rumania; 3. Whether or not Bulgaria will open the Balkans to the Allies. To this Hitler stated categorically that the Wehrmacht was even then successfully consolidating its front on the Vistula, that Bulgaria's attitude would be soon clarified in a favorable way. Hitler thought that Filoff would be replaced with Kiosseivanoff, and added that if Hungary tried any anti-Rumanian or anti-German action, "the Hungarian people would be taught such a terrible lesson that the future generations will remember it." Then Hitler warned Antonescu that "the million of my army that I have got in Rumania will put down ruthlessly any revolt in Rumania." Antonescu objected that ~~that~~ ~~thousands~~ soldiers in Rumania numbered much less than a million. "Do you say that General Hansen's statement is false?"-shouted Hitler. "I must rely on the information of my General Staff"-replied Antonescu. He knew that the German forces in Rumania numbered at that moment about 500,000, including technical services, transport, etc. Nevertheless the Marshal was rather impressed by Hitler's menaces and decided to persuade the opposition to wait.

But the opposition did not wait. Soon came the Allied successes in the West and repeated warnings to the Rumanian people were broadcast over the London radio. Churchill's last speech convinced them that there could be no more speculation on the disunity among Allies. The Rumanians decided to enter into direct contact with the Russians and to be the first of Germany's satellites to join the Allied camp.

The events of August 23rd have been well prepared and carried out, no doubt, in cooperation not only with the Army but with Marshal Antonescu himself. The power passed to the opposition organized in the "Front of Free Rumania" without any difficulty. The Crown showed its support by appointing General Samatescu, till now Chief of the Court Military Department, to be Prime Minister. All the prominent members of the "Frontul" are in the new Government: Iuliu Maniu/populist/, George Bratianu/liberal/, Titel Petrescu/socialist/ as ministers without portfolio and Lucretiu Patrascoiu/communist/ as minister of Justice. Eight important ministries are headed by generals on active service, which proves that the Army is fully cooperating with the democratic front.

The first act of the new Government was to grant a general amnesty and to abolish all concentration camps. Both measures were intended to benefit political prisoners.

It is to be noted that this is the first time since 1941, that the Rumanian Government can dispose of the whole of their army. The Rumanian army is now concentrated on Rumanian territory and, consequently, for the first time in many years is able to oppose the Germans. 30 Rumanian divisions plus Russian help - this ought to be amply sufficient to drive the Germans out in a very short time.

The Transylvanian problem is a sort of popular obsession for Rumanians. If Rumania gets back the provinces she lost in 1940 through the Ciano-Ribbentrop arbitrage, the new Government will be fully supported by the people, who will accept - though not without regret - the loss of Bukovina and Bessarabia. It is thought in certain circles that Hungary might support a German action against Rumania; this, however, seems very improbable.

Sept. 3rd 1944.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF THE NAVAL ATTACHÉ
TURKEY

My dear Admiral:

The enclosed exhibits I think are interesting and probably important. They will be the last material I shall receive from this source, Professor Chen Ching, a White Russian using the fictitious name of Karpatetsky.

The British have persuaded the Turks to deport him to Egypt.

The British are determined we shall have no influence and little to say in the Balkans and the Near East, except where they do something unpleasant to these peoples where we are taken in as more than equal partners with them.

The Bulgarian agent who was transmitting messages between King Boris and myself was refused a Turkish visa under British pressure & now this White Russian, again under British pressure, who was giving me valuable information, is deported to Egypt.

It is interesting how history repeats itself. We fought the Revolution in 1776 because of "Taxation without representation!" Now 168 years later we are again being taxed

Enc
(13)

Regraded Unclassified

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF THE NAVAL ATTACHÉ
TURKEY

hundreds of thousands of lives to
save the British Empire and again
they don't want us to have any
"representation". However, I guess
we've got to get along with them
somehow.

Very respectfully,
Gregg B. Cole

billions of dollars

La Conquête du Monde et l'Histoire de l'URSS.

Dans notre premier article nous avons tâché de prouver, que la politique et les buts du Parti Communiste, qui assume la dictature dans l'URSS, sont de fait restés les-mêmes qu'ils l'étaient avant la guerre avec l'Allemagne. Nous savons qu'à l'étranger beaucoup de monde et parmi les étrangers, et parmi les émigrés Russes espéraient que la guerre va apporter un changement notable dans la situation de la Russie, va approcher son régime à celui des démocraties, soulager, si non abolir l'esclavage communiste des peuples de ce pays et faire cesser la terreur qui y règne.

Il est vrai que dans les masses du peuple Russe un grand mouvement national a lieu. On en voit des traces différentes malgré la censure draconienne du régime Bolchéviste et dans les correspondances différentes du front, et dans la littérature, et dans des nouvelles qui parviennent quand-même de la Russie. On voit bien que les masses du peuple Russe, soulevées par le danger Allemand, se battent non pour le Parti Communiste et tous ses chefs, mais bien pour la Russie avec tous ses trésors culturels moraux et matériels, que lui ont laissés ses ancêtres pendant son histoire millénaire et que justement le régime Communiste encore peu avant la guerre détruisait et gaspillait sans pitié. C'est surtout parmi les militaires que le mouvement nationaliste existe actuellement en Russie. Naturellement ce mouvement n'est pas encore organisé et ses manifestations se retiennent d'un côté par l'actualité de la guerre et la présence de l'ennemi sur une partie de la terre nationale, et de l'autre par l'action de l'NKVD et la terreur qui continue de régner dans ce malheureux pays.

Mais quand la guerre cessera bien d'événements peuvent y avoir lieu.

Quand au régime-il reste le-même qu'il l'était, et on peut même dire que le Parti Communiste est encore plus enflammé par l'idée de la réalisation de la Révolution Proletaire Mondiale, qu'il ne l'était avant cette guerre, car le succès de l'Armée Rouge d'un côté et la situation pitoyable dans laquelle se trouvent les masses des peuples de presque toute l'Europe Occidentale et d'une grande partie de l'Asie/la Chine/, donnent aux Bolchéviques l'assurance que le moment de la réalisation de leurs plans s'approche.

D'après des nouvelles toutes récentes que nous avons obtenu de l'URSS, le Politburo du Parti Communiste au commencement de cette année a chargé le camarade Jdanov de former une commission spéciale, où il a incorporé parmi les autres le général-major Galaktionov et la Professeuse Pankratova comme des spécialistes, ^{pour} étudier la question de toutes les tentatives de la Conquête Mondiale qui ont eu lieu en commençant par Alexandre le Grand, et en finissant par Napoléon et Hitler. Cette commission devait analyser les causes de l'insuccès de ces conquérants, ainsi que de la possibilité de la réalisation d'un plan pareil actuellement en utilisant les moyens spirituels et physiques du présent.

Cette commission a récemment terminé son travail/Galakitionov et Pankratova furent décorés/ et a fait son rapport au Politburo.

Voilà les principales conclusions de ce rapport:

I. Jusqu'au XX siècle la Conquête du Monde était pratiquement impossible, car l'espace et le temps rongeaient par dessous l'armée du conquérant, si forte qu'elle ne soit. Même au XIX siècle, quand le réseau des chemins de fer et les ba-

teaux à vapeur rapides existaient, le conquéreur n'aurait pas encore pu tenir dans ses mains le Monde au moyen d'une force armée si grande qu'elle ne fut.

II. Maintenant au XX siècle, vu le perfectionnement des moyens de communication et des armes: l'aviation, combinée avec les autos et les armes, telles que les bombes, les avions et obus raquettes, les armes chimiques e.t.c., donnent au conquéreur la possibilité de surmonter les difficultés de l'espace et du temps et de tenir dans ses mains des superficies énormes au moyen des forces relativement restreintes. Donc c'est Hitler qui le premier de tous ces conquérants avait la possibilité d'accomplir cette tâche.

III. La faute principale de Hitler outre ses erreurs purement militaires, était, qu'il voulut accomplir cet oeuvre sur une base nationaliste, mais si une tentative pareille est faite sur une base internationaliste, comme l'est la doctrine de Marx-Lénine-Staline, la réalisation de cette conquête est tout à fait possible et du point de vue militaire, et de celui de l'organisation sociale et économique.

Telles sont les conclusions, auxquelles cette commission est arrivée. Maintenant, comme on nous le communique, deux nouvelles commissions sont formées: l'une-la commission stratégique-doit élaborer le plan militaire de cette conquête, l'autre-la commission tactique-doit présenter le plan politique et économique. On ne nous a pas encore communiqué les noms des chefs, ainsi que des membres les plus distingués de ces commissions.

" C'est seulement la tombe qui peut redresser le bossu ", comme le dit un ancien proverbe russe.

En même temps nous venons de recevoir un livre fraîchement paru: " L'Histoire de l'URSS. " 2^{ème} partie. Manuel pour la 9^{ème} classe de l'école moyenne. Sous la rédaction de la Prof. A.M. Pankratova. Approuvé par le Commissariat de l'Instruction Publique. Publié par la Commission d'instruction et de la pédagogie de l'Etat. Moscou. 1944. Tirage de la première série 100.000 exemplaires.

Ce livre contient l'histoire abrégée des peuples de l'URSS depuis le début du XVIII siècle/époque de Pierre le Grand/ jusqu'au début du XX siècle/époque de la formation du Parti Communiste en Russie/. Il s'étudie comme intermédiaire entre la 1^{ère} partie de " L'Histoire de URSS " /histoire des peuples de l'USSR depuis la formation de l'Etat Russe jusqu'à la fin du XVII siècle/ du même auteur, qu'on étudie dans la VIII classe de l'école moyenne, et " L'Histoire du Parti Communiste/bolchévique/" , qui est identifié avec l'histoire de la Russie et puis de l'URSS au XX siècle, qu'on étudie après la 2^{ème} partie de " L'Histoire de l'URSS, et que nous avons déjà analysé dans notre article: " La persévérance de la politique des Soviètes ", c'est pourquoi nous n'en parlerons pas plus ici. En somme ces trois livres représentent le cour de l'histoire de leur pays, qu'on fait apprendre à tous les enfants dans toutes les écoles de l'Union Soviétique.

La première partie de l'Histoire de l'URSS que nous avons dans nos mains appartient à l'édition de 1940, quand le parti Communiste malgré l'arrangement avec l'Allemagne Hitlérienne devait mobiliser toutes les forces du pays pour se préparer à toute éventualité ainsi qu'à la conquête de l'Europe. C'est pourquoi encore depuis 1937 et surtout après Munich la propagande soviétique devenait de plus en plus nationaliste. Le point culminant de ce nationalisme était atteint en 1941-42, quand la guerre avec l'Allemagne battait de son plein, mais les affaires marchaient encore mal.

C'est pourquoi la première partie de l'histoire qui a été publiée à cette

époque du nationalisme soviétique est écrite dans "la compréhension du temps". Les pages du livre sont ornées de portraits des grands-ducs et des Tzars de la Russie, de ses hommes illustres et même des temples les plus renommés. Quoique son contenu porte une certaine empreinte des doctrines du communisme, mais ces traces sont assez habilement voilées, et même là, où des falsifications histotiques sont faites/falsifications absolument nécessaires à la doctrine communiste seulement/, ces falsifications sont adroitement intercalées pour ne pas contraster avec le contenu. Et ce contenu "chante" la gloire passée du peuple Russe, les faits de ses héros et le développement prodigieux de l'Etat. Il y a même quelques passages qui, quoique très timidement, avouent le grand rôle que l'Eglise Orthodoxe a joué dans l'histoire de la Russie.

Mais depuis, presque quatre années sont passées, les Allemands sont battus, la guerre touche à sa fin. La propagande nationaliste qui a soulevé le peuple Russe contre l'envahisseur, n'est plus nécessaire et même nuisible, car elle peut soulever ce même peuple contre le régime internationaliste des Bolchéviques. Si on ne peut la supprimer pour l'étranger pour jeter encore quelque temps de la poussière dans les yeux des Alliés crédules, il faut la supprimer pour l'intérieur du pays. Et c'est des écoles qu'il faut commencer, car la voie dans laquelle va être élevée et instruite la jeunesse définit le sort futur du régime de l'ETAT.

C'est pourquoi la 2^{ème} partie de l'Histoire de l'URSS, publiée en 1944, /voir l'annexe N:1-photo de la page initiale du livre/, d'après son contenu n'a aucune ressemblance avec la première partie de cette histoire, parue en 1940, quoique les auteurs sont les-mêmes. C'est même difficile de penser que le second livre est la continuation du premier. Tout d'abord l'Histoire de la Russie qui forme aussi le contenu principal de ce livre, s'aboutit ici à l'année 1900-époque de la formation du Parti Marxiste en Russie, ce qui d'après la conception du Parti Communiste doit signifier un tournant dans l'histoire de ce pays, comme la Commune de Paris de 1870 est le même tournant pour l'histoire du Monde entier d'après le programme d'enseignement de l'histoire Universelle dans les écoles de l'URSS/nous en parlerons dans un de nos articles suivants/. De cette manière l'Histoire de la Russie du commencement du XX siècle jusqu'à la révolution de 1917, justement le temps quand ce pays a montré un développement prodigieux, est omise. Les portraits de tous les révolutionnaires et anarchistes possibles, et en premier lieu de Marx et Engels, qui ne devraient de fait avoir aucun rapport avec l'Histoire Russe et n'ont jamais de leurs propres yeux même vu la Russie, occupent la place des portraits des Grands Ducs et des Tzars, d'ont abonde la première partie. De tous les Tzars Russes c'est seulement celui de Pierre le Grand qui figure. Entre autre il est intéressant à noter que les deux portraits qui chacun occupent une page entière du livre, sont ceux de C. Marcs et de F. Engels, ce qui déjà de vue montre leur supériorité à tous les géants de l'Histoire de La Russie. De même les images des temples sont remplacées par des caricatures sur la Russie Impériale, ou de tableaux représentant des exécutions des criminels, qui tous-politiques ou non, sont élevés au grade des héros nationaux.

Tout d'abord pleinement d'après la doctrine communiste l'histoire est partagée consécutivement en périodes suivantes: l'esclavage, le féodalisme, la période de la domination de la bourgeoisie, le capitalisme, l'impérialisme, qui n'est rien d'autre qu'une forme plus haute du capitalisme et enfin le communisme-socialisme, qui est la couronne de tout, qui établit pour toujours le paradis sur

la terre, mais on arrive à cette dernière période bienheureuse seulement au moyen de la révolution prolétaire communiste, suivie par l'anéantissement et l'extermination complète des classes bourgeoises-parasitaires.

Et comme en Russie il n'y avait jamais eu de féodalisme, comme le comprend la vraie science, ces "historiens" on dû le créer, car autrement il y aurait une brèche dans la doctrine de Marx-Lénine-Staline.

Mais ce n'est rien encore. D'après ce livre c'est presque incompréhensible comment est il arrivé, que dans une période de 200 ans- de puis Pierre le Grand jusqu'au commencement du 20-ème siècle- la Russie d'un état à demi asiatique et insignifiant devint un Empire qui occupait la 1/6 partie du monde entier, et qui se trouvait parmi les 4 ou 5 puissances qui dirigeaient le monde, car d'après cette histoire, outre Pierre le Grand, tous les souverains qui dirigeaient ce pays étaient des nullités, des poltrons cruels, comme Alexandre I, le vainqueur de Napoléon, des foux, comme Paul I, ou des tyrans, des adorateurs du servage, comme Alexandre II, le grand réformateur libéral et le libérateur des serfs, qui ont été affranchi avec la terre, ce qui n'a eu lieu dans aucun des grands pays de l'Europe. Lui aussi est dépeint comme une nullité, tandis que des assassins- des anarchistes révolutionnaires, prédesseurs des communistes, sont chantés comme des héros. D'après ce livre, outre Pierre le Grand et plusieurs généraux: Souvorov, Koutouzov, l'amiral Ouchakov et l'amiral Nahimov il n'y avait plus de personnages positives et doués pendant tout le cours de ces 200 de l'histoire de la Russie, car les conseillers et les assistants de ces Empereurs étaient les-mêmes que leurs maîtres. Toute l'histoire n'est rien d'autre qu'une suite d'oppressions que professaient les Tzars, la noblesse et la bourgeoisie ^{et ces Koutouzov (raisonnés riches)} Russes, envers tous les peuples de la Russie, qui ne faisaient rien d'autre que de se révolter contre cette tyrannie. Dans cette oppression des peuples, ils étaient fidèlement suivis par l'Eglise Orthodoxe Russe, qui leurs aidait de tenir dans les mains le peuple en l'imbibant de sottises superstitieuses, en le pillant et en le maltraitant...

Mais pour le bonheur du peuple Russe, et non seulement de lui, mais pour le bonheur de l'humanité, naquirent au début du XIX siècle les deux grands prophètes de l'humanité: C. Marx et F. Engels/ surtout le premier/. Ce sont eux qui donnèrent au Monde la doctrine Communiste qui doit le conquérir. En 1864 ils créèrent la I Internationale: "Le 28 septembre 1864 le grand Chef du Prolétariat Charles Marx avec les ouvriers avancés du monde entier forma l'Association Internationale des Ouvriers, ou la Première Internationale. Le but de cette association était la lutte commune des ouvriers de tous les pays pour anéantir le règne du Capital et pour introduire partout la Dictature du Prolétariat. -La libération de la classe ouvrière doit être conquise par les ouvriers eux-mêmes, -écrivait Marx dans le statut de la I Internationale. 4'-voilà ce que dit ce livre à ce propos. / "Histoire de l'URSS, 2-ème partie, Moscou, 1944, page 234-voir l'annexe N:2-photo de cette page/.

La formation de la I-ère International couronna l'oeuvre politique de Marx et Engels, qu'ils commencèrent en organisant le Parti Communiste et en publiant en 1848 à Londres le premier "Manifeste" de ce parti. D'après l'auteur "l'idée principale du Communisme scientifique consiste dans l'innévitabilité de la déposition de la bourgeoisie et l'introduction de la Dictature du Prolétariat/ibid., page 164/. Ce manifeste se terminait par le mot d'ordre: "Prolétaires de tous les pays, unissez vous."

Mais après:-seul l'auteur/ibid page 265/'le mouvement des Sociales-Démocrates eu beaucoup de succès dans tous les pays. Le mouvement professionnel et coopératif se développa et s'affermi, mais l'action du Parti des S.D. se borna de plus en plus aux élections parlementaires et à la collaboration parlementaire avec la bourgeoisie. Les Partis opportunistes de la II Internationale se prononçaient déssidément contre la Dictature du Proletariat.' 'Entre Marx et Engels d'un côté et Lénine de l'autre se trouve toute une période d'opportunisme de la II Internationale.' 'Staline.' 'Les Questions du Léninisme.' 'page 2/. Ces Partis niaient l'inévitabilité de la Révolution Sociale Mondiale et ne préchaient que des réformes. C'est pourquoi dès la fin du XIX siècle le centre de la lutte révolutionnaire du prolétariat se déplaça de l'Occident en Russie!'

'Encore aux 70-80 années/du XIX siècle/ Marx et Engels suivaient attentivement le développement de la lutte révolutionnaire en Russie... Marx et Engels espéraient que la victoire de la révolution en Russie servira de signal pour la révolution prolétaire à l'Occident.' 'ibid, page 265/.

Et voilà comment allaient d'après ce livre les affaires en Europe, et aux Etats Unis de l'Amérique: 'La période des 80-90 années fut l'époque du développement extra-rapide du capitalisme dans les pays Européens et aux Etats Unis, l'époque de la transformation du capitalisme dans sa plus haute stade-la période de l'impérialisme. Pendant ces années a lieu le partage des terres des pays encore libres entre les pays impérialistes./Ibid. Page 253/.

En même temps: 'En caractérisant la Russie tsariste, comme un réservoir immense de l'impérialisme occidental, le camarade Staline écrit que la Russie était un tel reservoir 'non seulement dans le sens qu'elle donnait chez soi un accès libre au capital étranger, qui détenait dans ses mains des branches aussi déssisivement importantes de l'économie du pays, comme le sont le combustible et la métallurgie, mais aussi dans le sens qu'elle pouvait livrer à l'impérialisme occidental des millions de soldats.' -Staline, 'Les questions du Léninisme, p.5. /Ibid, pages 253-254/.

Mais à cette époque apparaît à la scène historique le camarade Lénine/Voir annexe N:3-portrait de Lénine/qui d'un coup occupe la situation du chef des Marxistes Russes et qui d'après le camarade Staline 'réellement fit renaître le contenu révolutionnaire du Marxisme, enclôturé par les opportunistes de la II Internationale' -Staline, Les Questions du Léninisme, page 2./Ibid. page 268/.

Lénine organise plusieurs cercles révolutionnaires, dans lesquels il joint unit les intellectuels et les ouvriers et écrit son oeuvre célèbre: 'Qui sont les amis du peuple et comment luttent-ils contre les Sociales-Démocrates/1894/, 'où ~~il~~ terminent son livre part des mots suivants, qui se sont prophétiquement confirmés par la Grande Révolution socialiste d'Octobre: 'L'ouvrier Russe, en se soulevant à la tête de tous les éléments démocratiques, va précipiter l'absolutisme et le capitalisme et VA MENER LE PROLETARIAT RUSSE ET LE PROLETARIAT DU MONDE ENTIER PAR LA VOIE DROITE D'UNE LUTTE POLITIQUE OUVERTE VERS LA REVOLUTION COMMUNISTE VICTORIEUSE, -Lénine, Oeuvres, vol. I, page 200./Ibid. page 268, les lettres magéscules du passage sont données textuellement d'après le livre, ce qui montre quelle importance donne l'auteur à ce passage./

Puis suit la biographie du camarade Staline, qui est si caractéristique, que nous ne pouvons pas de ne pas donner quelques passages textuelles de cette biographie: 'A la tête de la lutte révolutionnaire du prolétariat de la Transcaucasie se trouvait depuis les 90 années/du XIX siècle/le camarade Staline.

Josif Vissarionovitch Staline/Djougachvili/naquit le 9/21 Décembre 1879 dans la ville de Gori dans une famille pauvre: son père était un ouvrier d'une fabrique de chaussure à Tiflis et sa mère une journalière. Dès son enfance le camarade Staline habitait parmi les ouvriers et les paysans Georgiens, qui luttait contre le joug tzariste et contre les capitalistes et les propriétaires georgiens. Encore étant enfant il s'indignait ~~contre~~^{de} l'exploitation monstrueuse des travailleurs et expliquait aux paysans et aux ouvriers l'état pénible de leur situation.

Le père du camarade Staline tâchait à lui donner une instruction. En 1894 J.V. Staline termina avec distinction le cours des études de l'école ecclésiastique de Gori. Là il se distinguait par ses capacités remarquables. Il assimilait profondément et solidement toutes les sciences qu'on y enseignait. Déjà alors il prit connaissance de la théorie de Darwin et devint un athée, il propagait l'athéisme et l'impie parmi ses camarades... Après avoir terminé l'école ecclésiastique de Gori, il entra au Séminaire Ecclésiastique de Tiflis. Là, déjà à l'âge de 15 ans il commença son travail révolutionnaire, en s'étant lié avec des groupes clandestins des marxistes russes de Tiflis. Etant au Séminaire, il travailla beaucoup à son éducation marxiste... Bientôt le camarade Staline devint le chef de deux cercles clandestins marxistes au Séminaire même.... En 1898 le camarade Staline prend connaissance des œuvres de Lénine et devient depuis ce temps son partisan et son élève fervant.

En 1899, d'après les propres paroles du camarade Staline, il fut "chassé" du Séminaire Ecclésiastique orthodoxe à cause de la propagande marxiste qu'il y menait. Après avoir été exclu du Séminaire il devint un révolutionnaire professionnel, en donnant toutes ses forces à la libération de la classe ouvrière.

Bientôt J.V. Staline devint le Chef de l'aile gauche, révolutionnaire des sociales-démocrates georgiens, tandis que la plus grande partie des sociales-démocrates georgiens était alors encore contre la dictature du prolétariat. Sous la direction du camarade Staline en Georgie et dans la Transcaucasie naquirent et grandirent dans la lutte implacable contre les ennemis du Marxisme-Léninisme les Organisations Bolchévistes. 4/Ibid. Pages 270-272/.

Voilà dans quelles expressions étudient actuellement les écoliers de toutes les écoles de l'URSS la biographie du camarade Staline. Le reste de sa biographie, comme de celle de Lénine appartient déjà à "L'Histoire du Partit Communiste/bolchévique/", que nous avons cité dans notre premier ouvrage et que les écoliers étudient après ce livre, tandis qu'ici leurs biographies se terminent par les mots suivants: "La Théorie de Marx-Engels fut développée et soulevée à un rang supérieur par le Grand Chef du Prolétariat Mondial V.I. Lénine et par son élève fervant et le frère d'arme de plus fidèle I.V. Staline. Lénine devint le créateur du marxisme de l'époque de l'impérialisme, le créateur du Léninisme. 4/Ibid. Page 275/.

Tout le livre est en outre pro-gaté par l'athéisme, il est plein d'attaques les plus outrageantes et contre l'Eglise Orthodoxe Russe, et contre la religion en général. Nous nous abstenons d'en donner des citations pour ne pas encombrer notre article et nous renvoyons ceux qui s'intéressent à cette question au livre même.

Nous ne savons pas naturellement ce que disait le camarade et maréchal Staline au Président Roosevelt et au Premier Churchill à Téhéran en 1943, mais nous avons devant nos yeux l'histoire qu'il fait apprendre en 1943. Régulièrement

de l'Union Soviétique. Nous pensons que des commentaires sont superflus: on y voit clairement l'esprit qui règne actuellement dans ce pays, ou plutôt que le régime actuel avec le camarade Staline à la tête se force d'y propager, et la voie dans laquelle il veut entraîner toute la jeunesse Russe, ainsi que des autres peuples et de l'URSS et du Monde Entier.

A. Karpatsky.

Istanbul.

Le 1 Septembre 1944.

Nous venons de recevoir récemment des informations suivantes de l'URSS.

I. Une grande méfiance envers les Alliés, surtout envers les Anglais, régnait parmi les cercles dirigeants du Parti Communiste. C'est pourquoi on y tâche à tout prix d'empêcher le contacte des Anglo-Américains avec les groupes de la population qui ne peuvent être contrôlés en pleine mesure par les organes secrets de l'NKVD. On a de plus une grande méfiance envers les "capitalistes". On suspecte les Démocraties dans l'intention d'organiser un coup d'état dans le futur, ce qui donnerait au capital étranger la possibilité de "travailler tranquillement en Russie", et de fait "d'exploiter d'une manière pillarde et coloniale" les richesses immenses du pays. C'est pourquoi une agitation clandestine est déjà organisée parmi les masses de la population de l'URSS.

II. Cette situation a comme suite l'effort que fait l'URSS d'éviter à tout prix des engagements sérieux avec les Démocraties, qui pourraient lui lier les mains dans le futur. Dans le cas où il n'est pas possible d'éviter un engagement quelconque, on a toujours en vue de le rédiger d'une telle manière, que l'URSS puisse sans trop se blâmer sortir de cet engagement.

III. En fait de la politique étrangère l'URSS, d'après les Directives du Politburo et de la Kominterne va tâcher de s'emparer de tout ce qui sera possible et d'on l'accapitation ne va pas promulguer un conflit trop égué avec les Démocraties. En tout cas l'URSS va exiger irrévocablement que le Parti Communiste soit légalisé partout en Europe. Par l'intermédiaire de ces Partis l'URSS veut se créer des "têtes de pont" et conquérir, au moyen d'une propagande habile les sympathies des masses populaires des pays, ainsi que de se lier les masses mécontentes des pays vaincus, et des éléments mécontents des pays vainqueurs. Les Soviètes escomptent d'avance la possibilité d'un mécontentement parmi les masses démobilisées chez les Démocraties, masses qui ont perdu le goût du travail, comme ça a été en Angleterre après la première guerre Mondiale, et qui auront des grandes ambitions morales et matérielles, ambitions qui seront rechauffées par la propagande communiste et que les Gouvernements bourgeois et capitalistes des démocraties ne seront pas en état de satisfaire.

IV. Pour l'occupation des pays européens, l'Allemagne y compris, une "Armée Spéciale" qui n'a pas encore pris part aux combats, est préparée. Cette armée est formée d'éléments particulièrement sûrs du point de vue soviétique, et est fortement imbibée par le "Komsomol". Les buts de la formation d'une telle armée sont: tout d'abord la propagande communiste parmi la population des pays sous l'occupation, et puis la crainte que si les éléments soviétiques peu-sûrs entrent en contact avec la vie des pays bourgeois, même les traces de cette vie malgré toutes les destructions de la guerre, comparées avec la vie des citoyens ordinaires du pays des Soviètes à la maison, va être très défavorable au régime soviétique.

V. Les Hauts Cercles soviétiques se rendent bien compte du mécontentement qui avait lieu chez eux parmi les masses du peuple, et qui s'est manifesté si clairement pendant la première année de la guerre: les millions des prisonniers qui se rendirent aux Allemands tant que la guerre n'avait pas encore obtenu un caractère national. C'est pourquoi, dès à présent ils prennent des mesures pour assurer les citoyens soviétiques, que les conditions économiques de la vie vont être beaucoup améliorées après la guerre. "V udarnom porjadke" dans un tempo accéléré, ils assurent que tous les défauts de la vie économique des citoyens de l'URSS étaient causés par la politique clairevoyante du Chef, qui prévoyait l'invasion bourgeoise contre le pays "des prolétaires", et qui a dû donc faire dépenser tous les moyens et toutes les forces du pays à la création d'un appareil militaire parfait et d'une grande industrie militaire qui fait qu'actuellement le pays des Soviètes est tout à fait indépendant des pays capitalistes. D'autre part une propagande d'un nouveau Plan Quinquennaire de l'Amélioration Accélérée de la Vie Economique des citoyens soviétiques est déjà en train.

VI. Staline est gravement malade d'une angine pectorale. Quoiqu'il ne veut pas écouter les conseils des médecins qui lui prescrivent un repos complet, il ne peut plus travailler si assidument comme il le faisait jadis. C'est pourquoi on vient de choisir deux "troïka"/de groupes de trois personnes chacune. Le premier - pour lui aider dans toutes les affaires non-militaires - se compose de Chitcherbakov, de Ivanov et de Lazar Kaganovitch, et le second - pour les affaires militaires - des maréchaux: Joukov, Vassilevsky et Golikov/ou Golovanov/. Actuellement il est encore très difficile de dire qui va remplacer Staline dans le cas de sa mort.

VII. La disposition de l'Armée Rouge, sans y compter l'Armée Spéciale et les éléments communistes, dont le nombre est fort restreint, est nationaliste en masse, et purement anti-communiste. Le corps des officiers se passionne de tous les insignes extérieurs/grades, épolètes, uniformes, décorations, subordination e.t.c./, qui étaient si longtemps défendues. De même il s'enivre par sa situation privilégiée plus qu'elle n'était dans l'ancienne Armée Impériale. Les soldats chantent beaucoup d'anciens chansons militaires, ainsi que de nouveaux, dont le contenu est purement nationaliste. Des dispositions pareilles ne peuvent pas être laissées.

de traces. On peut marquer aussi un grand antisémitisme qui commence à se manifester dans l'Etat Major Supérieur entre "les marchaux communistes" Timochenko, Vorochilov, Boudenny et c. et les véritables marchaux militaires Joukov, Vassilevsky, Voronov, Konev, Rokossovsky, Govorov et c. Les Commandants Militaires et par ses rancunes avec le Parti, et par d'autres faits voit, qu'il ne seront pas en état de conserver leur situation indépendante après la guerre, et qu'ils risquent même de se trouver parmi le groupe des "indésirables", surtout parce que beaucoup d'eux n'appartiennent pas par leur origine aux classes des paysans et des ouvriers. En attendant Staline, qui est beaucoup plus sage que Hitler, laisse faire ses marchaux militaires, et actuellement tout le front se trouve de fait dans les mains des marchaux Joukov et Vassilevsky.

VIII. Actuellement on lance du Haut dans l'armée le mot d'ordre d'épargner le matériel humain. On veut que les Alliés épuisent aussi dans la mesure du possible les forces. On espère que dans tous les cas et dans toutes les situations, en agissant "de l'intérieur" on aura toujours la possibilité d'avoir une influence prépondérante en Allemagne. Le Politburo a sûrement aussi d'autres calculs et d'autres méthodes à sa disposition, car la voie de la communication immédiate n'est pas actuellement obligatoire pour l'Allemagne. Un fait très intéressant: parmi les généraux allemands capturés il y en a plusieurs, qui jouissent d'une liberté complète à Moscou. Ensuite on continue à former des troupes allemandes des prisonniers de guerre Allemands, et ces formations ont atteint un chiffre imposant actuellement. On est parfaitement informé de la situation intérieure de l'Allemagne, peut-être mieux que ne le sont les Allemands eux-mêmes.

IX. Les mots d'ordre qu'on a donné au Parti Communiste Allemand, contiennent entre autres: des affirmations, que les Soviètes viennent en Allemagne comme les amis du peuple Allemand. Ils luttent uniquement contre Hitler, son entourage et les fascistes que le peuple Allemand déteste aussi. Ils ne détruisent pas des villes en Allemagne et n'y tuent pas les femmes et les enfants, comme le font les autres. Après la guerre ils n'ont pas du tout l'intention de suser et exploiter l'Allemagne et le peuple Allemand, comme le feront les "capitalistes", mais tout au contraire ils sont prêts à donner à l'Allemagne non-hitlérienne une place honorable qui lui revient de droit.

Le résultat d'une pareille propagande s'est fait déjà sentir par la campagne de cet été, quand au prix des pertes relativement insignifiantes les Soviètes ont obtenu un succès éclatant sur le front. Aussi c'est grâce à elle, que non seulement des soldats Allemands, mais même des officiers se rendaient facilement et en grand nombre aux troupes du maréchal Staline.

X. Les Soviètes ont actuellement plus de 15 millions d'hommes sous les armes, dont près de 6 millions plus de 400 divisions et des différentes troupes auxiliaires se trouvent sur le front Occidental.

XI. Même dans le cas où à Téhéran une promesse a été faite, c'est tout à fait invraisemblable qu'après la défaite de l'Allemagne les Soviètes entrent dans une collision avec le Japon. Ils veulent mener en Asie une politique tout à fait indépendante de leurs alliés Anglo-Saxons.

XII. Les Soviètes estiment qu'ils ont aux Balkans deux points d'appui sérieux: les Bulgars et les Croates.

Malgré tout ce qui s'est passé en Bulgarie ils comptent les Bulgars d'être les leurs. Ils ont là un grand nombre d'agents, qui les informent en détail de la situation et de la mentalité des masses. D'autre part les communistes Bulgars, qui sont en grand nombre à des places distinguées dans l'URSS, ont persuadé les dirigeants Soviétiques, que les Bulgars sont un "peuple de masse", non individualiste et se soumettant facilement à la discipline-toutes ces qualités sont hautement appréciées par les dirigeants communistes.

En Yougoslavie se sont les Croates qui sont préféré des cercles dirigeants communistes. Les causes de la préférence des Croates aux Serbes sont: D'après eux les Serbes sont des individualistes, qui se soumettent difficilement à la discipline, et les Croates "un peuple de masses", facile à dompter comme les Bulgars. Le peuple Serbe est paysan et patriarcal, tandis que les Croates ont une industrie développée, et par suite une classe ouvrière plus grande, ce qui est aussi très important du point de vue de Moscou. Enfin les intellectuels Serbes sont pour la plus part des démocrates, projetés par la culture Française et grand sympathiseurs des institutions Anglaises, tandis que les intellectuels Croates sont des disciples de la culture Allemande et de ce fait hostils aux Anglais, d'autre part à cause de ça ils peuvent plus facilement assimiler la philosophie allemande de Marx, qui les prépare au Léninisme. La dynastie Serbe est considérée d'être tout à fait anglophile, et beaucoup de Serbes lui sont dévoués. Les Soviètes n'ont pas actuellement une très grande confiance dans la personnalité du "maréchal Tito", mais ils ont près de lui un appareil qui peut l'éliminer à tout moment sans que ce fait soit suivi de la moindre répercussion.

A. Karpatsky.

29. VIII, 1944,
Istanbul.

~~SECRET~~
SECRET

ENCLOSURE A
BRIEF OF EXHIBIT A -

Karpatsky's article on a
speech by Stalin

On 19 August, 1939, Stalin, addressing the politburo (policy-making organ of the Soviet Government) stated that the pact offered to the U.S.S.R. by the Germans must be accepted, that it was to Soviet interest that war should start, and that the Russians should do everything to prolong it (though remaining neutral) with a view to exhaustion and destruction of belligerents. Meanwhile he offered a plan of peaceful penetration in Northern and Eastern Europe and, eventually, of fomenting and supporting revolution among the masses in the exhausted belligerent countries.

Just before the German attack on Russia in June 1941, Stalin still expected to be able to follow this plan, coming into the war only in 1942 when he believed the belligerents would be exhausted. Even today, his ideas of world revolution are the same as they always have been, in spite of the expedient mask he wears before the great democracies. His whole history shows his undeviating devotion to this cause, and his disregard of human life in the pursuit of his objectives.

ENCLOSURE A
BRIEF OF EXHIBIT B -

"The Soviet Foreign Policy" by
Karpatsky

If Stalin had not concluded his pact with Hitler in 1939, but had, instead, made with France and England the pact they sought, Germany would not have attacked Poland and World War would have been avoided. Stalin, therefore, shares Hitler's war guilt, as does the Communist Party which he controls. Stalin and communist leaders promoted the war with a view to fomenting communist uprising and, later, world revolution. He wished to prolong the war and expand to the South and West as the democracies grew weaker, getting control of the Baltic States, Finland, the Central European and Balkan countries, and the Turkish Straits. Then the Red Army would enter the Western countries as liberators on the heels of a proletarian revolution.

The attack on Russia in June 1941 forced him to conceal his intentions to win the confidence of his new allies; but he expected to return as soon as possible to his original plan.

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Communism has not, as some believe, become merely a screen for the old Imperialistic Russian policy. Czarist Russia, and even the Pan-Slavists never contemplated so great an expansion, being limited at the most to the Slavic countries and the Turkish Straits. Stalin and the Politburo, on the other hand, allied with the communists the world over, seek world domination of communism, even if this should conflict with interests of U.S.S.R. That these interests should occasionally coincide with those of Czarist Russia is purely fortuitous.

Although the actual terms are not available, there is no doubt that the 1939 pact with Germany contained clauses regarding territorial concessions to Russia. A friend of the writer has seen a map in the foreign office of the Nazi party in Berlin, showing the partition of Poland as it actually came about a few months later. It was also learned that the U.S.S.R. was negotiating with Germany and Turkey at the same time that she was conferring with the democracies. When war came Germany made no objections to the Russian attack on Finland, or her occupation of the Baltic States, Bessarabia and Bukovina.

Another friend of the writer, in the summer of 1940, saw, at the house of Zaharov, a Comintern agent in the Balkans, a map with lines of demarcation, giving the U.S.S.R. domination over Finland, part of Norway, the Baltics, Eastern Poland, Bessarabia, Bukovina and the northern part of Turkey. The Balkans were also divided up into Soviet republics (a rough copy of this map is attached). The agent explained the map, adding that Italy was to receive temporary cession of certain lands in Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. A map of Turkey showing the same line was seen two months later in possession of the Italian consul general at Istanbul, by the Yugoslav consul general (now minister at Cairo). Similar territorial arrangements are mentioned in September 1940 in a letter published by the Yugoslav "Zbor" movement, from its agent in the U.S.S.R.

It is thus evident that until 1941 Hitler contemplated no attack on the Soviets, or at least not until after the defeat of the western powers. It was only after his conference with Molotov early in 1941 that Hitler saw that his policy of appeasement or deception of the Soviets would not be realized, and his route to the Near East would be cut off. He then decided on an immediate attack on Russia. Russia had, meanwhile, continued to try to obtain her concessions by amicable agreements with Germany.

The early German successes in Russia were the result of the prevalent belief among the people that Hitler would free them from communism. Stalin therefore made concessions to religion and started nationalistic propaganda, and pursued a conciliatory policy with his new allies. When the Russian people finally understood that Hitler would destroy them, and resistance stiffened, however, Stalin returned

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to communist policy.

Present foreign policy shows a complete return to the views of 1939. Her treaty with the exile government of Norway (but not with Belgium or the Netherlands) shows her interest in that direction. The early offer of a generous peace with Finland was a feint to win away the United States. Any peace now arranged with Mannerheim's conservative government will be arranged so as to allow a later occupation of the country without protest of influential groups. The Baltic States are finished. In Poland they desire not further territorial concessions, but a sympathetic government, so that they can eventually annex the whole country as a Soviet republic. To Czechoslovakia they have even granted Sub-Carpathian Russia, as they are sure Benes will be favorable to their plans. In Bulgaria and Rumania there are many communists ripe for revolution, and the "correct" behavior of the Russians in Moldavia has made neighboring people friendly to the Soviets. In Yugoslavia, they have forced the Allied disavowal of Mihailovitch and acceptance of the Soviet protege, Tito. Tito's announced plan for the federated republics of Yugoslavia coincides geographically with the Soviet map mentioned above, except for Slovenia, which the map ceded to Italy. His promise of a democratic regime is only words; Stalin considers Russia a "democracy". Threatening broadcasts indicate the attitude toward Turkey. For Germany, formation of the basically communist National German Committee of Moscow shows present policy, promising honorable peace without the unconditional surrender demanded by the U.S. and Britain.

In the Arab countries, their propaganda is active and successful: in Iran, by exemplary conduct and separate arrangements with the Shah, they are seeking to gain a foothold and push out the other allies. By keeping his people under arms and in factories, he hopes to gain an advantage over U.S. and Britain, who will be sure to demobilize after the war. Meanwhile, he counts on certain leftist elements in both countries, including even Trotskyites who pretend to oppose him.

The writer would be glad to submit further proof of his contentions, wishing to help save the world from imminent danger.

ENCLOSURE A
BRIEF OF EXHIBIT C -

Soviet Foreign Policy in the Near Future

Two possibilities concerning post-war policy of the U.S.S.R. are
(1) that she will be so weakened by war that she can only cooperate

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with U.S. and Britain; (2) that, with her industry quickly rebuilt, her policy will be independent and aggressive. Of these the second is the more probable, as she can exploit not only her own manpower but also that of Germany and other occupied countries, and perhaps China. Her ability in propaganda and diplomatic manoeuvring furthers this probability. Russia is paradoxically most successful diplomatically when she is weakest materially. The explanation is that when strong, she, naturally, breeds mistrust and fear in her neighbors. When weak she makes concessions, real or apparent. This can be seen in her history, both before and after the revolution. There is still the possibility of an understanding with Germany. Russia will attack Japan only when Japan is already beaten by the other powers. In the meanwhile she will be - and is - engaged in winning over the Middle East. She continues her international underground activities, in spite of the dissolution of the Comintern, which won her many friends.

The Straits are not as important to Russia as formerly and the Caspian-Persian bridge has gained in importance, but she will probably seek de facto control by peaceful pressure on Turkey.

Russia is trying to appease suspicion by posing as a vast market for industrial goods. This she has exaggerated, and she will use her orders for goods as a means of breeding dissension and rivalry between the U.S. and Great Britain.

ENCLOSURE A
BRIEF OF EXHIBIT D -

The "Volte-face" in Rumania

The Rumanian about-face was not entirely unexpected. By October 1942 there was an organization in Rumania ready to break with Germany as soon as possible. In the spring of 1943 the "Front of Free Rumania" was composed of a number of groups, including communists. They were tolerated by the government and had representatives abroad. They wanted to be sure they could negotiate with Britain and U.S. as well as Russia, although pleased by the Soviet's friendly attitude and the promised return of Transylvania.

Hitler knew of this organization and, as a result of his threats and promises, Antonescu, though not deeply impressed, decided to

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persuade the opposition to wait. However, events decided the Rumanians to act in any case.

The change-over was well organized and had cooperation of the army, the king, and even Antonescu himself. The army, with Russian help, should quickly dispose of the Germans. General amnesty was declared, and concentration camps abolished. Recovery of Transylvania would give the government full popular support. It is doubtful whether Hungary would support the Germans in that area.

ENCLOSURE B
BRIEF OF EXHIBIT A -

The Conquest of the World and the History of the Soviet Union

The policy and objectives of the Soviet Union are exactly what they were before the war, although a strong nationalist movement exists among the people and in the army. Russian military success, however, has strengthened the communists in their obsession concerning a world proletarian revolution. It is reported that the Politburo of the party has appointed a group which has studied and made a report on plans of world conquest. Findings in this report are:

Space and time elements rendered world conquest practically impossible till the twentieth century, but recent developments in weapons and communications have changed the situation. Hitler showed that huge areas could now be held by small forces, but his failure was due largely to the nationalist principle on which he operated. On an internationalistic basis, such a conquest is quite possible. Two commissions are now reported at work on the military, political and economic aspects of this problem.

We have recently received a "History of the Soviet Union", Part 2 (3 pages attached and briefed elsewhere) published by the government in 1944 for use in the ninth grade of intermediate schools. This covers the period from Peter the Great to the revolution. Part 1, issued in 1940, and now in possession of the writer, covers the period preceding the new volume, and Part 3 (previously analyzed by the writer) covers the revolutionary period. These three volumes are the basis of history teaching in all Soviet schools. Part 1, issued when nationalism was being encouraged, takes a strongly nationalistic view of Russian history. Now, however, the official view has changed, and Part 2 reflects this change. Although the authors are the same, only revolutionary

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heroes are honored, and Marx and Engels take a prominent place. History, as now taught in the Soviet Union, shows three periods: slavery, feudalism and communism, ~~and~~ socialism. The last a "paradise on earth" which can be attained only when the "bourgeois-parasite" class is destroyed. The fact is, though, that Russia never had feudalism. It is incredible that Russia was able to develop as she did in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, if, as this history text asserts, Peter the Great and a few military leaders were the only able figures in the government through this long period. The stress is all on Czarist and Church oppression and proletarian revolt. The story of Marx, Engels, and the development of communism are treated in detail, and attention is given to foreign exploitation of Russian resources. The "opportunism" of the Second International, followed by the biography and work of Lenin are also included, and his words quoted concerning the eventual world communist revolution. There follows a very flattering account of Stalin's early life and revolutionary activity. There are violent attacks on the Russian orthodoxy throughout. These are the thoughts that the communists are now instilling into Russian youth.

ENCLOSURE B
BRIEF OF EXHIBIT B -

Recent Reports from the Soviet Union

Great distrust of Anglo-Americans causes the Soviet government to prevent them from uncontrolled contacts with the people. Suspicions of capitalist desire to exploit Russian resources makes the Russians anxious to avoid binding agreements, and to leave "loop-holes" in whatever treaties they do make. As for foreign policy, Russia will grab all she can without arousing the democracies, and will demand legalization of the communist party everywhere, as bridgeheads for encouraging unrest in the demobilized democracies. A thoroughly communistic army is being prepared for the occupation of Germany and other European countries, which will indoctrinate the people of those countries and be impervious to bourgeois influence.

To offset Russian popular dissatisfaction with living conditions many improvements are promised and a new 5-year plan projected.

Stalin is seriously ill with angina pectoris, and has appointed two groups to help him - one, non-military, including Chicherbakov, Idanov, and Kaganovitch, and - one, military, including Joukov, Vassilevsky, and Golikov (or Golovanov). It is not known who would replace Stalin if he died.

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The army is in general nationalist, anti-communist, and pleased with its raised status. There is evidence of antagonism between "communist marshalls" and the "military marshalls", the latter expecting to lose status after the war. However, Stalin has given full authority to "military marshalls", especially Joukov and Vassilevsky.

The present policy is to save manpower, leaving the other allies to exhaust themselves. They are working on Germany, not with projects of immediate communism, but by organizing prisoners and promising more generous treatment than the capitalist countries will show. Mass surrenders by groups of Germans already show success of this policy.

The Soviets have no intention of breaking with Japan after German defeat.

In the Balkans they depend chiefly on the Croats and Bulgarians, whom they consider "mass-minded", as opposed to the individualist Serbs. They consider Tito merely as a tool to be eliminated when they will.

ENCLOSURE A
BRIEF OF EXHIBIT B -
Annex 1, 2, and 3

Three Pages from "History of the USSR"
Textbook for Ninth Grade of Intermediate Schools

In 1864 Karl Marx formed the First Internationale to promote the fight of workers against capitalist domination and to establish dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1870 Russian revolutionists asked Karl Marx to represent Russia in the General Council of the Internationale. He accepted, stressing importance of the overthrow of Tsarism.

Russian National Revolutionists (populists) considered the proletarians of secondary importance, relying chiefly on peasants and intelligentsia. But the workers fought, by strikes, through the sixties and seventies, and from their ranks came the first revolutionaries.

The execution of A. I. Oolianoff for organizing the attempt on the life of Alexander III showed Lenin, his brother, the

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damage done by Terrorism. He had already been arrested and exiled for student agitation. He studied Marxism intensively, and in 1894 published his attack on the populists, and came out for an alliance of proletarians and peasants.

~~ENCLOSURE 3-4~~
~~BRIEF OF EXHIBIT B~~
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Pages from "Zbor"
A Yugo-Slav Popular Movement Publication

The name and emblem of the Soviet Union proclaims its internationalism, and the unique world-wide character of the state. The emblem also shows the worker-peasant emphasis. The foreign policy is Marxist, and involves world revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat. According to the Lenin-Stalin doctrine, it is the duty of the Soviets to further this revolution. Stalin, in August 1939, declared that it was to Soviet interest that war break out, and that it be as long as possible. "To this end," he said, "the German pact must be accepted."

The Soviets plan to turn Finland, (with a part of Norway) Rumania, an expanded Bulgaria, and Turkey into Socialist Soviet Republics. She also intends to take the Straits and much other territory from Turkey, communize Hungary, and absorb Carpathian Russia into the Ukraine. Yugoslavia will be communized and partitioned; Albania and Greece, also, turned to Socialist Soviet Republics.

How many of these plans have German approval is not known, but concurrence of the Germans is believed to extend only to the cases of Finland and Norway, with an agreement for internationalization of the Straits.

(Letters of Ljotich to Prince Paul)

P. 36

Your Royal Highness must act on what I now write; otherwise, the blow from outside will fall. A friend of the writer has seen a map in a Soviet agency (there follows another description of the map previously described in these reports). This shows the policy of Italy and the Soviets.

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Source: Report by A. Karpatsky.
Istanbul, 18 August 1944.

THE SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

It is an undeniable fact that if Hitler desired war by which he hoped to acquire new territory for Germany and even dominate the entire world he was able to begin this war only after Stalin had enabled him to do so by concluding a pact with him at Moscow in August 1939. And Stalin did this intentionally at the very moment when everything depended on him. If, on the contrary, he had concluded a pact with the democracies, the British and the French, whose missions were in Moscow at that very time, waiting from day to day for the completion of an agreement with their countries, the German attack on Poland, which occurred only two weeks after the Soviet-German pact became effective, would not have been made and the entire world would have been spared the horrors of a war that is still raging after five years. Crafty as he is, Hitler would never have dared to take the offensive, knowing from the very start that he would be opposed by the combined forces of Great Britain, France and the U.S.S.R., with the United States in reserve, and that he could not be certain then of the immediate collaboration of Japan or even of Italy.

Therefore, if Hitler is undeniably the leading actor and criminal of this war, it is Stalin who is secretly its inciter and instigator and due to this fact he is no less guilty than Hitler himself. The Communist Party, directed by Stalin, is also responsible, because he has made himself the dictator of the Russian people, like the Nazis, who govern the German people dictatorially.

Incidentally, the Communists (2 1/2 millions out of a population of 200 millions) were proportionately less numerous in Russia than the Nazis in Germany.

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But what was the object of Stalin and the leaders of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. in pushing Hitler and Germany into a war which, according to their calculations, would inevitably become a second world war? We have tried to explain in our preceding article that according to Stalin's own utterances this second world war would inevitably be followed by a world communist revolution, at least by communist uprisings in a number of countries /see J. Stalin: The Problems of Leninism, pages 570-572/, and that these events would greatly strengthen the Soviet Union,^{weaken} the capitalist nations and hasten the general revolution.

We have also seen how Comrade Stalin, in order to persuade his colleagues of the Politburo (Political Office) of the Communist Party to accept the pact with Hitler Germany, on 15 August 1939, spoke to them as follows (quoted verbatim): "I repeat again that it is to our interest that the war should begin. To us the most important thing is that the war must last a long time, so that the two belligerent groups will be exhausted and completely annihilated. For that reason we must accept the pact which Germany offers us and make every effort to prolong the war as much as possible". Then, with a view to the gradual annihilation of the belligerent countries, he outlined a program of strategy for the Politburo, which was to be gradually carried out by the U.S.S.R., according as the annihilation of the belligerent countries progressed and the Soviets (who were to remain neutral, as he had planned) became stronger and stronger in consequence. According to this plan, the Soviets, as the bearers of Communism, would push as far westward as possible. They would gradually get control of the Baltic States and Finland (let us not forget that their first blow was directed against the latter nation) and finally of the Scandinavian countries. Norway had a very strong Communist Party about this time.

This was his program for Northern Europe. In Central Europe he advocated the gradual occupation of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary and in Southern Europe he wished to take over Rumania and the Balkan States in easy stages and occupy the Turkish Straits "peacefully". He proposed that the U.S.S.R., having entered into an agreement with Germany while remaining officially neutral, should assist the weaker side, in order to prolong the war, so that the capitalist and fascist nations would be bled white and the masses in those countries would become discontented. Thus the foundation for the world revolution would be laid. That would be the time to start revolutions and the armed forces of the U.S.S.R., based on the new territories mentioned above, could enter France, England, Italy and Germany as liberators (see page 12 of his discourse).

This was the plan for the Pan-European Communist Revolution, as outlined by Comrade Stalin to his colleagues of the Politburo, to convince them of the necessity of concluding the pact with Nazi Germany. We shall see later what territorial concessions Germany made to the Soviets at that time. But what is still more remarkable: On account of Germany's sudden attack on the U.S.S.R. in the summer of 1941, Comrade Stalin, in order to win the confidence of the British and Americans, was compelled to conceal his real intentions for the time being and even had one of his subordinates sign the Atlantic Charter which, incidentally (speaking confidentially), is very favorable to his plans. However, he expected to return to his original program as soon as his position had improved.

It would not be inappropriate here to say a few words to those who believe that communism no longer exists in Russia and that ^{it} only serves as a screen to hide the old imperialistic policy of Russia, to which the U.S.S.R. has reverted by the force of circumstance, just as she was compelled to return to Russian nationalism as a

domestic policy. In our previous article we had already shown that there is really no such domestic policy and we have since received still stronger evidence of this from the U.S.S.R. which we reserve the right to reveal in another article. Therefore, we shall speak only of the foreign policy of Stalin and his Politburo in this article.

The Stalin program mentioned above plans to include all of Europe ultimately. According to the Lenin-Stalin theory, that continent will become a single Soviet State. Although czarist Russia was a large and very powerful country, its foreign policy was infinitely less ambitious. This policy was dictated by the national and economic interests of the country, as interpreted by its rulers, with more or less accuracy of judgment, but it had never aimed at uniting with Russia not only the whole world but also one of the great powers in Europe.

The most fanatical of the Pan-Slavists (the most imperialistic group, if we may call it so) dreamed of a Pan-Slavic Union which, even according to their plans, would consist of independent states under the protective patronage of Russia, the only really great and strong Slavic State. The only Slavs outside the frontiers of Russia were small national groups, such as the two Polish provinces in Germany, the Russians in Western Galicia and Subcarpathian Russia, the Poles in Western Galicia, the Serbs in Vojvodina and Bosnia, the Croats in Croatia and Slavonia, the Slovenes in Slovenia, the Czechs in Czecho-Moravia and the Slovaks in Slovakia, all included in Austria-Hungary; and then the three small Balkan kingdoms, Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro. And that was all. Furthermore, as we have already stated, all of these small national groups, except those in Western Galicia and Subcarpathian Russia, would not be united with Russia but would form independent states or /become part of the ethnographically/ Polish provinces of Russia which it was proposed to separate from

that country.

Other influential groups went still further. They advocated getting rid of the purely Polish provinces of Russia and receiving Western Galicia and Subcarpathian Russia in exchange, because these regions are ethnographically Russian.

Such were the national aims of Russia. Her economic aims were confined to the necessity for such a large country as Russia to secure free access to warm southern seas. For that purpose, it was desired to acquire the Turkish straits, including Constantinople, for which Russia also had a hankering from purely religious and idealistic motives, or advance to the Persian Gulf and secure a port directly on the ocean. It was also proposed to protect the Christian Armenians from being massacred by the Turks and (especially) the Kurds, by annexing the Armenian vilayets of Turkey to Russian Armenia.

All Russian plans for expansion in the direction of British India were fantastic hallucinations, invented by the enemies of Russia to embroil that country with Great Britain. The Bolsheviks have published all the secret documents of Russian diplomacy and, as was to be expected, no such plans came to light.

Such were really the more than modest pretensions of the Empire of the Czars. Thus far we have only considered the European program of Comrade Stalin and his party and we can see how much it differs from that of Russia. Powerful as she was, she could not even dream of entertaining such plans. She already had a large non-Russian population within her borders and did not wish to weaken herself still more by annexing large territories with foreign populations. Besides, her forces, strong as they were, would never have been sufficient for the conquest of Europe, much less of the world.

But it is an entirely different matter with the Soviet Union. First of all, the

Communist Party and Stalin, who has set up a dictatorship without parallel in history, are the representatives of an international doctrine the definite purpose of which is to build up a new Communist World everywhere on the globe on the debris of the Capitalist and Imperialist World which must be completely destroyed by proletarian revolutions like the Russian revolution. Secondly, Stalin and the Communist Party have allies throughout the whole world. These allies are the communists, who are more or less numerous in every country on the globe and who, in accordance with instructions received from Moscow, work for the destruction of their national governments. That is why Stalin, whose policy is identical with that of the Politburo, has ambitions which old Russia would never have had the temerity to cherish and which, with few exceptions, conflict with her national interests. In their eagerness to grab the whole world (by degrees or all at once, which is another matter) Stalin and the Communist Party do not even consider whether this policy would or would not be profitable to the people of the U.S.S.R. and the victims whom they must support /?/. They consider only whether this or that plan is feasible at the moment. If it is, they push it at all costs until their aims are achieved. In this respect they are great realists as Mr. Davies has correctly stated in his book: "Mission to Moscow".

There are a few points in which Stalin's policy agrees with that of old Russia, but it is not because trends existed in czarist Russia but because the ideas of Marx or Lenin are the same in those cases. We can prove this by a very recent example. We have already stated that Russia, or rather certain Russian political groups, are advocating the seizure of the Turkish straits in order to have free access to the Mediterranean. Toward the close of the 19th century the most prominent representative of these groups was the celebrated Russian writer and philosopher, Dostoyevski. He is justly considered a reactionary by the Soviets (see History of the U.S.S.R.,

Part II, textbook for the intermediate schools, approved by the Commissariat of Public Instruction; printing: 100,000 copies, page 244). But while this writer spread his ideas in his famous "Writers' Journal", a work which the Bolsheviks prohibited in Russia because it was considered reactionary, the Russian Government never had any idea of including such concepts in any school book. And that is why we find the following statement on page 164 of this Soviet textbook: "This traditional policy of czarist Russia (that is, the acquisition of the Straits), was, as stressed by Engels, dictated by her historical past, her geographical conditions and the necessity of having an open door to the Archipelago". (See the Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. IX, page 439). Therefore, since the thesis was approved by Marx and Engels it must be correct and should not only be accepted, but propounded to the entire population, including the children.

There is no doubt that besides the official pact there were secret clauses, which guaranteed to the U.S.S.R. of territorial compensations for its neutrality in the conflict between Germany and the democracies. Naturally, we do not have the original text of these clauses and we do not know whether they will ever be disclosed. Germany cannot do so because it would reveal how she double-crossed Turkey, which she sacrificed to the U.S.S.R. and Italy, and the Soviets are not under any such necessity. But we have other information which proves the existence of such an agreement and which confirms that, by this agreement and other concessions which he hoped to obtain as Germany reached a stage of exhaustion, Stalin was carrying out precisely the program he had submitted to the Politburo on the memorable night of July 15, 1939.

First of all, during the latter part of July 1939, one of our friends saw with his own eyes the map showing the proposed division of Poland between Germany and the

U.S.S.R. in one of the secret sections of the "Ausseant" (Foreign Office) of the National Socialist Party on the Margaritenstrasse, Berlin. This map showed exactly the frontiers which were fixed several months later. Moreover, our friend also learned that the U.S.S.R. was negotiating with Germany and Turkey at Berlin at the same time that she was holding conferences with the democracies at Moscow. We know that a nation friendly to the democracies had been apprised of this fact.

Then came the war and the occupation of Poland by the Germans and the Russians. The end of the war between the U.S.S.R. and Finland, in which Germany remained a spectator, was followed by the occupation of the Baltic States, against which Germany did not protest, and then by the seizure of Bessarabia and the Bukovina. Again there was also no protest from the Germans, who merely proceeded to occupy the rest of Rumania. It is obvious that all these events were in accordance with Stalin's program.

Furthermore, in the summer of 1940, shortly after the French debacle, one of our friends, in whom we have the utmost confidence, saw a map of Eastern Europe and Turkey at the home of the agent of the Comintern for the Balkan States, a Bulgarian whom he had known under the name of Zaharov at Istanbul. The Comintern agency for the Balkan States, which had been located at Vienna and later at Prague, was transferred to Istanbul when those cities were occupied by the Germans. Zaharov had shown him this map during a politico-geographical discussion because no other map was available. My friend had this map in his hands for only a very short time and when he asked questions about it, Zaharov suddenly realized what he had done and hid the map. But even so my friend had time to see that there were lines of demarcation on this map, a heavy solid line and dotted lines.

The solid line began north of Norway between the ports of Tromso (?) and Narvik; then it followed the western frontiers of Finland, the western frontiers of the

Baltic States, and then the frontier fixed for Poland in 1939 between Germany and the U.S.S.R.; thence along the Soviet-Hungarian and Soviet-Rumanian boundary, leaving the Bukovina and Bessarabia in Soviet territory. From here the boundary passed through the line Midia-Enos in Turkey in Europe, through Anatolia including the Straits. At the latter point, beginning near the town of Pergama, the line followed a horizontal direction as far as the Kizil Irmak River and thence it took a more or less sinuous course up to the point where the frontiers of Turkey, Iraq and Iran meet. See Appendix No. 1.

The dotted line included nearly all of the Balkan peninsula, the rest of Rumania, except Transylvania (which that country was forced to cede to Hungary), Yugoslavia, except northern Vojvodina, Slovenia and northern Dalmatia, Bulgaria, the part of the Greek territory between the Struma and the Turkish frontier and Turkish territory up to the line Midia-Enos.

The Balkan peninsula within the dotted line, as well as the Turkish frontier, included within the solid line, were divided into several parts by small dotted lines with the following names: 1. Rumanian Moldavia was marked "Moldavskaya S. Rep." (Socialist or Soviet /?/ Moldavian Republic). This name extended into northern Bessarabia across the solid line to indicate that all this territory was included in one republic; 2. The rest of Rumania, minus a large part of the Dobrudja constituted the S. Republic of Wallachia; 3. Serbia with her 1913 frontiers, including Vojvodina (partitioned and reduced on the south), formed the S. Republic of Serbia; 4. Croatia and Slavonia formed the S. Croatian Republic; 5. Bosnia and Herzegovina, the S. Bosnian Republic; 6. Montenegro, with her 1913 boundaries, and the District of Cattaro, the S. Republic of Montenegro; 7. Serbian and Bulgarian Macedonia, with a part of Greek Macedonia, the S. Republic of Macedonia; 8. Bulgaria without Bulgarian Macedonia but

including the Dobrudja and Turkish and Greek territory, the S. Republic of Bulgaria.

Turkish territory north of the solid line was divided into three parts as follows: 1. the European part, the Straits and the Territory of Anatolia up to a line which extended almost vertically from the Black Sea to Erzindjan and then dropped to the point where the frontiers of Turkey, Iraq and Iran meet, where it was demarcated by the solid line, was named the S. Republic of Turkey; 2. the northern part of the remainder of Anatolia was designated as the S. Armenian Republic, extending across the territory of Soviet Armenia; 3. the southern part of the remaining area was named the S. Kurdish Republic and extended across the territory of Iran.

Apparently, the partitioning of the Balkans and Turkey was shown in such detail because that was the region where Comrade Zaharov was active. When my friend asked him the meaning of those lines, he replied that the solid line designates the territories which the Germans would permit the Soviets to occupy at the proper time while those demarcated by the thick dotted line designate the territories which the Soviets considered within their zone. The Soviets were expecting Germany to agree to Russian occupation of the latter territories as that country became more and more exhausted by the war. Then he explained that Slovenia, Dalmatia and the greater part of Greece would be ceded to Italy temporarily, in order to obtain her consent to the other divisions. Italy was also to receive southern Anatolia bounded on the north by the thick solid line. We have another confirmation of the existence of Comrade Zaharov's map. Two months after our friend has seen Zaharov's map and had reported the matter to the Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs and to L. Hadji Djordjevitch, the Yugoslav Consul General at Istanbul, who is now Yugoslav Minister at Cairo, the latter, while visiting the Consul General of Italy, saw a map of Turkey on which the territory had

been divided by a line with exactly the same demarcations as those on Zaharov's map. He did not have the opportunity of asking his Italian colleague the reasons for such a division of Turkish territory but the coincidence impressed him deeply. (See Appendix No. 2. Photo of the description of Zaharov's map removed from the letter written by D. Liotitch to Prince Paul of Yugoslavia).

There is still another proof. In its Bulletin No. 15, dated September 5, 1940, the national Yugoslav "Zbor" movement published a letter received from its informant in the U.S.S.R. who is very familiar with Soviet affairs, in which he speaks of the aspirations of the Soviets at that time. These aspirations included Finland, Northern Norway, north of Narvik, Bulgaria, nearly all of the Balkan peninsula, except Albania, Dalmatia, Slovenia and Greek Epirus, which were to be ceded to Italy, as well as Rumania, Hungary, the part of Poland and the Baltic States already occupied by the Russian, and part of Turkey, including the Straits. This also in full agreement with Stalin's program.

These were the Soviet aims before the break with Germany which was not anticipated at all, at any rate not in 1941, as stated in our previous article. It is certain that the Germans, who had satisfied Soviet desires with the regions designated by the solid line, did not at first plan to attack the Russians, at any^{rate} not before the end of their war with Great Britain. Naturally, they may have known many of the things which we have mentioned. But it must be remembered that the Nazi Left Wing was at first highly in favor of a complete accord with the Soviets and then, perhaps, the Nazis thought that they could deceive them in their turn and settle accounts with them after defeating Great Britain.

The attack was apparently decided on only after Hitler's conference with Molotov at Berlin early in 1941, when the latter raised the question of new territorial

concessions which did not involve the Straits but the Balkan States according to Comrade Zaharov's map. The matter of the Straits had already been settled between them long before that. Hitler lied about this when he referred to it in his speech shortly after the break with Russia. Perhaps Molotov put this question too bluntly, as Hitler affirmed, and who knows, if a more able Soviet diplomat had negotiated this matter, perhaps Hitler would not have attacked the Soviet Union in 1941 and the world situation would have been entirely different today. But, when Hitler saw that his plans to appease the Soviets, or to put off the other demands until later and then deceive the Russians, could not be realized, and that he would also have to give up the only route to the Near East via Belgrade and Salonica, remaining to him, he decided to settle accounts with the Soviets, without waiting for the end of the war with Britain. The military convention which the Soviets concluded with Yugoslavia a little later confirmed him in this decision.

As for the Soviets, they were so desirous of remaining out of the conflict, that they did not hesitate to request the representatives of Yugoslavia, their recent ally, to leave Moscow, as soon after the country had been conquered by the Germans. In conformity with Stalin's program, they tried to obtain amicably from Germany, at the same time, her consent to the occupation of new economic and strategic bases for the realization of their future plans.

But we see now how affairs turned, after the Germans attacked the Soviet Union on June 21, 1941 and Comrade Stalin became the ally, first of the British, and then of the United States, when the latter entered the war against Germany, after being attacked by the Japanese, with whom the Russians continued and continue even now to maintain friendly relations, in conformity with their program of bring^{ing} about the exhaustion of the capitalist countries. In the beginning, while matters were going

badly, when the Germans were advancing like a torrent and the troops of the Red Army were surrendering by hundreds of thousands with their tanks and their guns /we reserve the right to speak of this elsewhere/, and when they did not desire to fight the Germans, believing that the latter came only to liberate them from the Communists and Communism, Stalin and the leaders of the Communist party were very conciliatory. The churches which remained were opened, the Patriarch was elected, the heroes of Russian history, and even the princes and the czars, were celebrated, decorations were established in their name, the army was again given ranks and epaulets, almost the same as the former Russian army had. Propaganda became so nationalistic, that it almost looked as if today or tomorrow Stalin might place on his head the crown of the czars and proclaim himself the Emperor of all Russia.

The same was true of foreign policy, which became conciliatory to the last degree. The Soviets signed the Atlantic Charter and restored diplomatic relations not only with Yugoslavia, whose representatives returned to Moscow, but even with the Polish Government in London. They permitted a part of the interned Poles to leave Russia. They assisted in the formation of a Polish army, which, after it was recruited, was to go to the aid of the British. General Sikorsky, President of the Polish Government, visited Moscow and entered into an arrangement with Stalin, who agreed to return to Poland all the purely Russian provinces which the Bolsheviks ceded to the Poles after the peace of Riga in 1921 and which they recovered for the Soviet Union in 1939, after their agreement with the Germans. There were some declarations also, although rather vague, which could be interpreted to imply the possible restoration to the Baltic States of their independence and to Finland of the territory acquired from her in 1940.

But, when the Germans, who thought that they had already conquered Russia, threw off the mask of liberators and proclaimed through the mouth of Hitler that it was

their intention to destroy Russia and subjugate the Russian people, the entire population of Russia was aroused against these false liberators, who had deceived them; and when, as a result, the Germans began to suffer reverses, the Soviets felt the ground become more firm under their feet and gradually began to return to their Communistic policy, both domestic and foreign. As we have already spoken of their domestic policy in our preceding article, we shall confine ourselves here to showing that in the matter of foreign policy they have completely returned to Stalin's program of 1939 and the plan of Comrade Zaharov.

We shall begin with the north. We know from the papers that the Anglo-Americans concluded an agreement with the exile governments of Belgium and of the Netherlands. At the same time they, as well as the Soviets, concluded agreements with the exile government of Norway, and this fact proves, according to the plan of Zaharov, that for the moment the Soviets are not interested in Belgium and the Netherlands, but that they are interested in Norway.

We shall pass on to Finland. We are informed through reliable sources that during ^{the} conference this spring concerning a separate peace between that country and the Soviet Union, influential Finnish, known to be on good terms with the Russians, were the very ones who carried on a campaign against the conclusion of this peace. The question involuntarily comes to mind, whether the Soviets ever had any serious intention of concluding a peace on the generous terms which they offered to Finland. It was only a feint on their part to demonstrate (especially to the Americans) that the Finns were the aggressors and Fascists, hostile to the pacific Soviets, and to make the United States sever diplomatic relations with Finland, thus putting that small country at the mercy of the Soviet Union. And they succeeded in their aim. It is also obvious that, when Finland again began to talk peace, it was the Russian

general and monarchist, Mannerheim, who became Chief of State (it was he who in 1918 at the head of the White Finns cleared Finland of communists) and not a Communist or a Social-Democrat. And his government is composed for the most part of conservatives. Thus, if such a government signs a peace with the Soviets, which will be arranged in such a way as to permit the organization of a plebiscite in Finland at the proper time and the definite occupation of the country, as in the case of the Baltic countries, there will be no influential groups who could protest, because it will certainly not be the Finnish Communists who will object.

The Baltic States are already finished. No one speaks of them any more, and the London radio repeats after the Moscow radio that such or such a town of the Soviet Republic Estonia, Latvia, or Lithuania was occupied yesterday by troops of the Red Army.

Then comes Poland, the official cause of the Second World War. From the point of view of every true Russian nationalist (Great Russians /the only branch of the Russian people whom the Bolsheviks permit to bear the name of Russians/, Little Russians, whom the Bolsheviks, ignoring their national aspirations, have christened Ukrainians in the Polish-Jesuit manner, although by their blood, their religion, their culture, and their history they are true Russians, whose dialect does not differ more from the literary language of Russia than the dialects of Great Russia, or, the White Russians, who are treated just the same - it makes no difference) the part of Poland which the Soviets obtained in 1939 does not include all the territories ethnographically Russian. The Soviets themselves confirm this fact /see article by M. Borissov in the periodical The War and the Working Class, No. 8, pg. 17/. But that is not what the Soviets want from Poland.

In the comedy which the Russians staged with Mikolaytchik they induced him to attend a conference and then (while he was on the way) they concluded an agreement with the Polish Committee in Moscow, composed of their agents. Thus, when he arrived, they obliged him to confer, not with them, but with this Committee, which they recognized as the government of Poland. After this comedy and after the tragedy of the recent insurrection in Warsaw, which the Soviets, whose troops were already in the outskirts of this city, did not want to support, because it was engineered by Polish nationals, whom the Germans exterminated and thus saved the NKVD /Secret Political Police/ the trouble of doing that job. But it will not always be possible to fasten their crimes on another, as in the famous affair of the Katine Forest. After their declaration that they desired to see at the head of Poland a government friendly to the Soviet Union. In short, all this and many other things show quite clearly what the Soviets desire of Poland. It is not the Russian territories which they covet. They would cede these territories voluntarily, if it suited their plans, in spite of the fact that they know what a martyrdom the Russian population has endured during the eighteen years that the Poles have had ^{them} under their control. That matters little to them and does not affect them. Have they not themselves massacred millions of Russian peasants and workers, when they found it necessary? They covet all of Poland. That is why they desire that the Polish government, which will assume power in that country immediately after its liberation, should be composed of their people, so as to assure them a favorable plebiscite, when the moment arrives, and enable them to annex Poland, as another Soviet Republic, to the Soviet Union.

For Czechoslovakia everything has already been settled by agreement with Benes. By this agreement they have surrendered to him Subcarpathian Russia, that unhappy country, which was so harshly treated by the Czechs at the time when Benes had supreme power in Czechoslovakia, because they are certain that the Czechoslovak government

under Benes will always be favorable to their plans. Moreover, they have already disclosed these plans. Two days before the Moscow radio in its evening broadcast (11:30 p.m.) announced in Russian that the Polish organization in America, "Tadeusz Kosciuszko", which is very powerful, had declared that the Poland of the future must seek to establish relations with the Soviet Union much closer than an alliance. What "relations" can be "closer than an alliance", if not a federation?

In Hungary, where there are so many proletarian peasants /without land/ and workers, where the Social Democrats are submerged by the Communists, whose activities are prohibited, by law, the situation is very favorable for a Communist revolution. The Soviets have but to cross the Carpathians and the country will be at their feet. In Romania the situation is almost the same. Moreover, in the part of Moldavia which the Russians have occupied they have established a regime so tolerant and so correct in behaviour that the population is delighted with it after the brutality of the Germans and the pillage of Romanian employers /?/. Such conduct on their part is known in all the rest of the country, where the population awaits them as liberators.

In Yugoslavia their policy is still more clearly defined. They have forced the Anglo-Americans to disavow the national hero of the Serbian people, General Draja Mihailovitch (who has never stopped fighting against the German invaders and whom the entire Anglo-American press just a little while ago acclaimed as one of the best allied generals) solely because he is a royalist and anti-communist. Moreover, Choubachitch, whom King Peter was obliged to name Premier, has just signed an accord with the protégé of the Soviets, the notorious terrorist and communist "Marshal Tito" alias Josef Broz, whose pseudonym betrays him. As a matter of fact, in Serbo-Croatian TITO represents the initial letters of Taina Internacionalna Terroristicka Organizacija

/Secret International Terrorist Organization/. Under accordance with this agreement, all the power in liberated Yugoslavia will pass into the hands of Tito and his Committee, in other words, into the hands of the USSR. A still more striking fact is that Tito has already announced some time ago the structure which federated and republican Yugoslavia will have, and the names of the federal republics correspond exactly in every point to the map of Comrade Zaharov, except that he has added the Slovene Republic, which had to be temporarily ceded to Italy, as Zaharov explained at the time. Now Italy is defeated and this transfer is naturally cancelled. In regard to the democratic government promised to this federation by Marshal Tito (or rather his real master, Marshal Stalin), it is clear that at present they can promise anything to the Anglo-Americans in order to appease them. Moreover, according to Stalin's view, the Soviet regime is a democracy too, the only difference being that it is a democracy of the proletariat.

The game which the Soviets are playing with Turkey, concerning the entry of the latter into the war, is well known. The threats which the Moscow Radio broadcasts in Turkish every evening, now that the Turks have severed diplomatic relations with Germany, are quite recent. That is why we shall ^{not} go into this matter, in order not to make our article too long.

But you get an appetite while you are eating. For this reason the Soviets are now trying not only to acquire the strategic and economic positions necessary for bringing about a Pan-European revolution, but also for actually accomplishing a part of the revolution itself. Otherwise, how could we explain the creation of the National German Committee of Moscow, almost entirely composed of German communists and German generals /more than thirty, headed by Marshal von Paulus/, and how could such a committee promise to establish a "free and democratic" government in Germany.

In addition to this it assures the Germans that they will obtain an honorable peace without the unconditional surrender required by the Anglo-Americans. And how could it say that over the Moscow Radio, if it did not have the approval of the Soviet Government?

The Soviets are also trying to acquire strategic and economic bases for a Pan-Asiatic revolution. That is why they are carrying on an intense propaganda among the Arabs, which, according to reports received by us, is a great success in Syria, Lebanon and Irak, where the masses fall for it. They are also trying hard to get a foothold in Iran and are making every effort to push the Anglo-Americans out. This explains why the conduct of their troops and of the NKVD /Secret Political Police/ is exemplary in that country, and they are offering the Shah and his government different arrangements as an inducement. Moreover, we believe that all these facts and many other things are well known to American and British diplomacy. That is why we shall not waste words on them. But if this matter is of interest, we shall be glad to give details in a special article.

Naturally the Russians, whose bad luck with Germany has taught them a lesson, will go about it very cautiously. In pursuing their objectives, they are also taking into consideration the gigantic armed forces which the Americans and the British have available at present. But when the war in Europe is over they expect that the democratic nations, that is to say American and Britain, will be obliged to demobilize a large part of these forces. As for Stalin, being a Dictator, he will be able to keep his men under arms as long as he likes. He can also draft as many civilians as he wants for the industry and agriculture of the USSR. In this way he will be able to carry out his program according to schedule. In the realization of his project

he will also be able to count on the collaboration of certain Leftist elements in England and America. Just at present, in accordance with orders from Moscow, these elements are keeping in the background, except the "Fourth Internationale", which, on account of its "Trotskyite" sympathies, pretends to be opposed to Moscow and is carrying on defeatist propaganda in those countries, but is in reality also working under orders from the Kremlin.

We feel that we should end our article with the following words:

All that we have told in our two articles is necessarily brief and condensed. But if any of the matters, which we have touched upon are not presented in sufficient detail to make my statements convincing, we shall be glad to supply additional details and other proof. We are doing this for the sole purpose that those, who hold the fate of the world in their hands, may be informed of facts, of which they are perhaps unaware, and will be able to save humanity from the danger which is imminent.

Naval Intelligence
Translation No. 736
Translated by: J.H.B., E.N., A.W., G.W.H.
Date: 28 September 1944
Language: French

INSTITUTE OF THE HISTORICAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCE
OF U.S.S.R.

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Moscow, 1944

Paragraph 52 - LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE 70'S

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL AND REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA.

The development of capital and the growth of the labor movement in all of the countries of Western Europe placed before the working class the problem of unification for the fight with capital. On September 28, 1864, the great leader of the proletariat, Karl Marx, together with the foremost workers of the world, founded the National Association of Workers, or the First International. The aim of this association was the common fight of the workers of the world against domination by capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The liberation of the working class must be won by the workers themselves" - wrote Marx in the rules of the First International.

A group of Russian revolutionists abroad, formed a Russian section of the First International. On May of 1870 they asked Karl Marx to represent Russia in the General Council of the International. In his reply and acceptance of their proposal, Karl Marx stated that the problem of destruction of Tzarism in Russia is of foremost necessity, towards freeing not only the Russian Nation, but also the European proletariat.

STRIKES IN THE 70'S - Russian National Revolutionists assigned to the proletariat a secondary role in the revolutionary movement, having relied, erroneously, on the peasantry and intelligentsia, as

the principal revolutionary power. The populists (Nationals) did not fully understand the class struggle of the proletariat. But the working class in Russia continued to grow steadily and entered into its revolutionary fight. Strikes flared up spontaneously in private enterprises. In May of 1870 the first major strike occurred in the Mlevsk paper mill of Petersburg. The striking workers demanded an increase in wages and harmoniously supported each other. Only after the strikers were arrested and hauled to court, did the police succeed in breaking up their opposition. Since the participation in strikes was an offense against the State (Federal), the striking workers were sentenced by the Tzarist court. In 1872 a strike of greater importance flared up in the Krenbolmsk factory. The strikers demanded a reduction of fines, as well as a reduction of the working day for children, who were subjected to monstrous exploitations. The strike was suppressed by the troops.

At the same time strikes began to flare up in the Ukraine. In 1875 in a strike in the Uza factory, 1,500 workers participated. The strike of the Odessa railroad workers lasted 3 1/2 weeks.

The 70's were also the beginning of the struggle of the Georgian proletariat.

Thus the 60-70's represent an era of spontaneous movements of labor in different parts of Russia.

FIRST REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS

Out of these workers came forth the first revolutionists. One of them was Vasilii-Gerasimoff.

A. I. Oolianoff was executed for organizing the attempt on the life of Alexander III (1887). The death of the beloved brother, made a great impression on Valadimir Ilich (Lenin). He then understood the damage done by the terrorist struggle, in their effort to develop a mass movement of the workers. "No, we will not follow this road; we have to proceed along another road" - said Lenin, upon receiving news of the execution of his brother.

In 1877 the 17 yr. old V. I. Lenin entered the University of Kazan. He was soon arrested for participation in student agitation and was exiled to a village. When he was arrested, the following conversation took place between him and the police inspector:

"Why do you revolt, young man? You are facing a wall."

"A wall it is true, but it is rotten; hit it and it will collapse," answered Valadimir Ilich.

During his exile in the village and then upon his return to Kazan, V. I. Lenin entered upon an intensive study of the works of Marx and Engels. After Lenin moved to Samara, he organized the first circle of Samara Marxists. There Lenin studied the development of capitalism and the position of peasantry in Russia.

In the Fall of 1893, Lenin moved to Petersburg and at once

became the leader of the Petersburg Marxists. In 1894 he read a series of reports which became his famous work: "What is 'Friends of the Nation' and how they fight against Social Democrats'". In this work V. I. Lenin showed that the populists of the 90's entirely abandoned the revolutionary fight against the Tzar, which was conducted by the populists of the 70's. In his work during this period, Lenin attacked the populists movement as the enemy of Marxism. The remaining followers of this movement were reconciled with the Tzar regime and were ready to "vegetate under the protection of the benevolent land owners and liberal administrators." Lenin showed that the program of the liberal populists of the 90's, expressed the interests of the peasant capitalists, and at its very root was detrimental to Marxism.

In this, his first work, Lenin with great sharp-sightedness pointed to the historical role of the Russian proletariat as a leader, the hegemon of the forthcoming Russian revolution, which it will accomplish in coalition with the peasantry.

This was Lenin's great idea - the alliance of the proletariat and the peasants.

Bulletin of the Yugoslav Popular Movement "Zbor" (Congregation, Assembly)

Issue No. 54

September 5, 1940

Price 3 dinars

FOREIGN SURVEY

The Immediate Aims of the European Policy of the Soviet Government.

We shall make an attempt here to establish, on the basis of all our previous statements and of new data, the approximative aims of the foreign policy of the Soviet Government in Europe, at this moment.

The foreign policy of the Soviets is marked, in the first place, by the name of the State. This is the only State in whose name there is no reference to either geographical or ethnical characteristics. It is not confined to any specific corner of the world, nor is it attached to any single tribe, nation or race. There are no other States of this kind in existence. Every other State describes by its name either a definite geographical or ethnical concept.

In addition to this, the foreign policy of the Soviets is characterized by the State Emblem: the globe of the earth, on the top of which a hammer and sickle are crossed, with the inscription "Proletarians of all countries unite!" And by this, by this State Emblem, are rejected all the other human categories: those pertaining to geography and ethnical composition, and likewise those of religious, cultural character, — while among the economic categories emphasis is laid¹ only upon the worker (hammer) and peasant (sickle), and only in case they are proletarians — individuals without home or house.

1 — Translator's Note: In the original text the sentence following the dash is left incomplete, and the words "emphasis is laid" are supplied by the translator as a logical integration of the sentence.

Furthermore, the foreign policy of the Soviets is characterized by the Marxist Doctrine, which is the ideological foundation of the Soviet State. It has for its objective, the creation of the classless society, in which all other classes, with the exception of the hired workers, are eradicated or under privileged. The State is turned over to this class under a system of dictatorship, the purpose of which is not to regulate relations among the classes, but to give all power and rights only to that particular class of hired workers. The final ideal is the Federated Socialist State of the World, which will be brought into existence either by a single revolution, or by way of several subsequent Socialist-Communist revolutions.

The foreign policy of the Soviets is further characterized by the directives of Lenin and party line of Stalin, expressed in the syllabus of the History of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks. Since on its present theory it¹ establishes the Soviet Socialist Government, the duty of the Soviets is to prepare or assist the world-wide socialist revolution, either in stages, or with a single blow, by taking advantage of the future complications and difficulties, which must come in consequence of economical and political disputes.

Finally, the foreign policy of the Soviets is defined by the well-known speech of Stalin delivered at the meeting of the Soviet Literary Bureau² of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, held on the 19th of August, 1939 in Kremlin (Bulletin Issue 33 and 34, page 12), in which he said:

1 -- Translator's Note: i.e. the Communist Party.

2 -- Translator's Note: The original text reproduces the Russian code symbols: Solitbureau VKPB, abbreviations standing, in all probability, for: Sovvetskoe Literaturnoe Buro Vse-Soyuznoy Thomunisticheskoy Partiyi Bolshevikov.

"I repeat that it is to our interest to have an outbreak of war . . .
The main thing for us is to have this war last so long that both parties of
belligerents emerge therefrom exhausted. For this reason we must accept the
pact which Germany is offering, and see to it that the war lasts as long as
possible, once it has been declared.

ONI Translation
B Unit; Section 2
Language: Serbian
Date: September 28, 1944

Page 3¹

"You may announce that the Soviets are preparing new surprises for the world; for some of them they have the approval of Germany, and others they will carry out in the moments when Germany and Italy will be in a difficult position.

Let us begin in order:

1) All of Finland shall be included, and turned into a Finnish-Karelian Soviet Socialist Republic, with the increase of territory detached from Norway, north of Narvik.

2) Romania will not be left alone: the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldavia will be enlarged at the expense of Romania. The rest will have to be organized into a Soviet Socialist Republic of Wallachia.

3) Bulgaria will be expanded to the Danube estuary in the north and to the line Enos-Midia in the east; somewhat also in the south toward Greece; somewhat also toward Serbia in the east, but as the Soviet Socialist Republic of Bulgaria.

4) Turkey will have to lose Constantinople and the Straights in favor of the Soviets. This possession in Europe reaches to Bulgaria, and in Asia it will comprehend the Straights. Furthermore, Turkey will be changed into the Soviet Socialist Republic of Turkey.

5) Hungary loses the Carpathian Russia in favor of Ukrainia, and obtains in compensation some territory at the expense of Yugoslavia, and becomes the Soviet Socialist Republic of Hungary.

1 — Translator's Note: This is the only identifying mark of the text that follows, and apparently is the continuation of the text appearing on the front page of the Issue 54 of the Bulletin "Zbor", however, with omission of page 2.

6) Yugoslavia is dismembered into a Serbian, Montenegrin and Croatian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Dalmatia is not included in the Croatian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Slovenia will remain outside of Yugoslavia.

The Serbian Soviet Socialist Republic comprehends Serbia, Vojvodina,¹ north of Novi Sad,² with Srem,³ eastern Bosnia and a small part of southern Serbia.

Southern Serbia will be partitioned between the Albanian, Bulgarian and Montenegrin Soviet Republics, the latter being further expanded by annexation of a part of Herzegovina, and the southeastern part of Bosnia, and Sanjak.

7) Greece, deprived of Epirus and of that part of the territory which she loses in favor of Bulgaria, becomes the Hellenic Soviet Socialist Republic.

From this report we see that all the present aims of the Soviet foreign policy are encompassed by it.

It proceeds in this direction.

My friend in the above report did not mention — and due to the difficulties which we have to overcome in keeping up our contact with him, we are not in a position to say when we shall obtain better information on this subject, — which of these objectives the Soviets have the concurrence of Germany, and for which they have not.

1 — Translator's Note: Vojvodina is the southern part of Hungary known as Bachka and Banat, attached in 1918 to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

2 — Translator's Note: A city located on central Danube known also as Neusatz and Ujvidsk.

3 — Translator's Note: This province is known also under the names: Srijem and Syrmium.

We must attempt to establish this on the basis of our previous reports and analyses:

- 1) Concerning Finland and northern parts of Norway we have already disclosed, that this deal is included in the agreement with Germany (Issue No. 25 and 26).
- 2) Concerning the northern parts of Norway we have already reported that by agreement with Germany they will belong to the Soviet Union (Issue No. 42, page 1 and Issue No. 42, page 2).
- 3) Concerning Romania it does not appear probable that further Soviet attacks against this country could be carried out with concurrence of Germany;
- 4) Concerning Constantinople and its hinterland we have reported in the Issue No. 26, page 4, that in agreement with Germany it will have to become an international city, while the Soviets will be in control of the Straights.
- 5) Therefore the rest, in our estimation, belongs to the set of aims of the exclusive Soviet foreign policy, without concurrence of German, and cannot represent at all any such combination to which Germany could and would dare to agree.

Therefore all the rest that our friend has communicated to us, represents that which¹

1 — Translator's Note: Here ends the text of the page 3, and the balance of the article appears on the subsequent pages, which are not available.

ONI Translation
B Unit; Section 2
Language: Serbian
Date: September 28, 1944

Page 36 "Zbor" 1

... from words to succeed in establishing the genuine truth, to believe in same, to adopt it and carry it out?

What I am writing, nevertheless, is buried in the voice which in my soul says that I must write so, because outside of this there is no salvation for the Nation, State, Throne and Dynasty. Therefore, I write with the hope in the Grace of God to whose power there is no limit, and which may cause the mind of Your Royal Highness to be opened, be made accessible to the proposals which I submit to You — and which, unworthy as I am, I would otherwise dare not make.

Therefore, relying on this hope I have the force and courage to write You all this, and we shall see whether this letter is the instrument of the Divine Grace or Divine Justice.

For, a friend of mine, known to be one of the most cultured men in this country said to me, and on one occasion I have already written to You: "Speak and write, Demetrius! Speak and write, but know, that there is no salvation for us. Speak, for you are needed as a witness before the judgment of God. No one will hear you and understand you, although this is easy both to hear and understand; because their hearts are closed."

If Your Royal Highness does not adopt what I now write, here is how our tomorrow will look:

1 — Translator's Note: The text communicated below is detached from pages 36 and 37 of the periodical "Zbor", under the title "The Letters of Ljotich to Prince Paul". The issue number and date of the publication is not indicated.

The blow will come from outside as I have already demonstrated. They will start to split us and embroil us. At that moment the blow will probably come from Croatia. I think that this is precisely the plan of Italy when she refrains from striking at Dalmatia, lest she provoke the reaction of the Croats against herself, but she is striking at Albania because thereby she cuts our highway to Salonika (and in this matter the Croats are more than indifferent), and when the crisis reaches its climax, the blow will then come from Croatia.

A friend of mine managed to see abroad, in a Soviet Agency, a map (at the risk of his life, for this reason I beg of You to keep all this with utmost solicitude in secret, since they are aware of it, and know that he saw it, but they do not know of his connections with me).

On this map with a heavy line is marked the frontier of the Soviet Union, and therein are comprehended: from Norway, the line north of Narvik, the port of Tromsø, leaving the railroad line Narvik; — Sweden, outside of the Soviet frontier; — all of Finland; — all the Baltic States; — (from Poland that part which is now held by Soviets); from Romania, that part which had been already occupied, and in addition to this, (however my friend failed to see the details). From Turkey, Constantinople, with the district bordering on western Bulgaria; on the line Enos-Midia, and to the east, with a large carving of Anatolia and Black Sea coast, so that the Straights are included. . . .

On the Balkans, outside of this line, my friend has seen marked with dots the frontiers: the Bulgarian Soviet Socialist Republic, which includes a considerable part of Serbia; the Serbian Soviet Socialist Republic which comprehends Serbia with a very small part of southern Serbia and Sanjak, a part of Bosnia, and a part of Vojvodina, north of Novi Sad; the Croatian Soviet Republic which comprehends the Croatian Banovina,¹ without Dalmatia; the

¹ — Translator's Note: The Croatian Banovina is the political territory assigned to Croatia by virtue of the agreement concluded on the 5th of August, 1939 between Dr. Vlatko Machek, leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, with the political leaders

Montenegrin Soviet Socialist Republic comprehending Montenegro enlarged with a part of Herzegovina, Bosnia, Sanjak, and Pech District. Slovenia is not independent. Dalmatia likewise. Romania is divided into the Moldavian and Wallachian Soviet Socialist Republics.

In answer to his question, what that heavy line means,² my friend (was informed that this is the one) to which the Soviets, allegedly, received the concurrence of Germany, — and those other lines represent areas, on which the Soviets will be working; where, among the people, everything is prepared toward its realization; and to which, they hope, the Germans and Italians, under certain concessions, will be compelled to accede.

This is, Your Highness, the policy of Italy on one hand, and that of the Soviets, on the other.

When You are confronted with that situation, with the present-day . . .³

ONI Translation
B Unit; Section 2
Language: Serbian
Date: September 28, 1944

1 cont. — of Serbia. This territory included the provinces known as Croatia, Slavonia, with the exception of the eastern half of the District of Srijem, Dalmatia and western part of Bosnia.

2 — Translator's Note: Either through deficient composition, or printer's omission, this sentence appears to be incomplete, and even self-contradictory. The logical reconstruction of this sentence would call, in translator's opinion, for the insertion of "was informed that this is the one".

3 — Translator's Note: End of the page 37.

Source: Report by A. Karpatsky,
Istanbul, 1 September 1944.

The Conquest of the World and the History of the Soviet Union

In our first article we have tried to show that the policy and the objectives of the Communist Party, which has established a dictatorship in the Soviet Union, have not changed since the war with Germany started. In fact, they are still exactly what they were before the war began. We know that abroad, many foreigners and many Russian emigres hoped that the war would bring about a notable change in the situation, and that Russia would change her form of government to something resembling the system prevailing in the democracies. In other words, that she would modify, if not abolish the communist enslavement of the people and stop the reign of terror.

It is true that among the Russian masses a great national movement is taking place. Various symptoms of this are discernible in spite of the rigid censorship exercised by the Bolshevik regime. Evidence of it can be found in various communications emanating from the front, in literature, and even in reports coming direct from Russia. It is clearly evident that the Russian masses, aroused by the German danger, are fighting not for the Communist Party and all its leaders, but for Russia and all her cultural, moral and material possessions, bequeathed to them by their ancestors during a period of more than a thousand years of historical development, a heritage which the Communist regime has deliberately destroyed and dissipated, and was still mercilessly exterminating right up to the outbreak of the

Enc (E)

war. It is especially in the armed forces that the nationalist movement exists today. Naturally, this movement is not yet organized and its manifestations are kept under restraint by the war situation and the presence of the enemy on Russian soil and by the action of the NKVD /Secret Political Police/ and the terror which continues to reign in that unhappy country.

But when the war stops many things may happen there.

As far as the regime itself is concerned, it is just what it has always been, and it may even be maintained that the Communist Party is more obsessed with the idea of bringing about the proletarian world revolution than it was before the war, because the success of the Red Army and the pitiful situation of the masses in nearly all of western Europe and a large part of Asia /China/ appear to give the Bolsheviks the assurance that the moment for the realization of their plans is approaching.

According to very recent reports which we have received from the Soviet Union, the Politburo of the Communist Party early this year instructed Comrade Jdanov to appoint a special commission, in which he has included, among others, Major-General Galaktionov and Professor Pankratova as specialists, for the purpose of studying the problem of world conquest and all the attempts to conquer the world which have been made, commencing with Alexander the Great and ending with Napoleon and Hitler. This commission is expected to analyze the causes of the failure of these conquerors, as well as the possibilities of realizing a similar plan now by making use of the means available at present, considered both from a spiritual and a physical aspect. This commission has recently completed its work (Galaktionov and Pankratova were decorated) and has made its report to the Politburo.

The principal findings of this report are as follows:

I. Up to the 20th century the conquest of the world was practically impossible, because space and time operated against the armed forces of the conqueror, no matter how strong they were. Even in the 19th, in spite of the existence of a network of fast railways and steam-propelled vessels, the conqueror was still unable to subdue the world no matter how large his armed forces might be.

II. Now in the 20th century, due to the improvements in the means of communication and in the methods of warfare, air power combined with tanks and weapons, such as bombs, rocket planes and rocket shells, chemical warfare etc. enabled the conqueror to overcome the difficulties presented by space and time and to conquer and hold enormous areas by means of relatively small forces. Thus Hitler was the first of all these conquerors who was able to accomplish this feat.

III. Hitler's principal mistake, besides his purely military errors, was that he tried to accomplish this aim on a nationalist basis. However, if such an attempt were made on an internationalist basis, such as the Marx-Lenin-Stalin doctrine, the realization of such a project is quite possible from the military point of view and also on the basis of social and economic organization.

These were the findings of this commission. Now, we are told, two new commissions have been organized. The strategic commission will work out the military plans of this conquest, and the tactical commission will present the political and economic side of the problem. We have not yet been informed of the names of the chairmen and the most notable members of these commissions.

"Only the grave can straighten the hunchback's hump", as an ancient Russian proverb says.

At the same time we have just received a book fresh from the press: The History

of the Soviet Union, part 2, textbook for the 9th grade of the intermediate schools. Edited by Professor A. M. Pankratova; approved by the Commissariat of Public Instruction; published by the government Commission for Instruction and Pedagogy, Moscow 1944, first printing 100,000 copies. This book contains an abridged history of the peoples of the Soviet Union since the beginning of the 18th century /era of Peter the Great/ up to the 20th century /era of the establishment of the Communist Party in Russia/. It is studied as an intermediate volume between Part I of the History of the USSR /"History of the Peoples of the USSR since the foundation of the Russian State to the end of the 18th Century"/ by the same author, which is studied in the 8th grade of the intermediate schools, and the "History of the Communist /Bolshevist/ Party", which is identified with the history of Russia and then with the history of the USSR of the 20th century, which is studied after Part II of the "History of the USSR", which we have already analyzed in our article on "The Persistence of the Soviet Policy", for which reason we shall not speak of it here. In short, these three volumes represent the history course by means of which Russian history is taught to every child in all the schools of the Soviet Union.

Part I of the History of the USSR, which is in our possession, belongs to the 1940 edition, when the Communist Party in spite of the agreement with Hitler's Germany had to mobilize all the forces of the country in order to prepare for any eventuality, including the conquest of Europe. That is why ever since 1937, and especially after Munich, Soviet propaganda became more and more nationalist. This nationalism reached its highest point in 1941-1942, when the war with Germany was at its height. But the situation was still far from encouraging.

For this reason Part I of the history which was published during that period of Soviet nationalism is written in a spirit of "comprehension of the times". The pages of the book are illustrated with portraits of grand dukes and czars of Russia, of

eminent Russians, and even with pictures of the most celebrated churches. Although the contents are flavored to some extent with communist teachings, these traces are so cleverly concealed, and even in cases in which history is falsified /such falsifications are certainly absolutely necessary/ in the case of the communist doctrine, these falsifications are so cleverly interpolated that they do not produce any jarring note in the text. And this text glorifies the past of the Russian people, the deeds of their national heroes and the prodigious development of the State. There are even some passages in which the great role which the Orthodox Church has played in the history of Russia is very discreetly admitted.

But since then nearly four years have passed. The Germans are beaten and the war is in its final phase. The nationalist propaganda, which aroused the Russian people against the invader, is no longer necessary and even pernicious, because it may incite that same people against the internationalist regime of the Bolsheviks. If it cannot be abandoned as a part of external policy, because it will still be necessary for some time to dupe credulous Allies, it must be suppressed as far as internal policy is concerned. And it is the schools which must commence this work, because the education and training of the youth of the nation will decide the future fate of the regime controlling the state.

That is why Part II of the History of the USSR, published in 1944, /see appendix No. I reproduction of first page of book/, in no way resembles Part I of this history, published in 1940, although the authors are the same. The text is so changed that it is even difficult to believe that the second volume is a continuation of the first. First of all, the History of Russia, which also constitutes the main subject treated in this volume, is brought here up to the year 1900, the period of the formation of the Marxist Party in Russia, which according to the interpretation of

the Communist Party must be regarded as a turning point in the country's history, just as the Paris Commune of 1870 represents a turning point in the history of the whole world, according to the world history course taught in the schools of the USSR /of which we shall speak in a later article/. In this way the history of Russia from the commencement of the 20th century up to the revolution of 1917 (the very period during which the country experienced a tremendous development) is omitted. The portraits of every possible revolutionary and anarchist, in particular Marx and Engels, who have no connection whatever with the history of Russia and never even saw Russia, occupy the places which the portraits of the grand dukes and csars occupied in Part I. Of all the csars of Russia, only Peter the Great is featured. Among other things, it is interesting to note that the two portraits, which each occupy an entire page of the book, are those of K. Marx and F. Engels, with the apparent intention of showing their superiority to all the giants of Russian history. The pictures of the churches are also replaced by caricatures of Imperial Russia or pictures showing the execution of criminals, who, regardless of the political or non-political nature of their crimes, are elevated to the status of national heroes.

To begin with, it is clear that according to the communist teaching, history is divided into the following successive periods: slavery, feudalism, the period of the domination of the bourgeoisie, capitalism, imperialism (which is nothing but a higher form of capitalism) and finally communism-socialism, which is the crowning glory of human achievement that has established forever a paradise on earth, but this last period of supreme felicity can be reached solely by means of the proletarian communist revolution, followed by the annihilation and complete destruction of the bourgeois-parasite classes.

Russia never had feudalism in the true sense of the word. Therefore these

"historians" had to invent it, because otherwise there would have been a gap in the Marx-Lenin-Stalin doctrine.

But that is not all. If the interpretation of history in this book is correct, it is almost incredible that in a period of 200 years, from the time of Peter the Great to the commencement of the 20th century, a semi-Asiatic country of no great international importance became an empire which occupies one-sixth of the globe and which is one of the four or five powers which rule the world, because according to this history, with the exception of Peter the Great, all the sovereigns who ruled the country were nonentities and cruel cowards, like Alexander I (the conqueror of Napoleon), fools, like Paul I, or tyrants and admirers of serfdom, like Alexander II (the great liberal reformer and liberator of the serfs, who freed the land, a reform which was not carried out in any of the other great countries of Europe). He too is pictured as a nonentity, while his assassins, revolutionary anarchists and predecessors of the communists, are glorified as heroes. According to this book, excepting Peter the Great and a few military leaders such as Souvorov, Koutouzov, Admiral Ouchakov and Admiral Nahimov, there were no persons of outstanding merit and ability during the whole course of these 200 years of Russian history, since the advisers and assistants of the emperors were just like their masters. The whole history is nothing but a recital of one act of oppression after the other committed by the czars, the nobility, the bourgeoisie and the koulaks (rich peasant farmers) against all the peoples of Russia, who did nothing but revolt against this tyranny. In this oppression of the people they were strongly supported by the Russian Orthodox Church, which aided them in keeping the people down by filling their minds with stupid superstitions and plundering and ill-treating them.

But fortunately for the Russian people, and not only for them, but fortunately

for humanity, the beginning of the 19th century saw the birth of the two great prophets of humanity, K. Marx and F. Engels /especially the former/. It is they who gave to the world the communist doctrine which will conquer the universe. In 1864 they founded the First Internationale. "On 28 September 1864 the great leader of the Proletariat, Karl Marx with the progressive workers of the whole world founded the International Workers Association, or the First Internationale. The objective of this organization was the united effort of the workers of all countries to destroy the capitalists regime and to establish everywhere the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The liberation of the working class must be accomplished by the workers themselves, wrote Marx in his constitution of the First Internationale". That is what the book says on this subject. /History of the USSR, part 2, Moscow, 1944, page 234, see Appendix No. 2, photo of that page/.

The establishment of the First Internationale was the crowning achievement of Marx and Engels in the political field. They began to organize the Communist Party and in 1848, in London, published the first "Manifesto" issued by this party. According to the author "the principal idea of scientific communism is based on the inevitable removal of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat /Ibid., page 164/. This manifesto ended with the watchword: "Workers of the world, unite".

After that, according to the author /page 265/, "The Societ Democratic movement was very successful in every country. The professional and cooperative movement was developed and became well established. But the activities of the Social Democratic Party became more and more confined to parliamentary elections and parliamentary cooperation with the bourgeoisie. The opportunist groups of the Second Internationale declared themselves decidedly against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat".

Between the era of Marx and Engels and the advent of Lenin there was a whole period during which the Second Internationale was dominated by opportunism". /Stalin: The Problems of Leninism, page 2/. These parties denied that the social world revolution was inevitable and only favored reform. That is why at the end of the 19th century the center of the revolutionary struggle of the Proletariat shifted from the west to Russia".

"Yet between 1870 and 1880 Marx and Engels watched the developments of the revolutionary struggle in Russia with great interest. Marx and Engels hoped that the victory of the revolutionary element in Russia would be the signal for the proletarian revolution in the west". /page 265/.

The following is an account of developments in Europe and in the United States, according to the book: "The period between 1880 and 1890 was an era of high-speed development of capitalism in the countries of Europe and in the United States, the epoch of the transformation of capitalism to its highest denomination, the period of imperialism. During these years the territory of the countries which were still free was divided among the imperialist nations" /page 253/.

At the same time: "In characterizing the czarist Russia as an immense reservoir of western imperialism, Comrade Stalin writes that Russia was such a reservoir "not only in the sense that she gave free access to foreign capital at home, with the result that activities of tremendous importance to the economy of the country, such as fuel production and the metallurgical industries, were under foreign control, but also in the sense that she was able to supply western imperialism with millions of soldiers." Stalin: The Problems of Leninism, page 5 /ibid. pages 253-254/.

But at this epoch Comrade Lenin made his appearance on the historic scene /see Appendix No. 3, portrait of Lenin/. He immediately became the leader of the Marxist

Russians and, according to Comrade Stalin, "really revived the revolutionary concept of Marxism, which had been stifled by the opportunists of the Second Internationale". Stalin: The Problems of Leninism, page 2 /Ibid. page 268/.

Lenin organized several revolutionary clubs, in which he united the intellectuals and the workers and wrote his celebrated book: "Who are the friends of the people and how are they fighting the Social Democrats /1894/". He ended this book with the following words, which were prophetically verified by the Great October Revolution: "The Russian worker, at the head of all the democratic elements, will rise up and overthrow absolutism and capitalism and WILL LEAD THE RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT AND THE PROLETARIAT OF THE WHOLE WORLD ALONG THE STRAIGHT ROAD OF OPEN POLITICAL REVOLT TO THE VICTORIOUS COMMUNIST REVOLUTION, Lenin: Collected Works, Vol. I, page 200 /Ibid. page 268/. The capitalization of the passage quoted is taken from the original text, showing what importance the author attributed to these words/.

Then follows the biography of Comrade Stalin, which is so characteristic that we cannot help quoting some passages verbatim. "At the head of the revolutionary movement among the proletariat of Transcaucasia in the 90's was Comrade Stalin. Josif Vissarionovitch Stalin /Djougashvili/ was born 9/21 December 1879 in the town of Gori. His parents were poor. His father worked in a shoe factory at Tiflis and his mother went out to work by the day. From childhood Comrade Stalin lived among the Georgian workers and peasants, who rebelled against czarist tyranny and the oppression of Georgian capitalists and landowners. While still a child, his indignation was aroused by the inhuman exploitation of the workers and he made the peasants and workers realize the terrible conditions under which they were living.

Comrade Stalin's father tried to give the boy an education. In 1894 J. V. Stalin graduated with distinction from the Ecclesiastical School of Gori. He showed remarkable capacity. He assimilated and completely absorbed all the scientific

knowledge which he acquired at school. At that time he already took note of the Darwin theory and having become an atheist, he has spread atheism and anti-religious sentiments among his comrades. After having graduated from the Ecclesiastical School of Gori, he entered the Ecclesiastical Seminary of Tiflis. There, at the age of 15, he commenced his revolutionary work by associating himself with secret groups of Marxist Russians in Tiflis. While attending the seminary he worked hard to complete his own Marxist education. Soon Comrade Stalin became the leader of two secret Marxist clubs at the seminary. In 1898 Comrade Stalin became acquainted with the works of Lenin and from that time on became his partisan and devoted disciple.

In 1899, according to Comrade Stalin's own words, he was "expelled from the Orthodox Ecclesiastical Seminary on account of the marxist propaganda which he had been carrying on. After having been excluded from the seminary he became a revolutionary by vocation, devoting all his efforts to the liberation of the working class.

Soon J. V. Stalin became leader of the left wing revolutionaries among the Georgian Social Democrats, while the great majority of the Georgian Social Democrats were still opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the direction of Comrade Stalin in Georgia and in the Transcaucasia, in the bitter struggle against the enemies of Marxism and Leninism, the Bolshevik Organizations, were brought into the world and flourished and grew". /Ibid., pages 270-272/.

It is in such terms that the students in all the schools of the Soviet Union at present study the biography of Comrade Stalin. The rest of his biography, like that of Lenin, already forms part of the History of the Communist /Bolshevik/ Party, which we have quoted in our first article and which the students study according to that volume, while here their biographies end with the following words: "The Marx-Engels theory was developed and lifted to a higher level by the Great Leader of the

Workers of the World, V. I. Lenin, and by his devoted disciple and faithful brother-in-arms, J. V. Stalin. Lenin, who was the creator of the Marxism of the imperialist epoch, became the creator of Leninism". /Ibid. page 275/.

Incidentally, the whole book bristles with atheism. It is full of the most outrageous attacks against the Russian Orthodox Church and against religion in general. We shall not give any quotations, because we do not want to make our article too long. It is suggested that those who are interested in the matter refer to the book itself.

Naturally we do not know what Comrade Marshal Stalin said to President Roosevelt and Premier Churchill at Teheran in 1943, but we have before us the history which all the students in the Soviet Union are learning in 1944. We believe that comments are superfluous. It is clearly evident that sentiments are animating that country at present, or rather what sentiments the present regime, with Comrade Stalin at its head, is trying to instill into the people and how it wants to shape the thought of all the youth of Russia and of the other peoples of the USSR and of the whole world.

A. Karpatsky.

Istanbul.
1 September 1944.

RECENT REPORTS FROM THE SOVIET UNION

We have just recently received the following intelligence from the Soviet Union.

I. There is great distrust of the Allies, especially of the British, among the leaders of the Communist Party. This is why no effort is spared to prevent the Anglo-Americans from coming into contact with those groups of the population which cannot be fully controlled by the secret organizations of the NKVD. There is also great distrust of the "capitalists". The democracies are suspected of planning to organize in the future a coup d'état which would enable foreign capital to "work quietly in Russia", and in fact "ruthlessly exploit in the colonial manner" the immense resources of the country. This is why secret propaganda to that effect is already being carried on among the common people in the Soviet Union.

II. Due to this state of affairs, the Russians have endeavored to prevent at all costs any binding agreements with the democracies which might tie their hands at some future time. In case it should not be possible to avoid entering into such agreements, it is their intention to have them drawn up in such a way that the Soviet Union can repudiate these pledges without incurring too much censure.

III. As for the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, in accordance with the directives of the Politbureau and the Komintern, Russia will grab as much as she possibly can, provided that her acquisitions will not stir up too much conflict with the Democracies. In any event, the Soviet Union will unconditionally demand that the Communist Party be legalized everywhere in Europe. By the aid of these parties, the Soviet Union intends to establish "bridgeheads" and to win the support of the masses in the conquered countries by skilful propaganda. It also aims to cultivate friendly relations with the discontented elements of the victorious countries.

The Soviets are also anticipating the possibility of unrest among the demobilized masses in the democracies, who have lost the desire to work, as happened in Britain after the first world war. These people will have great intellectual and materialistic ambitions, ambitions which will be encouraged by the communist propaganda, and which the bourgeois and capitalist governments will be unable to satisfy.

IV. As for the occupation of the European countries (including Germany), a special army which has not yet participated in actual combat is in readiness. This army is composed of particularly reliable elements from the Soviet point of view and is thoroughly saturated with the "Komsomol". This army has been created for the following reasons: first of all, for the purpose of carrying on communist propaganda among the inhabitants of the occupied countries, and second, on account of the fear that if Soviet elements, which are not completely reliable, come in contact with the life of the bourgeois countries, even what is left of this life (in spite of all the ravages of war) as compared to the life of the average citizen in the country of the Soviets, the comparison is going to react to the disadvantage of the Soviet regime.

V. The Soviet leaders are fully aware of the dissatisfaction which existed among the common people and which was clearly manifested during the first year of the war by the fact that millions of prisoners surrendered to the Germans before the war had yet assumed a national character. This is why measures are now being taken to assure the citizens of the Soviet Union that living conditions are going to be improved after the war "v udarnom poryadke" (at an accelerated tempo). The claim is made that the unsatisfactory living conditions of the citizens of the Soviet Union were due to the clear-sighted policy of the Chief, who foresaw the bourgeois invasion of the country of the "workers" and who has therefore been obliged to mobilize all

the resources and manpower of the country for the creation of an efficient military establishment and a huge war industry which has now made the Soviet Union completely independent of the capitalist countries. Moreover, a movement for the promulgation of a new Five Year Plan for speeding up these improvements is already under way.

VI. Stalin is seriously ill with angina pectoris. Although he is not willing to heed the advice of physicians who prescribe complete rest for him, he is no longer able to work as steadily as formerly. That is why he has chosen two "troikas" (two groups of three persons each). The first group (which assists him in all non-military affairs) is composed of Chicherbakov, Idanov and Lazar Kaganovitch, and the second group (for military affairs) is composed of Marshals Joukov, Vassilevsky and Golikov /or Golovanov/. It is still very difficult to say who will replace Stalin in case of his death.

VII. The sentiments of the Red Army (not including the special army and the communist elements whose number is very limited) are altogether nationalist and strictly anti-communist. The officers are very fond of all the outward insignia of authority (rank, epaulettes, uniforms, decorations, subordination, etc.), which were prohibited for so long. It is also delighted because its status is more privileged than it was in the old imperial army. The soldiers sing many old war songs as well as new songs of a purely nationalist character. Such conditions cannot exist without causing repercussions. There is evidence in the General Staff of serious antagonism between "the communist marshals" Timoshenko, Voroshilov, Budenny, etc. and the really "military marshals" such as Joukov, Vassilevsky, Voronov, Konev, Rokossovsky, Govorov and others. Due to their hatred of the party and for other reasons, the military commanders realize they will not be able to maintain their independent status

after the war, and that they even risk being listed in the group of "undesirables", chiefly because many of them, by reason of their antecedents, do not belong to the peasant and worker class. In the meantime, Stalin, who is much wiser than Hitler, gives his military marshals complete authority. In fact, at the present time the entire front is really in the hands of Marshals Joukov and Vassilevsky.

VIII. At present the order of the day in the army is to save manpower. This policy is inspired by the Kremlin. The Russians would like to see the Allies as exhausted as possible. It is hoped that by working "from the inside" it will always be possible to get the upper hand in Germany. The Politbureau no doubt has other plans and other methods at its disposal, because the immediate communization of Germany is at present not contemplated. It is significant that among the German generals captured there are several who enjoy complete freedom in Moscow. German detachments composed of German prisoners of war are constantly being organized and these units have now reached imposing proportions. The internal situation in Germany is perfectly well known, perhaps better than the Germans themselves know it.

IX. The slogans which have been adopted by the German communist party state, among other things, that the Soviets are in Germany as friends of the German people; that they are fighting only Hitler, his entourage and the fascists, which the German people also detest; that they do not destroy German villages and are not killing women and children, as the others do; that after the war they have no intention whatever of exploiting Germany and the German people, as the capitalists will do; that they are prepared to give to non-Hitlerian Germany an honorable place which rightfully belongs to her.

The result of such propaganda has already had its effect in the campaign of this summer. With relatively light losses, the Soviets have obtained outstanding successes. This propaganda is also responsible for the fact that large numbers of German soldiers

and officers have willingly surrendered to the troops of Marshal Stalin.

X. The Soviets now have more than 15 million men under arms, of whom nearly six millions (more than 400 divisions and a number of auxiliary troops) are on the western front.

XI. Even assuming that such a promise was made at Teheran, it is entirely improbable that the Soviets will break with Japan after the defeat of Germany. They wish to pursue in Asia a policy entirely independent of the Anglo-Saxon allies.

XII. The Soviets count on two real points of support in the Balkans, the Bulgarians and the Croats.

In spite of all that has happened in Bulgaria, they believe the Bulgarians will go along with them. They have a great many agents there who give them detailed reports on the situation and mentality of the masses. Moreover, the Bulgarian communists, large numbers of whom hold important positions in the Soviet Union, have persuaded the Soviet leaders that the Bulgarians are mass-minded ("peuple de masses"), not individualists, and readily submit to discipline. All these characteristics are highly prized by the communist leaders. In Yugoslavia it is the Croats who are preferred in the leading communist circles. They prefer the Croats to the Serbs because, according to them, the Serbs are individualists who do not readily submit to discipline, and the Croats are a mass-minded people, easy to manage, like the Bulgarians. The Serbian is a peasant and patriarchal, while the Croats have a developed industry and consequently a large working class, which is also very important from the Moscow point of view. The Serbian intellectuals are democrats for the most part. They are saturated with French culture and are great admirers of British institutions, while the Croat intellectuals are disciples of German culture and therefore hostile to the British. But the latter assimilate more easily the German philosophy of Marx, which

makes them receptive to Leninism. The Serbian dynasty is regarded as entirely pro-British and many Serbs are loyal to it. The Soviets do not have at present any great confidence in the personality of Marshal Tito, but they have in him a tool who can be eliminated at any moment without causing the slightest repercussions.

A. Karpatsky.

29 August 1944.
Istanbul.

O.N.I. EVALUATION

As the primary source of most of this material ("Karpatsky" or "Chenchin") is unknown to this office, evaluation must be based on the material itself. Karpatsky is, in general, so vague about his own sources, and his statements and interpretations obviously colored by opinion, that a high evaluation cannot be accorded, especially as there is little confirmation for most of the statements.

The article on Romania (Exhibit D of Enclosure (A)) is also indefinite as to source. The material checks reasonably well with available information. Reports on Finland and Norway are of doubtful authenticity, in view of recent developments. In dealing with Czechoslovakia, the informant has given a highly colored interpretation of the situation.

The following is a summary of information on primary and secondary sources available to O.N.I.:

- (1) "Karpatsky" - No record available.
- (2) "Zaharov" (referred to as "a Comintern agent in the Balkans" - No record available.
- (3) The Soviet History - No reason to doubt its authenticity, but no record available.
- (4) Zbor (publishers of Serb Bulletin) - a rightist nationalist organization, believed defunct since 1941.
- (5) Map showing demarcation lines - No confirmation available.
- (6) Stalin's Speech of August '33 - No confirmation available.

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SECRET

Pres
A8

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

10/10/44
Adm. Brown
copy file

September 8, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

ADMIRAL WILSON BROWN:

TO DO THE NECESSARY.

F.D.R.

WASHINGTON
NOV 10 1944

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER
(Jay Franklin)
1210 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

"We, the People"
"The Week in Washington"

Metropolitan 4112
Metropolitan 4113

July 30, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY: REPORTS ON VARIOUS MATTERS.

Dear Miss Tully:

Herewith attached, please find a series of special reports obtained by this Unit through a quick field-investigation in New England:

- 1) "Port Security", indicating urgent need for better security in handling explosives in the ports of Portland, Boston and New York;
- 2) "Merchant Seamen", indicating personnel problems arising from discontinuance of bonus pay for service in War Zones and from the 16-year old training program;
- 3) "Naval Air Base, Brunswick, Maine", reporting allegations that between 30,000 and 50,000 gallons of gasoline are burned every night. This rumor is causing unrest in New England, due to gasoline-rationing.
- 4) "Prisoners of War". Popular resentment is reported in New England over alleged slackness in handling Axis prisoners of war. The lenient treatment of Italian prisoners is particularly mentioned as having led to violence.
- 5) "Bunker Fuel--Merchant Vessels". It is reported that captains of U.S. merchant vessels in U.K. ports are required to discharge their bunker fuel on arrival. On sailing, they are then required to purchase British bunker fuel for the return voyage at very high prices.
- 6) "Shark Repellent". The Navy is still finding it difficult to order the tested shark-repellent already developed, due to changing specifications etc.
- 7) "Al Moran". The Ford Company at Boston is reported to employ a thug named Al Moran to beat up Union men, etc., according to the old practice in the Ford organization.

These reports are, of course, of varied interest and importance, but may be of value to the various war-agencies involved in the respective subjects discussed.

J.F.C.
J.F.C.

July 28, 1944

PORT SECURITY

It is reported that security in ports of Portland, Boston, and New York is extremely poor. Access to explosives loading areas as well as to major embarkation docks can be had without difficulty.

In this connection it is reported that, without being accosted or stopped, entrance may be effected to the docks at the principal explosives loading area in the Port of New York. For example, about three weeks ago, a vessel was boarded in that area with no challenge or examination by guards or patrols.

Departure was taken in the same manner. Patrols were grouped together apparently in conversation at the time of departure.

In Boston it is reported that entrance to a pier adjacent to a dock at which one of our largest transports was lying was effected without difficulty. The boarding of unguarded small boats lying not 100 yards from the ship's side was also easily accomplished.

Coast Guard patrols in the port of New York are reported to be concentrating on the prevention of smoking in the offices of steamship piers. Persons found smoking are immediately taken in a patrol wagon to police court,

July 26, 1944

- 2 -

where they are fined \$10.00 to \$100.00. It is stated that the result is to cause office personnel to "sneak" smokes and keep ash trays in desk drawers, from which small fires have resulted.

Considerable irritation is being caused by this practice. All affected personnel consider this practice senseless as they have always smoked in their offices and believe that much less danger is caused by smoking than by the laxity which they see in actually guarding piers and important danger areas from sabotage or accidental fire or damage.

It is recommended that immediate steps be taken to tighten up security in all ports with particular reference to major dangers.

contingents of sixteen-year-old trainees at Great Neck Bay, Long Island, have returned to their homes as soon as they were granted their first shore leave from the training station. This situation is stated to be causing considerable anxiety on the part of officials responsible for the training program.

It is further reported that, in general, merchant crews are working well with their captors and officers. It is stated, however, that certain difficulties are quite generally encountered in ports in European waters.

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It is further reported that, in general, merchant crews are working well with their sergeants and officers. It is stated, however, that serious difficulties are quite generally encountered in ports in European countries.

July 28, 1944

MERCHANT SEAMEN

It is reported that discontinuance of bonus pay for merchant crews sailing in War Zones has caused many of the older merchant sailors to obtain shore employment. As a result the War Shipping Administration is intensively recruiting sixteen-year-old boys for their training program.

At the present time it is reported that the ratio of sixteen-year-old boys to the older experienced men aboard U.S. merchant ships is about 1:6. It is further stated this increase of young trainees aboard the ships has further resulted in the resignations of older men.

It is reported that 60 to 70 per cent of recent contingents of sixteen-year-old trainees at Sheepshead Bay, Long Island, have returned to their homes as soon as they were granted their first shore leave from the training station. This situation is stated to be causing considerable anxiety on the part of officials responsible for the training program.

It is further reported that, in general, merchant crews are working well with their masters and officers. It is stated, however, that serious difficulties are quite generally encountered in ports in European Theatres

due to the desire of the Naval Officers in charge of the ports to control and restrict the liberty of the merchant crews as well as that of the naval gun crews over which they have direct control.

Cases are reported where masters of merchant vessels have refused to concede the right of the Naval Officers to restrict the liberty of their ship's crew. It is reported that, in general, merchant crews are superior to naval gun crews in shore behavior. Reports indicate that the merchant sailor is more satisfied when controlled and disciplined only by his own master and officers.

It is reported that the pay differences between masters, officers and seamen of British and American merchant crews have caused considerable feeling. Furthermore, because of hurt pride amounting to personal embarrassment, it is reported that British masters are now very reluctant to come to America to accept delivery of any American-built merchantmen.

It is stated that in general American ship operators are having no difficulty in their dealings with the National Maritime Union and that the Union officials and delegates seem capable of controlling their men and arbitrating their difficulties satisfactorily.

It is stated that both the Army Ground Forces and the Navy (Bureau of Personnel) have attempted for some

months now to obtain thousands of copies of a pamphlet entitled "Safety for Seamen" prepared by the War Shipping Administration (United Seamen's Service).

At the present time it is stated that the War Shipping Administration cannot supply the quantities of pamphlets needed for the Army and Navy from funds allocated for merchant seamen. It would appear that both the Army and Navy could easily secure permission to reprint this pamphlet at their own expense and distribute the number needed.

The best information, however, does not indicate that any action is being initiated in this direction.

Months ago, in and around Brunswick, in this section recent front-page interest is pertinent (attached). This appeared two days after it was reported that 20,000 gallons were burned.

It is further reported that difficulties between personnel of British Fleet Headquarters stationed at Brunswick and American officers and enlisted men are quite serious. It is stated that British personnel stationed at Brunswick are unwelcome in the clubs in Brunswick, Portland, and other adjacent towns. It is stated that trouble, fights and altercations on land and on the street are frequent occurrences between British and American sailors in this area.

July 28, 1944

NAVAL AIR BASE, BRUNSWICK, MAINE

It is reported that it is common practice to burn aircraft gasoline in considerable quantities as "waste" at the Naval Air Base at Brunswick, Maine. It is reported that from 30,000 to 50,000 gallons are burned almost nightly by pouring it on the dump in the remote edge of the air field and setting fire to it.

It is further stated that as a consequence enlisted personnel and others spend the majority of their time in figuring out ways and means to steal some of this gasoline in order to drive their cars.

The fact that this gasoline is thus destroyed is common knowledge in and around Brunswick. In this connection recent front-page comment is pertinent (clipping attached). This appeared two days after it was reported that 32,000 gallons were burned.

It is further reported that difficulties between personnel of British Flight Squadrons stationed at Brunswick and American Officers and enlisted men are quite serious. It is stated that British personnel stationed at Brunswick are unwelcome in USO Clubs in Brunswick, Portland, and other adjacent towns. It is stated that brawls, fights and altercations on buses and on the street are frequent occurrences between British and American sailors in this area.

PORTLAND

The Weather Showers Ending Tonight.
Saturday Fair, Warmer.

EVENING

Invasion Is Not Victory — Buy More War Bonds

EXPRESS

Last Edition—18 Pages

PORTLAND, MAINE, FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1944

Gas Outlook Worst Since War Began

Maine August Allotment 31.8%
Of Amount Normally Consumed

The most acute gasoline shortage since the start of war faced Maine motorists today as it was disclosed that only 31.8 per cent of a normal month's consumption of gasoline had been allocated this State for August.

To further darken an already drab motoring outlook was the knowledge that rarely during this emergency have Maine gasoline distributors been favored with receipt of their full allocations.

Below Last August

It was determined that the amount of gasoline anticipated for next month was only 75 per cent of the supply available in Maine last August when a pleasure driving ban was in effect--and when B and C coupons held far less values than at present.

With the military, farmers and

essential transportation interests getting their gasoline from the State's available supply, it became apparent that little fuel would remain for use by the average motorist.

A spokesman for the gasoline industry said that August, 1941 was the last month in which a near normal supply of gasoline

(Continued on Page 14, 4th Col.)

Gas Outlook Worst Since War Began

(Continued from Page 1)

flowed into Maine. Since then, the monthly and quarterly allocations have dropped steadily.

Less than one-third of the amount of gasoline consumed in Maine in August of 1941 has been allocated for the coming month with no assurance, the spokesman said, that all of this one-third supply would ever reach this state.

This authority explained that frequently, here and there along railway routes, tank cars loaded with gasoline for Eastern Coast consumption are sidetracked for use in military fields.

Little Gas On Hand

In the current month, the spokesman said, the State was allocated only 46 per cent of the August, 1941 quota.

The spokesman said that distributors held "almost no" storage tank inventories which could enable them to substantially augment the drastically low August allocation. He held out the hope, however, that whatever reserve stocks were in storage would be made available, but in so doing distributors would drain storage supplies completely.

It was learned from an authoritative source that in recent weeks more than 4,000 tank cars had been diverted from the East Coast shuttle service and that the more than 50,000 remaining tank cars are now moving almost 50 per cent more war products than they did in January of this year.

With tank cars unavailable and with military demands for the petroleum product increasing it was simple mathematics to arrive at the reason for curtailed allocations, the spokesman said.

July 28, 1944

PRISONERS-OF-WAR

It has been reported that on the Army Transport Manhattan which recently arrived in Boston a Chief Radio Operator became embroiled in a fight with a Nazi prisoner en route. The fight is said to have started after the Nazi spit in the Radio Operator's face. As a result the Chief Radio Operator was censured and transferred.

This incident, while not common knowledge, is being utilized as an example of the slackness in handling German prisoners. It is further stated that the Army guards in charge of the prisoners on board were exceedingly indifferent and showed no competence in dealing with difficult situations caused by the arrogant bearing and behavior of their charges.

The fraternizing of Italian prisoners with members and officials of Italian Societies in Boston is common knowledge and is related in recent newspaper articles. However, it is stated by many persons that this is being allowed by the Government in order to secure the votes of large Italian groups in cities of the Eastern Seaboard.

One informant stated that serious altercations have occurred at entertainments sponsored by Italian Societies to which prisoners were invited. At such gatherings mothers whose sons were killed or wounded in the Italian

July 28, 1945

- 2 -

BUNKER FUEL--MERCHANT VESSELS
campaign are stated to have vigorously protested the presence of enemy prisoners as guests. Vessels arriving at British and British-controlled ports are being required to discharge all but comparatively small quantities of their bunker fuel oil.

U.S. and British Naval Officers in charge of merchant vessel movements are said to survey arriving vessels for fuel oil and, against the protests of the masters, order all but a small quantity of the bunker fuel pumped into lighter barges.

On receipt of sailing orders the vessel is then, in the majority of cases, short of bunker fuel, which must be repurchased from British Authorities at very high prices (three to four times the cost to vessel on departure at U.S. ports).

July 28, 1944

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It was his opinion that, since Calco Company had been the only commercial organization which had worked closely with the Naval Research Laboratory in the development of the dye, the composition of the cakes and method of manufacture, they should have been consulted during the drafting of the specification in order to assure the expeditious procurement of the materials as well as an understanding of details.

Instead, the change in the type of container was a complete surprise as was the adamant attitude of the Navy

July 28, 1944

SHARK REPELLENT

It is reported that, although a Navy specification in final form covering "all details of the 'shark chaser' unit" has been completed since June 15, 1944, no final and firm orders have as yet been received by the Calco Chemical Company at Boundbrook, New Jersey. Personnel of this organization handling the matter, Mr. Morrow and Mr. Sumner, advise that the initiation of production has been held up for the past two weeks due to the inability of the Navy Department (Bureau of Ships) to decide whether the completed shark chaser unit will be packaged in a manila envelope or in a fibered to carton.

Mr. Sumner was very dissatisfied with the method of handling the drafting of the specifications. It was his opinion that, since Calco Company had been the only commercial organization which had worked closely with the Naval Research Laboratory in the development of the dye, the composition of the cakes and method of manufacture, they should have been consulted during the drafting of the specification in order to assure the expeditious procurement of the materials as well as an understanding of details.

Instead, the change in the type of container was a complete surprise as was the adamant attitude of the Navy

in insisting on 1" tape when the 3/4", which was immediately procurable, would serve the purpose as well.

A further delay is being caused due to the inability of Calco to obtain 1" tape (a piece of this tape about 1' in length is utilized on each unit as a means of tying it to a life jacket or clothing. In this connection it is fastened at the center leaving a length of about 6" on each side). The Navy is unable to determine, according to reports, whether 3/4" tape will be suitable in place of the 1" width.

The Calco Company estimates the price at between \$0.97 and \$1.03 per unit. This differential is stated to be giving the Navy some concern in determining a firm procurement.

The present status of tentative orders at Calco is as follows:

<u>Purchaser</u>	<u>Units</u>
Bureau of Ships, Navy Department.....	3,000
Bureau of Aeronautics, Navy Department.....	2,500
Netherlands Purchasing Commission.....	300
Total.....	5,800

Mr. Sumner advised that the envelope for the container is required to be made of Vinylite-coated cotton, which they have not yet purchased. No delay is anticipated

in securing this material. It was their best judgment that if they were able to start production immediately they could complete delivery by August 31 of the above 5,800 units.

Calco has been advised by the Army Air Forces that a potential order of 160,000 units is coming along. For over a month now they have been unable to get any definite information concerning the status of this order. It was stated that maximum production would be 18,000 units per month should this procurement materialize.

Mr. Morrow stated that Captain Pickler of the Army Air Forces (stationed at Wright Field in the Emergency Rescue Branch) with whom they had been dealing had been transferred to India. They are now endeavoring to secure information from a Lieutenant Cheverick (?) stationed at Wright Field in the same unit, who is taking Captain Pickler's place.

To date, no shark repellent units are actually in production. Officials of the Calco Chemical Company stated that they expect to receive final instructions from the Navy "any day next week."

July 28, 1944

AL MORAN

Al Moran, a former pugilist and racketeer, is reported to be on the payroll of the Ford organization in Boston, Massachusetts, at \$5,000-\$6,000.

His activities, according to his own statement, consist mainly in beating up Union men, terrorizing potential members and killing, if necessary. Armed and drunk, he visited the home of his old friend, William Berry (formerly of Newport, Rhode Island) at Richmond, Maine, about three weeks ago.

William Berry is reported to be quite well off and lives a retired riotous life on his farm at Richmond, Maine.

AS
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

The Director of Naval Intelligence.

Subject: Translation of Book, "The Limitless
Continent: Roosevelt's Struggle
for World Dominion".

Reference: Captain Schrader's memorandum
dated 11 September 1944.

1. The President sends his thanks
for the excellent translation and digest of
"The Limitless Continent: Roosevelt's Struggle
for World Dominion", forwarded by Captain
Schrader's memorandum of 11 September 1944.

WILSON BROWN,
Rear Admiral, U.S.N.,
Naval Aide to the President.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DATE: 11 Sept. 44

TO : Capt. Schrader ad
 FROM : FA-4
 SUBJECT: Summary of German
 book - "The Limitless
 Continent."

The attached memo.
 was prepared by Lt. W.W.
 Pivney, a job well done.

J. Carson

To Admiral Brown

Very respectfully

Admiral

NAVY DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.



RESTRICTED

11 September 1944

MEMORANDUM

Subj: "The Limitless Continent: Roosevelt's Struggle for World Dominion", Summary of.

1. The author, Giselher Wirsing, was chief political editor of the Munich Neueste Nachrichten in 1935, and presumably when the book was published in 1942. He made an extended trip through the United States in the summer of 1938. The author gives a lengthy bibliography, largely American books and periodicals, including J. T. Adams' Epic of America, Beard's Rise of American Civilization and America in Midpassage, such authors as Moley, Wallace, Baruch, Drew Pearson, Pratt, Baldwin, Mark Twain, Dennis, Dreiser, Luce, Streit, such periodicals as Fortune, Time, Newsweek. The book was written in the summer and fall of 1941, and revised to March 1942; the present copy is in the 61-75 thousands.
2. The book purports to give a correct and unprejudiced description of Americanism as a world phenomenon. The author states that he is not anti-American. The book is written with a mixture of tolerant condescension induced by the apparent defeat of Russia, and a badly concealed fear of U. S. potentialities. While in general not openly vituperative in the mode of Goebbels, the author engages in a political smear campaign chiefly based on cleverly chosen half-truths. In general, his method is to find some American source which condemns a certain manifestation of American life and to preface the criticism with a statement to the effect that "even the Americans" admit that particular weakness or evil. As in all such books by contemporary German authors, it is hard to draw the line between willful and malicious misinterpretation and honest lack of comprehension and general mental obtuseness.
3. Physically, the book is divided into 9 chapters, a foreward and an appendix which purports to list the wars of aggression of the U. S. The titles of the chapters are in-

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dicative of the development of the author's thesis: "The End of the British Age"; "The Fixation of the American Concept of America"; "Rise and Fall of the New Deal"; "The Search for an Enemy"; "Education for War"; "America Founders in the Confusion of Rearmament"; "The Proclamation of the American Century"; "The Program of World Domination"; "The Battle of Destiny between the Continents". The following paragraphs will give a factual and uncritical summary of Wirsing's contentions in each of the above-mentioned chapters.

4. The End of the British Age.

The British age of dominion and "splendid isolation", symbolized by the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897, began to decay with World War I. Revolutionary changes in Russia, China, Italy, Japan, and finally National Socialism in Germany, upset the continuity of British supremacy, which will perish completely with the unification of Europe under Nazi domination. While England wanted world supremacy for herself, Germany wished a delimitation of spheres of domination. Finally, while formerly other nations were England's front line, she now became America's first line of defense, and the U. S. has taken over her aspirations for world supremacy.

5. The Fixation of the American Concept of America.

The American Dream (as expressed by J. T. Adams) of equal opportunity for all to be a success was largely true as long as America was expanding. But with the rise of great wealth in a few families, of a "plutocracy", and the end of the frontier, the fiction no longer corresponded with the fact. But the fiction has been "frozen" so that it is generally accepted by Americans as still being true. A study of the presidencies of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover indicates that they were more or less the puppets of big business. By 1929 the most revolutionary nation had become the most conservative.

6. The Rise and Fall of the New Deal.

A brief history of Mr. Roosevelt's life to 1932 stresses that he was an Anglophile, a man backed by the Jews, and that he was an active participant in the formulation of the Treaty of Versailles. The early measures of the New Deal, the product of the Brain Trust, were failures. The Social Security Act was far behind even Bismarck's legislation. All in all, a state of chaos set in similar to Germany's condition under Bruening. Wallace curtailed agricultural production, although people in the cities were starving. Soil erosion and

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the failure of the TVA are likewise ascribed to the New Deal. Nor was unemployment solved by the New Deal. The New Deal was in general a product of Jewish intellectuals. With the failure to change the Supreme Court Mr. Roosevelt received a setback from which the New Deal never recovered. He then turned to foreign affairs to satisfy his thwarted desire for power and preached a crusade to save the world, although one third of his own nation was living in abject misery.

7. The Search For an Enemy.

America should have stuck to the Monroe Doctrine, which would make world wars impossible, and leave Europe to the Europeans. Mr. Roosevelt led a shift from neutrality to war, against the general wishes of the American people. In this he was supported by three minorities: big business, Jewish intellectuals, Communists, and by British propaganda and his own desire for power. Although America was a land without natural enemies, machinations were undertaken which led to the war in Europe. American assurances strengthened the war party in England which otherwise would have lost its power. Thus America bears the chief responsibility for the war.

8. Education for War.

With the death of the New Deal, big business, eager for war profits, rallied around Mr. Roosevelt and enabled him, despite congressional opposition and public opinion, to lead the country toward war. Although the President cannot declare war, as Commander-in-Chief, he can create situations which make war inevitable. The transfer of the old destroyers, lend-lease, the occupation of Iceland, the abolition of neutrality laws, created such a situation. On the morning of December 8th the war broke out between Japan and the United States, and Germany and Japan joined in the war against the United States three days later.

9. America Founders in the Confusion of Rearmament.

Mr. Roosevelt thought that the emergency, created by external events, would give him power to be dictator in internal affairs. The confusion in early war agencies was far worse than the New Deal. This confusion was the result of the conflict between Big Business and the New Deal. The U. S. lacks industrial leaders, chiefly because, unlike Germany, she is wanting in ideals and a purpose. Any sizeable well-equipped American expeditionary force will be impossible before the winter of 1943-44, and the U. S. will not be able to become a first-class military power for years.

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10. The Proclamation of the American Century.

The pilgrimage of the King and Queen of England to Mount Vernon is symbolical of the beginning of American world supremacy. "Union Now" was an effort on the part of the U. S. to swallow up England, the British Dominions, and half of Europe, but American and British concepts of "Union Now" differed fundamentally as to who was to be the senior partner. Under the veil of internationalism, resurrected from Wilson's era, the new American imperialism is rising in an effort to gain a monopoly over the resources of the world. The welfare of the whole world is at stake, and the world might fall prey to the materialistic civilization of the U. S.

11. The Program of World Dominion.

The U. S. is endeavoring to obtain the military control of South America through the acquisition of airbases. America's new streamlined imperialism wishes to make economic colonies out of the South American nations. The South Americans are resisting the "Hollywood culture" of the U.S., for the exclusion of other nations will cut down their standard of living. The difference in race and culture between North and South America cannot be permanently bridged by Rockefeller's dollar imperialism. The Americanization of Canada has also begun.

In the Far East, the U. S. knows that a China independent of Japanese influence, would be worth billions to big business. China must not become too strong and independent, however, for then it could not become an American financial colony. Japanese imperialism, on the other hand, like Germany's in Europe, will bring new life to the Far East.

American intervention in Yugoslavia, Finland, France, has brought only tragedy to those nations. The "Emperor of the Puritans in the White House" has found in the war the opportunity to achieve American domination of the world. The United States has become the limitless continent.

12. The Battle of Destiny between the Continents.

Europeans, from their long experience, realize that the would-be panacea of Americanism is really poison. America has no cause which inspires its people. The only progress is for the benefit of Big Business. America is possessed by a "Save-the-World Complex", a crusade psychology, although she is unable to overcome the contrast of poverty and excessive wealth at home.

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Possibly the war will purify the American dream of its self-righteousness and Jewish traits, and make it progressive, for American strength and vitality cannot permanently go backwards but will have to accept the ideas of this century (i.e. National Socialism), and adhere strictly to the policy of America for the Americans and Europe for the Europeans.

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AG/WHF
Pres. File

September 1, 1944.

Dear Lt-Commander Earle,

I am sorry to be so late in acknowledging your various letters, all of which I believe have reached me quite promptly. Events are moving so rapidly that the information is sometimes outdated, as with your latest letter of August 16th, but on the other hand I know that the President is glad to have your opinion of what is going on and what is developing.

I shall, of course, always be glad to pass along whatever you send me.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Wilson Brown,
Rear Admiral, U.S.N.,
Naval Aide to the President.

Lt-Commander George H. Earle, U.S.N.,
Office of the Naval Attache,
Ankara, Turkey,
Via Office of Naval Intelligence.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF THE NAVAL ATTACHÉ
TURKEY

July 22, 1944.

File
WS

My dear Admiral:

The enclosed suggestion for freeing the world's news and eliminating as far as possible international misunderstandings, was made by Captain Webb Trammell, U.S.N., Naval Attaché in Ankara, Turkey.

I was so impressed by its possibilities that, when in America two months ago, I submitted copies of it to the President, Senator Barkley and G. David Stern, Editor of the Philadelphia Record.

The enclosed slip from State Department Bulletin of July 15, indicates that Captain Trammell's suggestion, or a very similar one, has been adopted.

If this proves to be the case, I should like to take the liberty of suggesting to the President, Captain Trammell's name as a member of any committee or commission that might be appointed to deal with this matter.

Very respectfully yours,

George H. Carle

8th Div. Washington July 15.
- 5. "British agreement to participate in early preliminary conferences suggested by the United States on removal of restrictions on free exchange of news and other information in the post-war era is the first step in a world-wide 'know your neighbor' program. Free exchange of information and access to news sources are important if peoples of each country are to gain better understanding of their neighbor. The principles involved in the project are fundamental to world understanding".

are run for money, can be controlled by money, and therefore cannot
always. Abraham Lincoln said: "Let the people be informed and the
country will be safe." The saying and belief that "you cannot believe
anything you see in the papers" are common in all walks of life.
Today it may be said: "Let the people be informed and the
world will be safe."

In a democracy, the elected Chief Executive has, in the
agreed. Unless the people in each country are kept informed about
what is going on in other countries, there will continue to
develop those malignant growths such as Nazism, Communism, and
racial antagonisms which always lead to suffering and finally
to violence. Such growths can sprout and flourish only in the
darkness of public ignorance. support of the people and Congress
for some proposed measure. In the meantime public opinion regarding
that A free flow of reliable information among the people of
the world is essential therefore to future peace and security.
others to such a state of confusion that they don't know what to
believe. Today the people of the United States and some others enjoy
"freedom of the press", but no country has the benefit of a free
flow of information from all other countries. Daily news and,
once formed, cannot easily be changed, even by the most solemn
stat. Our opinion regarding any event which takes place beyond
our respective horizons is formed by the information we have
regarding it; and our decision, and then our action, are based
upon our opinion. It follows that our actions depend upon the
information, the "news", which forms our opinions. In a demo-
cracy, national action is controlled by public opinion, otherwise
it is not a democracy. important information from abroad that
might reflect unfavorably upon his party or policies. That this
is In some countries the governments deliberately control pub-
lic opinion through control of the news, and undertake to hide
their activities from foreign peoples by refusing to accept
foreign news agents who seek information, or by censorship of the
their news dispatches. This secrecy should be accepted as evi-
dence that such governments are carrying out programs which
cannot survive in the light of an informed public at home or legis-
abroad. to perform their proper political functions in a democracy.

Other foreign countries ban or restrict foreign news agents
because some agents, and some distributors who handle their news
in their home countries, have proved themselves a menace to
the public interest by their misrepresentation of the facts, either
through bias, or carelessness in presenting facts, or by substi-
tuting fiction for facts.

In countries such as ours, where the press has freedom with-
out responsibility, the commercial news services have fallen short
of the mark of keeping the public reliably informed of events
abroad, even regarding those countries where they have access to
information. The people realize that news services such as these

are run for money, can be controlled by money, and therefore cannot always be depended upon as a reliable information service regarding foreign countries. The saying and belief that "you cannot believe anything you see in the papers" are common in all walks of life throughout the land.

In our Democracy, the elected Chief Executive has, in the agencies of the various departments of the government, an information service in foreign countries which is as efficient as he makes it, but he is not obliged to pass on to the people or to their elected legislators all the information received from day to day, nor does he do so. He usually releases information only when necessary to obtain the support of the people and Congress for some proposed measure. In the meantime public opinion regarding that particular subject has too often been formed by our commercial services which have misled a large part of the people and brought others to such a state of confusion that they don't know what to believe.

Public opinion is formed chiefly by the daily news and, once formed, cannot easily be changed, even by the most solemn statements of the Chief Executive.

The fact that the Chief Executive is also a political leader makes a politically minded public, especially the spokesmen of the political opposition and their followers, too ready to accuse him of subordinating the nation's interests to political expediency, of withholding from them important information from abroad that might reflect unfavorably upon his party or policies. That this is inherent in our system must be recognized and accepted. For this reason, his information does not, and, by its very nature, cannot answer the requirements of a day-to-day service of the kind that can give general guidance to public opinion in order that the people can intelligently support or intelligently oppose him in his foreign policies. For the same reason, no government controlled information service can serve to prepare the people and their legislators to perform their proper political functions in a democracy.

The best solution to this complicated but vital problem would appear to be to establish throughout the world the principle of a "Free and Responsible Press".

The victorious Allies will be in a position to provide for this.

To this end the following measures are proposed:

- (1) Each country must accept the accredited news agents of other countries, and permit them to observe and transmit information regarding all manner of subjects except certain ones which will be clearly defined and common to all countries.
- (2) The government, institutions, and citizens of each country must be protected against damaging misrepresentations, either direct or by inference, in the news regarding them, forwarded by foreign agents or distributed to the people by their sponsors, regardless of whether the misrepresentation is malicious or due to bias or to plain inefficiency.
- (3) Establish simple courts in each country, international in character perhaps, guided by simple rules common to all, which will impose moderate but necessary penalties on those who assume responsibility for furnishing foreign news to the public, but who are found to misrepresent the facts in such a manner as to cause injury to any government, institution, or individual privileged by this agreement to bring suit in this court and that may do so according to prescribed rules.

With this reasonable guaranty against misrepresentation there is reason to believe most countries would be ready to join in an international agreement to put these measures into effect.

With the majority of the nations participating in this arrangement, any government that might refuse to do so would immediately have the spotlight of the informed world focused upon it and would be justly suspected of carrying on in darkness some program that bodes evil for its own people and for the general welfare. All acts of such a government and its institutions and people would immediately be subjected to a critical and suspicious analysis by all free people. Such a stigma could not be carried long by any government, no matter how powerful. The true nature of any potential threat to world peace, be it Nazism, Communism, or any other "ism" which might otherwise gather a Fifth Column about it in foreign countries, would stand out in all its nakedness so that even the most gullible among us would recognize its true menacing form.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF THE NAVAL ATTACHE
TURKEY

July 8, 1944.
P-
WAL

My dear Admiral:

When I was ordered to this post in January 1943, it was understood I was to report directly to the President. In order, however, to save the President as much as possible I was to send my reports through Harry Hopkins so he could screen out a lot of what I would send in that might be duplication or not important enough.

Harry's health is not too good and as he is away from the White House a great deal, Captain Heard was kind enough to suggest I send my reports to you.

Personally I see no reason they should not be given in their entirety to the Navy Department if you think them of enough interest.

Very respectfully yours,

~~George H. Earle~~

P.S. I regret I do not know typewriting & have no one I can trust to do this for me.

G.H.E..

July 8, 1944.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF THE NAVAL ATTACHÉ
TURKEY

Report to Naval Aide of President:

1. Representatives of the Polish government in Istanbul are greatly worried by the defection of one of their minor officials here, Opaiewski by name, who has sold out completely to the Germans. The Poles fear the Russians here will learn of it and make a serious incident out of it for anti Polish propaganda.

2. Reports from good sources indicate the underground campaign of the communists in Poland with the Polish peasants to make them bitter against the great landowners in Poland because of the very bad distribution of land in Poland, is effective. If successful it will mean a distinct trend in sympathy to Russia and a corresponding widening rift between the Polish peasants and the Polish government in ~~Warsaw~~ London.

3. From several fair Russian sources I learn Premier Stalin is suffering from serious heart disease, probably angina pectoris. Although certain well informed Turks believe his successor in case of death would be Foreign Commissar Molotoff, a good Russian

Page 2.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF THE NAVAL ATTACHÉ
TURKEY

Source informs me it would be Tcherbakoff
former chief assistant to Beria, Chief of
the N. K. V. D.. Tcherbakoff is now
Assistant to Stalin as Minister of War.
My informant says Tcherbakoff is about forty
two years of age, very energetic, rather able,
completely in Stalin's confidence, and a
thorough Terrorist as would be expected
from a former Assistant Chief of the
N. K. V. D..

George H. Earle

August 16, 1944.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF THE NAVAL ATTACHÉ
TURKEY

My dear Admiral:

The enclosed is important because it comes from the best Roumanian source, here in Turkey for four days only.

I shall appreciate it greatly if everything I send you, you will use your judgment as to whether it is worth being given to the President.

Very respectfully,

~~Georg H. Dole~~

Lt. Comdr. U. S. N. R..

15 August, 1944.

Rumania.

~~there~~
A few weeks ago has been created in Rumania an organisation called "Frontul României Libere" /"The Front of free Rumania"/. This Front is composed of the representatives of four parties: peasants /Maniu/, liberals /Dinu and George Bratianu/, socialists and communists. The important Liberal group of former prime minister, George Tatarescu, did not join the Front but still it represents a very important part - if not the majority - of the Rumania public opinion.

The most important force inside this organisation are still Maniu's Populists. The Liberals weakened by Tatarescu's abstention and ~~being~~ still lacking the suport of the young generation, have no more as strong position as they used to have before 1938. Their principal force is their influence in banking and industry. The Socialists have always been a very small group without ~~either~~ prominent leaders ~~or~~ mass organisation. As to the force of the Communists it is rather difficult to ~~appraiate~~ ^{evaluate} it. In Rumanian political circles the opinion prevails that without a strong suport from ~~outside~~ the Communists will never be able to master the country.

As we know, since october 1943 the two most important Rumanian democratic parties, the Populists and the Liberals, have been examining the possibility of breaking the alliance with Germany in order to pass - at least symbolically - ~~to~~ ^{to} the side of the Allies. Impressed by the succesful German counter-offensive of november 1943 and by the lack of any encouragement from the Anglo-Saxons who still repeated to the Rumanians that their way must lead first to Moscow, the Rumanian democrates have abandoned temporarily their initial project of a symbolical "coup d'Etat" the ~~only~~ ^{only} result of which could have been to testify that Rumania ~~does not~~ accept the German alliance ~~but~~ by force.

The democratic ~~opposition~~ did not abandon, however, a more modest plan: to unite and organize all anti-German forces which would be able to take the power when Germany would collapse and to try then to obtain ~~the~~ better conditions from the Allies.

This is the principal aim of the "Frontul României Libere". This organisation has ~~now~~ a permanent Executive Committee the most important members of which are: Bebe Bratianu /Liberal, Dinu Bratianu's nephew/, former minister Mihai Popovici /Populist party/, Petrescu /Socialist/ and Petrascanu /lawyer, Communist/.

The Rumanian Government is fully aware of existence of the "Frontul" but does not ~~interfere~~ ^{interfere with} its activity. What more, it seems that Marshal Antonescu

himself is now seriously examining the possibility of rupture with Germany.

Yet some months ago the Marshal confided to one of the most prominent Rumanian diplomats that if - in the very moment of a Rumanian "volte-face" - the Germans were still strong enough to ^{stop} ~~impose~~ the creation of a new Rumanian pro-Allied representative body, he himself would be ready to leave Rumania and as the only guardian of the Rumanian sovereignty - to go abroad to negotiate ~~the~~ peace conditions with the Allies. It does not mean that Antonescu-senior wants to become another Badoglio. It is ~~not~~ ^{however} ~~sure~~ ^{he} will not oppose any pro-Allied revirement if he is convinced that the moment is well chosen.

All that Antonescu and the democratic ~~opposition~~ /except the Communists/ want, is to start talks not only with Russia but with ~~all~~ the three Allies at once. We may say that the internal situation in Rumania is to-day completely ripe for a breaking with Germany. The Government, the democratic ~~"Frontul"~~ ^{REACHED} and the whole Army have already ~~reached~~ a silent understanding and it is sure that the Germans will find no more support in the Rumanian administration, so that we could say that henceforth it depends mostly ^{on} the Allies when the Rumanian anti-Nazi revolt will start.

Politically ^{near} the Rumanians are united for a very long time but just recently they got the ~~material~~ possibility of breaking the German yoke. There are two important elements:

1/subsequently to retiring of important Russian forces from the Moldavian front the Germans retired recently from Rumania 3 armoured and 1 infantry divisions as well as a part of the Luftwaffe. A well informed Rumanian source esteems now the German forces in Rumania at about 15 divisions.

2/Since the whole Rumanian army has left the Russian territory it has come again under the Rumanian command. ^{For} the first time since 1941 the Rumanian Government has got its army in its own hands. This army is numerically about twice as strong as the German garrisons and it is very ^{Ro} ~~improbable~~ that the Germans could rapidly reinforce these garrisons in case of a well prepared Rumanian revolt. ~~Now~~ ^{How} at last the Rumanians are materially able to start fighting against the Germans with some chance of success. They would only need some air support from the Allies.

We may conclude then that if to-day the Rumanians are given a promise of better peace conditions and, above all, if they are assured that not only the Russians but all the three powers would negotiate with them, it is perfectly ^{certain} ~~possible~~ ^{be able} to bring them ^{at once} ~~over~~ over to our side.

A8/WAF

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 19, 1944.

~~TOP SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DIRECTOR OF NAVAL INTELLIGENCE.

The President has never heard of Chen Teh Hung and suggests that inquiry be made as to his credentials and if he is an American citizen by what authority he is now visiting China.

WILSON BROWN,
Rear Admiral, USN.,
Naval Aide to the President.

48/MH
WASHINGTON
THE WHITE HOUSE
COMINCH FILE

UNITED STATES FLEET
HEADQUARTERS OF THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF
NAVY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.



TOP-SECRET
TOP SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR ADMIRAL SCHUIRMANN

Chen Teh Hung, an American Chinese is in China.

He has approached Chinese authorities, claiming to be a special representative of the President, sent out to get secret information--kind not specified.

General Tai Li's office by message to Colonel HSIAO requests information whether CHEN is what he claims to be and advice how to handle him.

Respectfully,

J. C. Metzel
J. C. METZEL

Give to Navside to President

PEB

2078

• **TOP SECRET** •
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

A8

WAC
P.
WS

15 April 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

The enclosed dispatch from Berne and the accompanying evaluation of its source should, it is believed, be brought to your attention as early as possible.

You will recall earlier copies of a special character which were secured from original official German sources through our Agency in Switzerland. This cable is not such a message but it is the evaluation by our principal Swiss intelligence representative of two hundred such enemy documents (four hundred pages) which have just come into his hands.

As is customary with material of such special character these enclosures are also being delivered personally to the Secretary of State, General Marshall, Admiral King, General Eisenhower and the Secretary

WASHINGTON D.C.
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
TOP SECRET

-2-

of the Joint of Chiefs.

Under existing arrangements on this particular contact the British will see this cable and, as in the past, will doubtless show it to their highest officials.

William J. Donovan

By: *G. Edward Buxton*
G. Edward Buxton

Acting Director

TOP SECRET

MEMORANDUM TO ACCOMPANY 2787-92 ATTACHED

With regard to the attached message which left Bern April 12th, the following is to be said.

(1) The author of message is an American citizen, 52 years old, in charge of OSS secret intelligence in Switzerland since November 1942. His intimate knowledge of European politics dates back to 1915. During the last war he acted as an intelligence officer for the United States Government from the Legation in Switzerland. Subsequently, he represented the United States officially on several occasions in important diplomatic negotiations. During the last 30 years he has had a continuing expert and responsible interest in European affairs.

(2) All "Boston" (Kappa) material has been handled personally by him in Switzerland since it first appeared in October 1943.

(3) The sender of this message has hitherto acted merely as a reporter of material received by him, transmitting it as it reached him, and only occasionally making a brief note of comment on some point of fact or on some individual named in Boston

TOP SECRET

● TOP SECRET ●

material.

(4) His last previous evaluation, a month ago, (not based primarily on earlier Boston material) was conservative and by no means optimistic with regard to the possibility of an early German internal collapse.

(5) As a man experienced in affairs, he knows how significant the attached message may be and the responsibility he assumes by sending it.

(6) However, in view of the very great implications in this message, a cable has been sent to the author requesting him to review it carefully to see whether he wishes, on reflection, to modify any of its language and to report here by cable immediately.

(7) It would seem that the author, thanks to the sudden receipt of 400 pages of material all at one moment, finds himself in a position where he can see the whole picture rather than any single part. He is probably better able to see and evaluate that whole picture than the Germans are themselves, since they have neither the time nor the calm nor the undistracted minds to take an overall view of their own diplomatic situation.

(8) You will be further informed when and if any modification of this message comes from Bern.

TOP SECRET

(Revised)

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

DATE April 12, 1944

FROM

BERN, SWITZERLAND

TO

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

DISTRIBUTION

PRIORITY

ROUTINE

DEFERRED

IN-7419

(FOR ACTION)

(FOR INFORMATION)

SI

DIRECTOR, SECRETARIAT, MACRUDER

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16-37683-1

RECEIVED IN CODE OR CIPHER

#2787-92. KAPPA. For 105 and Jackpot. Action: Washington;
Information: London.
This is a KAPRIL message.

SECRET

Sincerely regret that you are unable at this time to view Wood's material as it stands without condensation and abridgement. In some 400 pages, dealing with the internal maneuverings of German diplomatic policy for the past two months, a picture of imminent doom and final downfall is presented. Into a tormented General Headquarters and a half-dead Foreign Office stream the lamentations of a score of diplomatic posts. It is a scene wherein haggard Secret Service and diplomatic agents are doing their best to cope with the defeatism and desertion of flatly defiant satellites and allies and recalcitrant neutrals. The period of secret service and diplomacy under Canaris and the champagne salesman respectively is drawing to an end. Already Canaris has disappeared from the picture, and a conference was hurriedly convoked in Berlin at which efforts were made to mend the gaping holes left in the Abwehr. Unable now to fall back on his favorite means of avoiding disconcerting crises by retiring to his bed, Ribbentrop has beat a retreat to ~~Paschl~~ and retains a number of his principal aides at Salzburg. The remainder of the Foreign Office is strung out all the way between Riesengebirge and the capital. Practically impossible working conditions exist in the latter, and bombing shelters are being permanently used for code work. Once messages have been deciphered, a frantic search begins to locate the specific service or minister to which each cable must be forwarded; and, when a reply is called for, another search is required to deliver this to the right place.

Either Borman or Neubacher will step forward if Ribbentrop is sacked, and one of them will carry out Gestapo diplomacy. Ample evidence of what this will mean is contained in 100-odd pages of Weesermeyer cables describing the situation in the Hungarian capital. There, however, the drama involves that old fox, Horthy,

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WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION FROM THE SECRETARIAT

SECRET

Regraded Unclassified

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

PAGE 2

BERN

TO OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

REF. NO. 2787-92

RECEIVED

16-51611a-1 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

playing the role of a 1944 Petain. Weessenmeyer's cable of the 20th of last month ends on the following querulous note: "Within the last 24 hours, I have had three long talks with Von Horthy. As a result, I am becoming more and more convinced that on the one hand the Regent is an unmitigated liar and on the other he is physically no longer capable of performing his duties. He is constantly repeating himself, often contradicting himself within a few sentences, and sometimes does not know how to go on. Everything he says sounds like a memorized formula, and I fear that it will be difficult to convince him, let alone win him over."

SECRET

In Sofia, cagy Bulgarians are playing all sorts of tricks on Beckerle and going off to Turkey on pleasure trips, while Nazi offices are accusing each other right and left of letting traitors clear out from under their noses. In Bucharest, Antonescu's harried aides try to think up excuses for the Stirbey-Chastelain incidents that will satisfy the Nazis, while the Marshal himself receives reports that looting German troops are just ahead of the Russians.

The final deathbed contortions of a gutrotted Nazi diplomacy are pictured in these telegrams. The reader is carried from one extreme of emotion to the other, from tears to laughter, as he examines these messages and sees the cruelty exhibited by the Germans in their final swan-song of brutality toward the peoples so irrevocably and pitifully enmeshed by the Gestapo after half a decade of futile struggles, and yet at the same time also sees the absurdity of the dilemma which now confronts this diplomacy both within and without the Festung Europa.

SECRET

*Passage translated by Washington Message Center.

TOR: 4/13/44 6:43 p.m.

TOP SECRET

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Regraded Unclassified

-DESCRIPTION:

O. N. I. MEMORANDUM
ROUTING SLIPF.S.
DS

ORIGINATOR OF BASIC MATERIAL Op-16-A-2		SUBJECT OF BASIC MATERIAL List of Individuals Applying for their Own Visas for Russia.
MATERIAL DATED 15 Mar. '44	ORIGINATOR'S FILE NUMBER Conf. Memo	O. N. I. FILE NUMBERS

REFERENCE: MATERIAL COVERED BY O. N. I. ROUTING SLIP NO. _____

ROUTING:

FROM: (SECTION OR NAME)		TO (1)	INITIAL	TO (2)	INITIAL	TO (3)	INITIAL	TO (4)	INITIAL
Op-16-FA-5 f.m.b.		Naval Aide of the President							
17 Mar. '44									
OUT DATE		OUT DATE		OUT DATE		OUT DATE		OUT DATE	
TO (5)	INITIAL	TO (6)	INITIAL	TO (7)	INITIAL	TO (8)	INITIAL	TO (9)	INITIAL
OUT DATE		OUT DATE		OUT DATE		OUT DATE		OUT DATE	

INSTRUCTIONS:

(ENTER NAME OR SECTION SYMBOL)

XXXXXXX	INFORMATION	SEE ME ABOUT THIS	SIGNATURE
	DRAFT	FOR	
	REPLY	RECOMMEN-	XXXXXXXXXX
		DATION	RETAIN
	COMMENT	APPROPRIATE	FILE
		ACTION	
	CONSULT		

COMMENTS AND REMARKS:

PREPARE LETTER TO _____

FA-5 Note:

THE ATTACHED INFORMATION IS FORWARDED FOR RETENTION, IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE VERBAL REQUEST OF THE PRESIDENT'S NAVAL AIDE, MADE TO Op-16-1.

CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL

In reply refer to Initials
and No.

NAVY DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS
WASHINGTON

MAR 15 1944

MEMORANDUM

From: Op-16-A-2
To: Op-16-FA-5

The following named individuals applied for their own visas, for Russia.

Lt. (jg) Willard W. Cram, USNR, letter to State Dept. 18 May, 1942.

Captain Jack H. Duncan, USN, letter to State Dept. 3 March, 1942.

Albert Earl Dunn, Chief Electrician's Mate, USFNR, letter to State Dept. 8 Sept. 1942.

John Harrison Harshaw, CY, USN, Retired, letter to State Dept. 20 Apr. 1942.

Metro Horoschak, CY, USN, letter to State Dept. 30 July, 1942.

John Klopovic, Ylc, USN, letter to State Dept. 30 July, 1942.

Lt. Comdr. Frederick R. Lang, (MC), USN, letter to State Dept. 12 Mar. 1942

Fred Phillip Pashkoff, Ylc, USNR, letter to State Dept. 29 June, 1942

Herman Joseph Schwan, CY, USN, letter to State Dept. 7 August, 1942.

George Skirka, SK2c, USN, letter to State Dept. 29 June, 1942.

Teodor Jerzy Lopatkiewicz, Ylc, USN, letter to State Dept. 25 Sept. 1942;
Passport cancelled 29 October, 1942.

Leroy E. Thompson, RM2c, USN, letter to State Dept. 4 March, 1942.

Visas were obtained from the Russian Embassy for the following named individuals by Dyson, Sp (X)2c, USNR, Identification Section, BuPers.

Lt. Charles B. Basinger, USNR., letter to State Dept. 23 Sept. 1943 -
Delivered with visa to ONI 3 November, 1943.

Comdr. Victor F. Blakeslee, USN, Retired, letter to State Dept. 2 Apr. 1943
Delivered with visa to ONI 4 May, 1943 (Diplomatic)

Comdr. Robert P. Erdman, USN, Retired, letter to State Dept. 6 Feb. 1943,
Delivered with visa 8 April 1943.

Regraded Unclassified

Lt. (jg) John Wesley Boykin, USN, letter to State Dept. 12 July, 1943,
Delivered with visa 2 Sept. 1943.

James McKnight Bradford, Jr., ACRM, USN, letter to State Dept. 2 June, 1943,
Delivered with visa 1 July, 1943.

Lt. (jg) Joseph Chase, USNR, letter to State Dept. 2 April, 1943.

Dandy Joseph Mayeux, CEM, USN, letter to State Dept. 18 Jan. 1944, Visa
requested 24 Feb. 1944, Visa granted 11 March, 1944
Passport to Mr. Nicholas 1-25-44 - State Dept.

Comdr. Clifford Conrad DeFord, (DC), USN, letter to State Dept. 22 Jan. 1943.
Delivered with visa to ONI 25 Feb. 1943.

Ralph Franklin Denney, CPhM, USN, letter to State Dept. 22 March, 1943,
Delivered with visa 3 May, 1943. *May 1943*

Comdr. Samuel B. Frankel, USN, letter to State Dept. 10 Nov. 1943.

Ensign Boyd Frank Greene, USNR., letter to State Dept. 24 Feb. 1943

Sergei Michal Guden, Y2c, USNR, letter to State Dept. 30 Dec. 1943,
Visa obtained in Cairo, Egypt.

Lt. John Harrison Harshaw, USN, Retired, letter to State Dept. 21 June, 1943,
Evidently the same as John Harrison Harshaw, CY, USN,
Retired, letter to State Dept. 20 April, 1942.

Lt. William Nagel Hatch, USNR, letter to State Dept. 24 Feb. 1943.

George Elwood Hickman, CRM, USN, letter to State Dept. 1 March, 1943.
Delivered with visa 16 June, 1943.

Lt. (jg) John W. Holt, USN, letter to State Dept. 5 June, 1943.
Delivered to ONI 1 July, 1943.

Richard Charles Johnston, Y3c, USNR., letter to State Dept. 11 Dec. 1942
Delivered to ONI with visa 2 Feb. 1943.

Comdr. Denys William Knoll, USN, letter to State Dept. 27 Jan. 1944.
Delivered to Captain Knoll 29 Jan. 1944. Visa to
be obtained in Teheran.

Ensign Wilton E. Lexow, USNR, letter to State Dept. 27 March, 1943.

Roy Charles McDonald, GMlc, USN, letter to State Dept. 24 Dec. 1942,
Delivered with visa 1 Feb. 1943.

Ensign Joseph Lew Richardson, USNR., letter to State Dept. 11 Dec. 1942,
Delivered with visa 14 Jan. 1943

George William Van Houten, PhMlc, letter to State Dept. 26 Jan. 1943,
Delivered with visa 18 June, 1943.

Frank Love Wadsworth, Jr., AMMlc, USN, letter to State Dept. 2 June, 1943,
Delivered with visa to ONI 1 July, 1943.

Charles Ammon Wicker, ACMDA, USN, letter to State Dept. 2 June, 1943,
Delivered with visa to ONI 1 July, 1943.

Lt. (jg) Philip Worohel, USNR, letter to State Dept. 11 Dec. 1942,
Delivered with visa 14 Jan. 1943.

Lt. Edward W. Yorke, Jr., USNR., letter to State Dept. 11 May, 1943,
Delivered with visa 16 June, 1943.

Lt. Comdr. John Shaw Young, USNR, letter to State Dept. 6 Nov. 1942,
Delivered with visa 12 Dec. 1942.

D. Daymon Wingfield, Y2c, USNR, letter to State Dept. 17 Feb. 1944,
Passport submitted to Russian Embassy for visa
24 Feb. 1944. Passport received from Russian Embassy
with visa 11 March, 1944.

Robert Taylor Hendershot, Y2c, USNR, letter to State Dept. 17 Feb. 1944,
Passport submitted to Russian Embassy for visa 24 Feb.
1944. Passport received from Russian Embassy with visa
11 March, 1944.

Comdr. Charles J. Zondorak, USN, letter to State Dept. 11 Feb. 1944.
Passport submitted to Russian Embassy for visa 22 Feb.
1944. Passport received from Russian Embassy with visa
11 March, 1944.

Donald William Johnson, CPhM, USN, letter to State Department 13 Jan. 1944.
Passport submitted to Russian Embassy for visa 22 Feb.
1944. Passport received from Russian Embassy with visa
11 March, 1944.

The passport of Captain Harry Donald Felt, USN, letter to State Dept. 8 Mar.
1944, will be presented to the Russian Embassy 15 Mar.
1944.

Captain Ronald H. Allen, USNR, letter to State Dept. 7 March, 1944.
Passport submitted to Russian Embassy 10 March, 1944,
is now in safe in Identification Section waiting for
word from Russian Embassy pertaining to visa.

The following named individuals were refused Russian Visas.

Joseph Earl Vargo, CEM, USN, letter to State Dept. 2 Dec. 1943. Passport
cancelled Dec. 1943

Ensign Nicholas Michael Anikeeff, USNR, letter to State Dept. 9 Feb. 1943.
Passport cancelled 27 July, 1943.

Lt. Comdr. Alexander E. Troonin, USNR, letter to State Dept. 12 Jan. 1943,
Passport cancelled 25 Feb. 1943.

A 8

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

ADMIRAL LEAHY:

TO READ AND RETURN TO ADMIRAL
BROWN TO FILE.

F.D.R.

See A 16 / Russia

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

22 February 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Averell Harriman advised you from Moscow about six weeks ago of the conversation that he and I had with Molotov concerning operations in Bulgaria. At the same time, there was an exploratory discussion as to the possibilities of our working with the intelligence and subversive counterpart of OSS. This matter was discussed from the standpoint of the military advantages accruing to the United States in the field of intelligence, both insofar as Germany and Japan were concerned. The operational advantages of working together with subversive elements and resistance groups in South Eastern Europe and a reciprocal exchange of certain types of new devices and weapons were also discussed.

Already, although this has not yet received the approval of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the

appreciation by the Russians of the advantages to be gained by such a reciprocal undertaking are quite apparent. They have advised us that certain of their intelligence material on Bulgaria is being sent to us and in turn have asked us for information concerning the German espionage system which we may obtain from certain members of the German Embassy in Istanbul whom we, jointly with the British, have induced to come over to our side. There are particular fields of intelligence that are open to the Russians and heretofore denied us which the proposed relationship would now make available to us. This is especially true in the economic and political field.

I find the suggestion made that such a proposal would open the door to the OGPU here. I don't need to suggest to you that the OGPU came here with the coming of Amtorg and is already here under the protection of the Embassy. What we want to do is to deal

with the military elements that are concerned with intelligence relating to the enemies we are fighting. If we should turn down this opportunity, it will be a great handicap in anything we may wish to do in a military or national way. This is especially true since they are prepared to give us direct access on all these matters, and it is the first opening we have had with the Russians for an insight into their foreign intelligence system. Our whole discussion was on a basis of reciprocity with a thorough understanding that we would see what we could do together in penetrating Germany and German occupied areas, and with the suggestion that, when the opportunity came, this might be extended to Japan.

It had been suggested to us that this matter should be taken up with Attorney General Biddle. I did this, and he suggested that we talk directly with you about it. I was not unmindful of someone's trying to make capital of the OGPU's coming here; but I think the complete answer is:

1. They are already here, and
2. The military people who come here are in the open and under such rules as are imposed by us and are here solely and only for military reasons and joint operations against our common enemy.

I am attaching a copy of a memorandum report and recommendation on this matter which OSS submitted to the Joint Chiefs of Staff a few weeks ago.

It may be that there are some things that came to my attention that you would want to know about. I will send you separately a memorandum on my talks with Bagdoglio, Chiang Kai-shek, Churchill and others all bearing upon matters that you asked me to inquire into. I will be here for only two or three weeks as I am going on to Australia from which place I was diverted by reason of Averell's calling me to Moscow.

William J. Donovan
Director

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

28 January 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF:

SUBJECT: OSS Mission to the USSR

1. At the invitation of the American Ambassador and the Chief of the United States Military Mission, the Director of Strategic Services visited Moscow from 23 December 1943 to 6 January 1944. The purpose of the visit was to inform Soviet authorities of OSS activities, particularly in the Balkans, and to discuss the advisability of an exchange of missions between OSS and corresponding Soviet agencies.

2. In the company of Ambassador Harriman and Mr. Bohlen of the State Department, General Donovan conferred with Mr. Molotov on 25 December. General Donovan outlined the activities of OSS with particular reference to the Balkans and asked whether the Soviet authorities would be interested in an exchange of missions to work on the basis of reciprocity, as outlined below.

3. Mr. Molotov evidenced interest in General

Donovan's report of OSS activities and indicated that he approved in principle the exchange of representatives with OSS. He stated that there is no one organization in the USSR identical to OSS but that he would have the Russian officials charged with similar functions confer with General Deane and General Donovan later.

4. Subsequently, word was received from Mr. Molotov that the "NKVD" (Peoples' Commissariat of Internal Affairs, formerly known as the OGPU) was the Soviet organization, which among other activities, included functions similar to those of OSS. General Deane and General Donovan then conferred with Lieutenant General Fitine (chief of Secret Intelligence) and Colonel Ossipov (Chief of Sabotage Operations) of that organization.

5. With the approval of Ambassador Harriman and General Deane, the following agreement was arrived at with the Soviet authorities:

a. A mission headed by Colonel John H. F. Haskell would be sent to Moscow at the earliest practicable date by OSS. This mission would be under the direct control of the Military Mission

and would function under General Deane in the same manner as OSS missions operate under Theater Commanders in other areas.

b. A mission headed by Colonel Graur of "NKVD" would be sent to Washington by the Soviet Union for effectuating the proposed arrangements.

c. With respect to Germany and German-occupied areas, there would be an interchange of intelligence on a reciprocal basis. It was also indicated that this interchange might be extended to the Far Eastern areas.

d. There would be a reciprocal exchange and examination of special weapons and equipment designed for sabotage and special operations.

e. There would be, where desirable, arrangements for joint operations, coordination, and mutual assistance for special operations in enemy-occupied areas.

f. The OSS mission would have direct access to the "NKVD" organization.

6. With respect to paragraph 5(c) above, it is

contemplated that the information to be furnished from OSS will be selected secret intelligence of OSS origin and selected research material from among the kinds which are collected and processed by OSS.

7. The American Ambassador has informed the President and the Secretary of State of General Donovan's visit and the substance of the proposed arrangements.

8. The British SOE, which is the agency for special operations but not for secret intelligence, has been kept informed of the proposed arrangements, General Donovan agreed with Colonel Hill, the Chief of the British SOE Mission in Moscow, that in that locality it was best that SOE and OSS should operate in parallel, keeping each other informed.

9. It is desired to keep the size of the mission to a minimum until its productive effectiveness can be determined by experience. Ambassador Harriman, General Deane, and General Donovan agreed that the mission should consist initially of six executive personnel (officers, technicians, and research men capable of translating German and Japanese) and four administrative personnel (secretaries, interpreters, et cetera). In addition, the Ambassador requested OSS to make available a Russian expert, a microfilm

technician, and a secretary to work in the Embassy with the present research staff there.

10. The Planning Group has considered and approved the contents of this memorandum.

11. It is respectfully recommended that the Joint Chiefs of Staff approve the sending of an OSS mission to Moscow to function under the control of the Chief of the U. S. Military Mission in accordance with the proposed arrangements described in this memorandum.

G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

C O P Y

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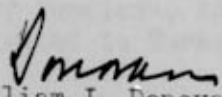
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

9 March 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Attached is a list of questions from the Russians to be asked of the former Gestapo agents now held by us in Cairo.

These questions give us an index of the things the Russians look for and also of the way they work.


William J. Donovan
Director

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LIST OF QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY THE RUSSIANS:

1. The personal characteristics of the cadre staff operators of the below listed intelligence organizations in Turkey, to include duties, identification data, nicknames, and character on work: Naval Intelligence; Military Intelligence, including 1st, 2nd, and 3rd dept. of Abwehr; The Gestapo; SD (Security Service); Diplomatic Intelligence; Economic Intelligence. What is interrelationship and structure of above listed organizations?
2. In working from Turkey against USSR a description of the actual tasks and scope of work of German espionage and counter espionage. Results of German espionage work in USSR, including methods of communications and methods.
3. Detailed characteristics of agents of German Intelligence in Turkey, also those working for Germany who are of other nationalities.
4. The operating points location in Turkey of German Intelligence who try to smuggle agents into USSR.
5. For operations against Russia to what extent does German Intelligence try to use Ukrainians, Russians, Azerbiadzhans, and other nationalities who have immigrated to Turkey?
6. As a screen what German firms in Turkey or other countries do German Intelligence or espionage agents use?
7. What contacts do the German espionage Intelligence have with the leadership of the Turkish Intelligence and espionage activities? Who of the Turkish group are connected with the Germans personally? How do they work together?
8. To Iran from Turkey what is the extent of German espionage, including its director, methods of communication to German Intelligence Hqs in Turkey from Iran, composition and location of operational points, name of agency, and assignments given to such agencies in Iran.

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9. Request any information regarding German propaganda in Turkey, including agencies, its leaders, connections with the Turkish press, and methods.

10. Hitlerite party activity and organization as well as other German organizations in Turkey.

11. Any information regarding the activities in Istanbul of the German Teutonia Club.

12. Information regarding the personnel and structure of the central organ of the Abwehr.

13. Information regarding any differences there might be between representatives of the Nazi Party in Turkey and Von Papen.

14. Information regarding German espionage schools out as well as in Germany, including methods of planting spies in foreign countries, numbers trained, and methods of training.

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28

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*admiral Brown
to file
File
WS*

January 23, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

The attached reply has come in through British security channels for delivery to you. Also attached is the basic message upon which the reply was based.

It occurred to me that it would be important for you to know something about the Marquis Don Manuel de Rialp, who passed along the information contained in the basic message. The War Department tells me that he is head of the Information and Press Bureau of the Spanish Foreign Office, and one of the corrupt Spanish officials who peddle sensational "intelligence". He is known to be a double agent.

This leads me to believe that we should have the MAGIC information furnished you accompanied by an evaluation of the characters and the various items in relation to the accumulated data on file here. I am making arrangements accordingly.

William S. Sealy

SECRET

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WS 5850

From: Madrid (Suma)
To: Tokyo
23 December 1943
JAA

REVISION

#1342, Part 1 of a 2-part Message.

Absolutely secret.

1. On the 22nd, Rialp told me of a man whom he very much wished to introduce to me; so I called on him. It was the Spanish Duke ^b Santeyana, ^c an intimate friend of Rialp, who lives in Biarritz.

The Duke began by saying that Ribbentrop had come to Biarritz incognito in the early part of November, had changed cars there, and gone on to Lisbon in order to talk with --G--.

I replied: "If that is the story, I have already heard it. I made various inquiries at the time, and found no basis for it. The Germans -- Ambassador Dieckhoff in particular -- denied it flatly. It is no more than a wild rumor."

The Duke said, by way of introduction: "Probably (?the German Ambassador?) received no hint of the matter. As far as I am concerned, I have no reason to tell any lies to the Japanese. In view of the relations between you and Rialp, I am going out of my way to tell you this,

Japanese

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page 2

simply because it may be of some benefit to Japan for me to do so."

The Duke continued: "(?The facts about?) the automobile trip from Biarritz to Lisbon are these: Ribbentrop in person arrived in Lisbon on the 11th. It had been arranged, through the mediation of Salazar, that he was to meet Churchill there, but Churchill did not come, and Salazar was on that account severely blamed. However, before this meeting, the British had written to the Germans through German Army channels, not through Salazar, but received no formal answer. For this reason, the British believed the Germans not to be acting in good faith, and therefore, did not keep the Lisbon rendez-vous.

"These facts have already been presented to the Japanese," he added, "but if there are any doubts they may be settled by this story."

- a - Part 2 not available.
- b - KOSHAKU - Prince, Duke or Marquis.
- c - As in text. Possibly SANTILLANA, or SANTA ANA.

Inter 25 Dec 43 (1)
Rec'd 26 Dec 43
Trans 29 Dec 43
Revised 30 Dec 43 (2111-e)

#106212

Japanese

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MOST SECRET

From London, 22 January 1944

HMOC/399

Following message to be transmitted by Safe Hand
to President.

All copies to be destroyed after delivery to addressee.

Message begins: Personal and Most Secret for President
from Prime Minister.

I am grateful for your having drawn my attention to
MAGIC of 23rd December between Madrid and Tokio. I incline to
view that Russians may well be reading this series, and if this
surmise is well founded, it might explain the Pravda story.
Anyhow there is no excuse for Soviet behaviour. Stalin could
perfectly easily have asked us. I hope you will continue to
remonstrate as we are doing. Message ends.

MOST SECRET

From London, 22 January 1944

HMOC/395

A. On January 16th Prime Minister sent message to President via Embassy under his number 545 (F.O. No. 411 January 17th)

Following message for President is paragraph 6 of above telegram which you should arrange reached him by Safe Hand.

Message begins: See also in this connection following MAGIC Summary on political situation in Italy. This squares very much with what I have heard from having had source.

MAGIC begins: According to the Irish Minister in Rome on December 21st political confusion reigns in North and South Italy and there is no suitable leader. CROCE is hardly known except in academic circles. SFORZA has lost touch as a result of his long exile. The Communists seem the most important party and claim 70,000 followers in Rome alone including a number of intellectuals. The King still has largest potential following and view of sound observers in Rome is that if he were to abdicate before normal political life had been restored, existing confusion would be intensified. "

End MAGIC and end message.

This message was received by the War Department for the President.

A8

CONFIDENTIAL

February 1, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

The President.

The following article under the title "Australia and New Zealand" appears in the confidential O.N.I. Weekly, issue of January 26, 1944:

"Governmental leaders of Australia and New Zealand, meeting in Canberra, this week concluded a pact for future exchange of information and cooperative action in South Pacific problems. The two Governments agreed in general to a continuous means of consultation, probably through a permanent secretariat, for joint action in matters of common concern, such as control of territories, native welfare and communications. The conferees, headed by Prime Minister John Curtin of Australia and Prime Minister Peter Fraser of New Zealand, also proposed the forming of a South Seas Regional Commission, made up of representatives from the two Dominions, Great Britain, France and the United States, to consider post-war development in the islands adjacent to Australia and New Zealand.

"Australia and New Zealand will jointly submit their views on these matters to the proposed British Empire Prime Ministers' conference, which is expected subsequently to lay the program before all the United Nations.

"Press dispatches said that a program calling for future control by Australia and New Zealand of islands not hitherto under their jurisdiction was presented by the Australian government to the conference at Canberra. The Australian press generally insists that it is implicit in Australia's suggestions that there should be unyielding sovereignty for the British Commonwealth of Nations over the territories within the natural defense zones of Australia and New Zealand. This presumably refers to the Solomon Islands, the Bismarcks and New Guinea, and possibly to other islands to the north and east of Australia."

Very respectfully,

WILSON BROWN.

A8

Subject: German Military Intelligence Report on
cooperation of Russia with U.S. and Great Britain.

O.S.S. Memo to the President, 1-11-44.
President's Conf. Memo to the V.P., 1-14-44.
V.P. letter to the President, 1-17-44.

Filed: A16/Russia (President's Files)

/ Ab/

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Memo for the Admiral

You were right.

Admiral Board did
object to specific figures
but approved the statement
as it stands.

I will await your
signature before giving it
to Judge Rosenman.

Fine
WS.

Reppy
aw

December 21, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR JUDGE ROSENMAN (Page 2)

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Judge Rosenman.

The President has directed that some such statement as the following be included in either the Christmas Eve message or the message to Congress:

effort is being made. In reviewing the present state of our war effort U-boats in its various elements it is gratifying to note that 1942 we have very definitely turned the corner in the Battle of the Sea Lanes. We are, and we shall continue, to build ships faster than they can be sunk by an enemy who is fast weakening and who appears to have lost his offensive zest. As of December 1st, the United Nations had built during the four years of this war a grand total of about 23,000,000 tons of merchant shipping. This is far in excess of the total shipping sunk by enemy action during the same period. Our present rate of construction is such that we have every reason to believe that the net gain will grow steadily larger month by month. Our satisfaction with the effort is particularly keen when we compare the situation I have just described with similar figures for the last World War. At the end of the war in 1918, again after four years of bloody conflict, the Allies carried on their backs a net deficit of one and one-half

MEMORANDUM FOR JUDGE ROSENMAN (page 2)

million tons. In that war, the Battle of the Sea Lanes was never won.

"The creditable performance along this line is due to our effort in both building ships and in successfully throttling the U-boat. The U-boat ceased to be a critical menace at the end of 1942 and the trend has been steadily in our favor during 1943.

"Despite his wily cunning and his admitted bravery, the enemy cannot absorb such losses. He will continue to sink our ships, but such action will have only a nuisance value, rather than the overwhelming value of which the German war lords so grandiloquently boasted.

"In the Pacific Ocean, where our submarines are the dreaded marauders of the deep, we have attained a certain amount of success against the vitally important shipping of the Japanese. This has not been accomplished without loss, but I cannot praise too highly the fortitude and courage of our submarine skippers and their crews. As our submarines continue to grow in number, and their crews in experience, we can look to even greater accomplishments."

Wilson Brown,
Rear Admiral, U.S.N.,
Naval Aide to the President.

SECRET

AS

Free

THE MOSCOW MANIFESTO ON A FREE GERMANY

(Summary of two memoranda prepared
in The Foreign Nationalities
Branch, OSS)

Moscow's July 19 proclamation of a National Committee of Free Germany has been analyzed by Count R. N. Coudenhove-Kalergi (Austrian founder of the Pan-Europa Union) and Constantin Fotich (Ambassador of Yugoslavia) independently of each other but with remarkably similar points of view.

Both men emphasize that the guiding motive of Russian foreign policy is fear of Anglo-Saxon domination of the post-war world. Coudenhove mentions the "recall" of Litvinov from Washington and Maisky from London as incidental signs of Stalin's decision to avoid deeper commitments with the Anglo-Saxon powers.

Fotich says that the US and Great Britain are trying to work out Europe's fate outside herself, but that Europe will never accept any externally determined solution to European problems. Russia understands this situation, is preparing to advance its own leadership in the inevitable European revolt against Anglo-Saxon domination. Since the revolt will be national, not social, Russia has scrapped the obsolete Comintern for a new International of European nationalism. (Fotich believes Soviet diplomacy still thinks on the same level of strategy, though the tactics are modified.)

Fotich thinks that Russia, in order to prevent the prime danger to her own ambitions -- Anglo-Saxon domination of the world, needs Germany to maintain the balance of power. Consequently Russia is flattering German national pride in the present proclamation. (Fotich notes that there is no German Jew in "Free Germany" and no mention of Communism.)

Coudenhove predicted that in the near future Germany, forced to choose between unconditional surrender and a peace on the basis of the Moscow proclamation, will be ready to negotiate with Russia. If the Allies refused to participate in a general peace conference called by Stalin after the elimination of Hitler, the war would become "imperialistic" (as it was before 1941) and Russia would be justified in making her own German settlement.

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Regraded Unclassified

Russia could offer Germany the frontiers of 1914, giving her the Corridor and Western Poland, while Russia took the rest of Poland, Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Finland. For Germany's agreement to these territorial concessions, Russia could offer Germany supplies of oil, raw materials, and participation in the future economic development of Russia's territories. (The Allies could not offer Russia any territorial settlement as favorable as she could get from Germany because of Allied obligations to Poland and Norway.)

With Russia out of the war, China would undoubtedly have to surrender, and Russia and Japan could come to terms. Coudenhove is convinced that the Japanese Ambassador in Kuibyshev has been active in preparing a Russian-German rapprochement, concludes that any such sequence of events would leave England and the US in a parlous situation. Coudenhove recommends that the US should forget the idea of unconditional surrender as quickly as possible and take immediate counter-measures to forestall Russia's European plans.

Fotich says the American political situation is growing daily weaker while the American military situation daily improves. He thinks the chief US mistake has been the antagonism of France, which could have served as a much needed intermediary between the US and Continental European countries which trust France. By antagonizing France, the US has antagonized Europe. Fotich believes the US has already missed "the great boat of peace".

AS

In reply refer to Initials
and No.

Op-16-F-2

Copy No. 1 of 3 Copies

SECRET

NAVY DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS
WASHINGTON

October 19, 1942.

Memorandum for the Director

SUBJECT: How Chinese Intelligence Agents are now getting into Japan.

1. Very few are getting in because very few ships are running and it is extremely difficult for a Chinese to get permission to go to Japan. However, there are some Chinese merchants who deal in Japanese goods. Such a Chinese who has a legitimate business reason plus a strong pull or influence can get permission to go although his permit must be chopped by the Japanese Army, Navy and gendarmes. Occasionally, too, a Chinese who is acting as a puppet official for the Japanese gets to go. Travel by airplane is virtually impossible. Very few planes make the Japan - China run and the passengers are virtually all Japanese Army officers. Among these merchants and puppet officials are a few who are in the pay of the Chungking government. Among the few Chinese living in Japan are still a few in the pay of the Chungking government. Thus the Chinese are still getting a certain amount of intelligence information out of Japan. It would be possible, though extremely slow and difficult, to contact a Chinese now living in Shanghai who used to make a trip to Japan quite frequently for us. (U.S.A.)

Distribution:

Copy No. 1 - DNI
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R.A. Boone

R.A. Boone.

Pres has seen

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SECRET

MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
REPUBLIC OF CHINA

August 19, 1942

*President saw
J. L. McC*

File

Dear Captain McCrea:

I received a letter from a Mr. Babcock
and, upon the inquiry of my secretary, Mr. Babcock
gave further details which is attached herewith.

I feel you may want to know this information, which
I wish to pass on to you without any comment.

Yours sincerely,

W. H. H. H.

Captain John L. McCrea
Room 2078
Navy Department
Washington, D. C.

SECRET

MEMORANDUM

RE W. R. BABCOCK'S LETTER

The purpose of this letter is to warn you that anything secret or important, which you tell President Quezon at meetings of the Pacific War Council or elsewhere, may leak out to the Axis.

President Quezon recently appointed a Senor Andres Soriano as his Minister of Finance. This Senor Soriano was well known as the leader of the Spanish Fascists in the Far East; he had unlimited funds, which he spent lavishly on Filipino politicians and American officers. He acquired Philippine citizenship in November and is now a Lieutenant Colonel in the U. S. Army!

A very capable Senator, the representative for the Far East of the Spanish Loyalists, Francisco Franco, was made a Philippine citizen in November last, and commissioned a Captain in the U.S. Service in December. He is now a Lieutenant Colonel - and the papers have even reported him a Colonel.

He is in a position of confidence, close to persons who must be fully informed about the grand strategy and plans of the United Nations. Officials and people of prominence believe that despite his connections he is not a danger to the United Nations cause. We regret that we do not share their views, and that we think his presence here is such that it would be well for all leaders of the United Nations to use great caution in discussions and intentions at their meetings.

August 18, 1942

If you wish further details, I should be glad happy to supply you with such information as I possess.

Very truly,

W. R. Babcock

W. R. Babcock

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COPY

SECRET

#656, The Westmoreland,
2122 California St., N.W.,
Washington, D. C.

August 14, 1942

Hon. T. V. Soong,
Embassy of China,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I am writing you on a matter which may not be important at all, but which to me seems very grave. You will not know, nor have heard of me, but your sister knows my wife and myself, - as Mrs. Babcock was Secretary for some years to the Indusco Committee in Manila, and I was Treasurer of the Manila branch of the China Defence League. If you are in touch with any Chinese who have lived in Manila they will possibly know us, or my firm - W. R. Babcock & Co., Inc.

Perhaps some of the sons of Dee C. Chuan or of the Sy Cip family may be in this country now, and may confirm what I am about to say.

A very wealthy Spaniard, No. 1 representative for the Far East of the Spanish Dictator, Francisco Franco, was made a Philippine citizen in November last, and commissioned a Captain in the U.S. Service in December. He is now a Lieutenant Colonel - and the papers have even reported him a Colonel.

He is in a position of confidence, close to persons who must be fully informed about the grand strategy and plans of the United Nations. Officials and people of prominence believe that despite his connections he is not a danger to the United Nations' cause. We regret that we do not share their views, and that we think his presence here is such that it would be well for all leaders of the United Nations to use great caution in discussing names or intentions at their meetings.

If you wish further details, I should be most happy to supply you with such information as I possess.

Yours truly,

(Signed)

W. R. Babcock

Telephone No: HObart 4134

Regraded Unclassified

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS

July 21, 1942

John

I hope this
is along the lines
you had in mind.
If not ok, let me
try again

Respy

Jack Redman

Am returning original again
for your checking. When
no longer required please
return

A-8
Report dated 12 July 1942
from Ambassador General Oshima in Berlin
to the Japanese Foreign Minister, Togo.

SECRET

In reply to your instructions of late June to report material and background for propaganda directed at the United States, particularly concerning treatment of negroes, the British India problem, inflation, and the coming fall elections, the following preliminary matter is submitted. It covers the purposes and objectives of United States propaganda since the outbreak of war and will, I believe, be useful in suggesting propaganda for use against the United States. I will submit later the specific items requested for our propaganda policy.

I

Treatment of Negroes

Concerning the treatment of negroes, including negro soldiers, I have already submitted a number of reports to which you should refer. The United States is declaring for propaganda purposes that she is treating them equally in the war industries, but for your information the following is quoted from the original of our Joint Report.*

"In the present great war, the United States has maltreated Japanese citizens (including American citizens of Japanese ancestry). After the war started American troops patrolled negro areas. It is indeed evident that this war is not merely one to annihilate Hitlerism but it is for the purpose of maintaining superiority of the white race and its imperialistic aims. In other words, it is a vast struggle between the white and colored races. A small number of American leaders have already observed this and in order to bring about a speedy victory they are pointing to the need of enlisting the assistance of the colored peoples of all the world. They are insisting upon the elimination of racial distinctions within the United States (see Social Justice of February 2, Pearl Buck's article in the Tribune of February 16, and Wilkie's speech in the Far Eastern War Council at Rochester University.)

"The people, however, and the Government, too, take the attitude that the racial problem must be settled not now but after the war. Excusing themselves from facing this issue they say, 'Why try to bother with such small problems when we are in the midst of flames.' Consequently, the advocacy of

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these wise leaders is disregarded, it would seem. Let them pretend if they will, however, that the question of the American negro is a small internal political problem; the fact remains that the Americans are effectively keeping the negro down and so long as they do this they can have little effect on the other colored races within or without the United States."

II

British India Problem

In connection with the question of Indian Independence, the United States tacitly winks at the iron heel of British Imperialism but for propaganda purposes they say:

"The commitments which Great Britain made in the time of the so-called Atlantic Charter and in the joint statement in Washington in January of this year concerning world-wide democracy will be carried out after the war. Great Britain guarantees to relinquish her imperialism.

"Although Japan claims to be working for the welfare and deliverance of all races, her real intentions have been proven in China and British Imperialism is much to be preferred because it is far less cruel." This sort of talk, however, has made England blush with embarrassment and Lord Halifax has asked the United States to regard the India problem more realistically and strengthen her ties with Great Britain. Thus we can see that Great Britain has no intention of changing her ways.

III

Inflation

Of course there are no arguments that could be advanced proving that there could be no danger of uncontrolled inflation. However, for your information the following extract from the original text of the Joint Report* is submitted:

"Concerning the mounting public debt the people are anxious not only for the present but for what shall come hereafter. This anxiety on their part is putting the brakes to some extent on the government. This, however, is but one trend and does not constitute a great obstacle to the war financing policies of the government. Lately the National Committee of Securities, Industries and

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War Financing, composed of representatives of the New York Stock Exchange, the American Investment Banking Association, the American Bonding Corporation and stock companies throughout the whole country, have been facilitating the government's policies for the flotation of loans by investigating the ability of all commercial concerns throughout the country to turn their assets to government use. They are cooperating with the Treasury Department by submitting their reports and their views; so that the plans for the obtention of money to prosecute the war with may now be said to be progressing smoothly.

"The price policy of the government on certain specific goods has been stiffened, but on the other hand wages for labor and the price of agricultural goods have not been checked. Washington is hesitating to impose excise and sales taxes and this is rather paradoxical. Washington fears the political power of the labor groups and the farmers and that is why it hesitates to make them feel the press of war. Likewise, scarcely any less does it fear the people in general should it impose excise and sales taxes, all of which shows the poverty of the Government when it comes to the ability of the Government to control the people. It must not be judged, however, that it will always remain so; for gradually as the situation changes the Government will grow stronger and can exercise a stronger control and the price problem can be settled more or less easily, consequently, it would be a mistake to assume that uncontrolled inflation must necessarily ensue."

IV

General U.S. Propaganda Objectives

National Unity

At first it appeared that the shock of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor had aroused the country to unity. But this effect naturally resulted from a spirit of self-defense and does not mean that the people will tolerate sacrifices in the prosecution of the war. In this connection, the isolationists and other political and popular heterogeneous elements who, in the name of patriotism, about faced after the outbreak of the war, now only lie dormant. On this account the government emphasizes unity in its internal propaganda and sings praises of American soldiers' bravery in the front lines.

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It schemes to use patriotism to good effect on the positive side and on the negative side it does away with isolationism and criticism of the government's conduct of the war as completely defeatist. The failure of the government to take forceful measures against the profiteering of the capitalists in the munitions industries, and against the selfish demands of the farmers and labor unions in regard to the regulation of commodity prices exposes the true weakness in the apparent national unity.

Confidence in Victory

The successive retreats of the American and Allied forces since the thunderbolt at Pearl Harbor have completely upset the moral equilibrium of the American people who had been taught to believe that Japan could be completely whipped in six months and that the American Navy had no peer. Then to off set this the American Government said that:

"Americas vast resources are a guarantee of ultimate victory and the speed with which her enemies are beaten will depend upon how soon her production is developed. The United States publicized her huge industrial expansion, optimizing over how well this was proceeding.

"The United States propagandized some huge offensive soon to take place of world-wide proportions, destined to bring the war to as speedy a close as possible."

Two months after the war started it was said that the focal point of the struggle was Europe and they tried to turn the people's attention to the destruction of so-called Hitler Facism but neither the people nor the Allied nations were satisfied with that.

Thus the government officials did all they could to restore the confidence of the people in victory and to make them alive to the situation. This, however, acted as a boomerang and the people began to feel too happy and too optimistic. Now, to offset that, the slogan "America can lose the war" has been invented. In spite, however, of this promise of a swift smashing blow, Japan goes on and on and this is causing a rising suspicion that all is not well with the Allied Command. This is causing somewhat of a political war in itself.

War Objectives

The American people little grasp, nor are much interested in, the spread of democracy throughout the earth as was proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter and in the joint statement in Washington of last January. Still the word

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"democracy" has a magic sound to them and they are negatively supporting these principles. To get over the difficulty though, the Government is trying to find a new name for its war objectives. It is hard for the United States to claim that she is the defender of freedom while she is fighting Japan, who is endeavoring to thwart Anglo-American imperialism -- particularly in India.

Thus the present war has come to be a sort of racial war. Moreover, the United States herself is plagued by a racial question, and is cornered, so to speak, in this respect. For internal consumption, propaganda is being spread to the effect that negroes are being treated equal to whites in war industries, and in foreign propaganda, that she wishes to break the shackles of the oppressed and banish extra territorial rights, thus taking a more generous attitude than ever before.

Post Bellum Order

The American people, because of their experience after the last great war, are remarkably concerned and alert on the matter of what shall come after this struggle, particularly what economic problems will present themselves. In order to reassure them, the Government is saying that when the fighting is over, the excess production power, now used in the output of war materials, will be diverted to the tremendous tasks of reconstruction in Europe, the Far East, and elsewhere. Also in order to keep down grumbling and social unrest, the United States is declaring that this time she will not make the mistake she did last and retire again into her shell, but will play a direct international role in establishing permanent peace throughout the earth.

The United States is thus endeavoring to quell any possibility of the resurgence of isolationism when the shouting and tumult dies. This is a point to which we should pay heed.

Instigation Against the Enemy

The United States is lyingly propagandizing the Japanese Army's alleged atrocities in Hongkong and Java and Japan's ruthless treatment of prisoners, and in connection with the detention of Japanese in the United States they are making big talk of a Japanese Fifth column and its threat to national security. (They are using the same sort of propaganda emanating from Brazil.) Thus Washington is ever striving to whip up hatred against the Japanese. (Of course, what the Red Cross in Bangkok had to say about our treatment of prisoners did have some effect in dispelling this propaganda, but it was not given much space in the papers.)

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The Press called our attack on Pearl Harbor treacherous and after that the government concentrated on propaganda designed to prove our villainy and inhumanity. Naturally our attack on Pearl Harbor looks that way to them and so long as they cannot see why we had to make that attack, and so long as we cannot show the American people the fundamental causes of this war, this wound will long rankle in their hearts.

The above is the propaganda situation in the United States. It is now up to us, insofar as we can, to bring to light its incompatibility with the facts and use it as a double-edged sword.

- * The "Joint Report" is mentioned in the June directive from Tokyo. Also, the expression "original text" appears two times in this report. It appears probable that this "Joint Report" is a General Estimate prepared by the Japanese Military-Naval members of the Tripartite Military Commission in Europe, in consultation with the Japanese Ambassador and his military and naval attaches, and that the items quoted therefrom are extracts of a part of the report devoted to the general subject of "War Propaganda."

SECRET

PARAPHRASE

July 16, 1942

About 4 P.M. on 6 July the Chief of Protocol of the Foreign Service came for me in the President's private car. We then proceeded to the Presidential residence and, in the presence of Foreign Minister *Witteng*, the Chief of Protocol, and the President's entourage, I was received by President *Ryti*.

The President made a speech expressing his overflowing desire to convey his extreme reverence for our ~~Emperor~~ and that he had signified his desire by wire for His Majesty's approval of the acceptance of the Collar of Venus and of the White Rose of *Finland*. If in accord with His Majesty's wishes, he said I wish you would convey the aforementioned decorations to His Majesty upon your return to *Japan*.

Further, the President said, I feel more surely that the close and friendly relations between *Japan* and *Finland* are destined to last for a long time and when you return to *Japan*, please express to His Majesty my best wishes for the peace of His Majesty, Her Majesty, the Empress, and all the Imperial family, together with the prosperity and greatness of the great *Japanese* Empire.

The above is a paraphrase of a code dispatch sent by the Japanese minister to *Finland* to *Tokyo*.

A8-2

July 12, 1942

CROSS-INDEX SHEET

For intercepted despatch from Ambassador General
Oshima in Berlin to the Japanese Foreign Minister
Togo, July 12, 1942, reporting material and back-
ground for propaganda to be directed at the United
States see file

A7-1

AB-2

June 28, 1942.

CROSS-INDEX SHEET

For military information obtained from
interrogation of Japanese prisoners rescued
at sea off Midway on 19 June, 1942, see
CinCPac's report of 28 June 1942 in file

Al6-3/12-~~12~~-Pacific Area)

A8-



THE UNITED STATES HIGH COMMISSIONER
TO THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 19, 1942.

*Capt. McLean
to read & file
very confidential*

My dear General Watson:

Will you be good enough to place this letter personally in the President's hands? I shall appreciate your kindness.

Very sincerely yours,

Muncie B. Sayer

Enclosure.

Major General Edwin M. Watson,
Secretary to the President,
The White House.



THE UNITED STATES HIGH COMMISSIONER
TO THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Strictly Personal
and Confidential

June 19, 1942.

My dear Mr. President:

I have just received your confidential memorandum of June 17, 1942, enclosing the personal and confidential letter from Mr. J. Edgar Hoover to Major General Edwin M. Watson dated June 15, 1942, relating to President Queson and his party.

I believe that the information given by Mr. Hoover is in the main correct. Although I have no knowledge of whether or not Mr. Sorriano was promised a position in the Franco Cabinet or as to the nature of the alleged promise of the Philippine Islands by Hitler to Franco, I know enough to convince me that the underlying picture as given by Mr. Hoover is substantially a true one. Mr. Hoover voices an anxiety which I have felt in a very real way for some time.

It is true that neither Jose Abad Santos, the Secretary of Justice, nor Manuel Roxas, the former Secretary of Finance and now on General MacArthur's staff, were included in President Queson's party coming to the United States. Secretary Santos, for whom I have a genuine regard, was with us on Corregidor, and it seemed strange to me that he should have been left behind. I asked three different members of the party why he did not accompany them to the United States and the reply in each case seemed to me somewhat evasive. I was told that he had preferred to remain in the Philippines.

Mr. Hoover's letter touches issues of major importance in our Philippine policy which I feel should be brought to your attention but which are of too confidential a nature to be put on paper. May I ask that you give me an appointment so that I may tell you of these matters?

For your own confidential guidance, I should strongly advise that (1) no confidential information of any kind should be revealed to Mr. Sorriano, and (2) that we be quite guarded as to

what

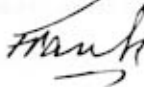
The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

what is revealed to President Queson. This seems particularly important in view of President Queson's having been invited to join the Pacific War Council as announced in the press of a few days ago.

Perhaps I should add one further fact. As explained in my telegrams from Corregidor Nos. 44 and 45 of February 12, 1942, to the Secretary of State, and in my letter of February 19, 1942, with various enclosures, to the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Jorge B. Vargas, the former Secretary to President Queson, is acting as the head of a Council of State under the Japanese Commander-in-Chief in the Philippines and with him, on this Council, are sitting former members of President Queson's cabinet together with the outstanding members of the Queson group in Manila. I enclose a copy of the letter signed by Mr. Vargas and this group addressed to the Japanese Commander-in-Chief dated January 25, 1942, as reported in the Manila newspapers, in which they state that "we are ready to obey to the best of our ability and within the means at our disposal the orders issued by the Imperial Japanese Forces for the maintenance of peace and order and the promotion of the wellbeing of our people under the Japanese Military Administration."

I am returning herewith Mr. Hoover's personal and confidential letter to Major General Watson.

Ever sincerely yours,



Enclosures.

(Copies from THE TRIBUNE, Manila, January 25, 1942)

Manila, Philippines
January 25, 1942.

Excellency:

In response to the message of Your Excellency as Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Japanese Forces, on the 8th of January, 1942, through Hon. Jorge B. Vargas, we have duly taken note of the contents thereof and respectfully express our gratitude for Your Excellency's words of solicitude over the welfare of our people.

We beg to inform Your Excellency that, in compliance with your advice, and having in mind the great ideals, the freedom and the happiness of our country, we are ready to obey to the best of our ability and within the means at our disposal the orders issued by the Imperial Japanese Forces for the maintenance of peace and order and the promotion of the wellbeing of our people under the Japanese Military Administration. Consequently, we have constituted ourselves into a provisional Philippine Council of State and we are immediately proceeding to draft our Articles of Organization in line with Your Excellency's advice.

Availing ourselves of this opportunity, we renew to Your Excellency the assurance of our highest consideration.

JORGE B. VARGAS

JOSE YULO

QUINTIN PAREDES

JOSE P. LAUREL

BENIGNO S. AQUINO

TEOFILO SISON

RAFAEL ALONAN

His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief
of the Imperial Japanese Forces
in the Philippines

(over)

CLARO M. RECTO
JORGE BOCCO
LEON G. GUINTO
JOSE FABELLA*
EULOGIO RODRIGUEZ
SOTERO BALUYUT
SERAFIN MARABUT
EMILIO AGUINALDO
VICENTE MADRIGAL
RAMON J. FERNANDEZ
ANTONIO DE LAS ALAS
ELPIDIO QUIRINO
JOSE ZULUETA
DOMINADOR TAN
FRANCISCO LAVIDES
RAMON AVACENA
MIGUEL UNSON
ALEJANDRO ROCES
PEDRO SABIDO
ALFONSO MENDOZA*
MELECIO ARRANZ
PEDRO C. HERNANDEZ
JOSE OZAMITZ
JOSE VELOSO*
RICARDO NAVARRO
PROSPERO SANIDAD*
EUGENIO PEREZ

Note: All signed over typed names except those indicated by asterisk which were unsigned.

**Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.**

JUN 15 1947

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Major General Edwin M. Watson
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Watson:

This Bureau has received information from a confidential source which I believe will be of interest to the President and you.

In the latter part of May, President Manuel Quezon and his family, accompanied by the major officials of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, arrived in the United States and are presently reported to be in Washington, D. C. Included in this party are Major General Basilo Valdes, Chief of Staff of the Philippine Army, Vice-President Sergio Osmena, Major Manuel Nieto, and Andres Sorriano, who is not only Treasurer of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, but is Secretary to President Quezon.

✓ According to our confidential source of information all of these individuals are of Spanish extraction with the exception of Vice-President Sergio Osmena who is half Spanish and half Chinese. The Informant has pointed out that these individuals are not true representatives of the Malayan Filipinos and further that the Malayan Filipino members of the cabinet were not included in the party.

The absence of Manuel Roxas, Secretary of Finance, and Jose Abad Santos, Chief Justice and Secretary of Justice in the Filipino war cabinet, from the group has caused considerable comment in the Filipino communities in the United States, where it is believed that the Spanish group has purposely omitted Manuel Roxas and Jose Abad Santos from further participation in Filipino agreements with the United States.

Our informant has advised that Andres Sorriano is well known to have been one of the ten largest financial contributors to General Franco, now Premier of Loyalist Spain, and is reported to have devoted his entire time to Franco's cause during the Spanish Civil War. It is also reported that prior to December 7, 1941 it was an understood fact, in the Filipino Department of Justice, that Sorriano had been promised a position in the Franco cabinet and when he had failed to obtain this position he became a naturalized Filipino in July, 1941, and through his wealth easily obtained the position of Secretary to President Quezon.

Officials in the Filipino Department of Justice have advised our informant that Sorriano has stated that when the war between the Axis and the United States was over, Franco had been promised the Philippine Islands by Hitler. This statement has led officials of the Filipino Department of Justice to believe that Sorriano has been planted in the Philippine Islands by Franco and Hitler to engage in espionage. The informant further advised that Sorriano's background is well known to Miguel J. Elizalde, Resident Commissioner of the Philippines at Washington, D. C., and that the two men are not on friendly terms.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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18-Misc

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 17, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

ADMIRAL ADOLPHUS ANDREWS:

X18

FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

F.D.R.

Ralph Kerpley xpp7620

Letter from "Doc", 124 Beechwood Road, Summit, N.J., 3/12/42, to Miss Tully. In re his idea that ~~fixing~~ menhaden fishing trawler off the New Jersey coast may be attached over German submarines, and urges that all fishing boats be ordered up on the ways by the Navy for examination. Also refers to four Nicaraguan flag ships plying between N.Y. or New Orleans and Cuba, which should be seen out of water. He states that this may sound fantastic, but that it was done during the last war.

x432-A

x335-B

x108

x4675-Misc.

x198-A

x99

CONFIDENTIAL

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

I.B. 163

GERMAN CASUALTIES, RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN

THE PRESIDENT

INTELLIGENCE BRANCH
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF

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WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION G-2
WASHINGTON

BRIEF

I.B. 163

Of many widely varying statements of German losses in Russia, only two appear to merit consideration. One, the German High Command figures for the period June 22-August 31, develops a daily casualty rate of 5,700 and thus total casualties of 920,000 killed, wounded and missing to December 1, 1941. The other, the consensus of informed observers, develops a daily casualty rate of 12,500 and a total of 2,100,000 casualties to December 1. The two sets of figures cannot be reconciled. There are indications which favor the higher estimate.

S.M.

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**WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION G-2
WASHINGTON**

I.B. 163

December 13, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF:

Subject: German Casualties, Russian Campaign.

1. This subject has been under investigation since the first month of the war when it became apparent that the attrition factor would be an important element in the campaign. To date no conclusive evidence has been assembled. Reports from abroad fall generally into three groups as follows:

a. Official German figures. These are confined to two pronouncements:

(1) Early in September the German High Command issued a statement covering the 71 days, June 22-August 31, 1941. The announced figures are 106,186 killed and missing, 296,670 wounded or a grand total of 402,856. The corresponding daily casualty rates based on these totals are approximately 1500, 4200 and 5700 respectively. Projected to November 30, the 162d day of the war, this would give totals of 243,000 killed and missing, 680,000 wounded and grand total casualties of 920,000. It is believed that if the figures themselves are accepted, their projection forward is sound, since the initial statement covered periods of very hard fighting and also periods of relative inactivity; in other words the first 71 days of the war may be regarded as roughly representative. In view of the German High Command's general reputation for accuracy and for substantial truthfulness in its previous reports of German casualties, these figures are believed to merit very serious consideration.

(2) On December 11, on the occasion of his speech announcing the existence of a state of war with the United States, Hitler announced that total German casualties in the Russian Campaign up to December 1, 1941 amounted to 673,415. He broke this down into 162,314 killed, 477,767 wounded and 33,334 missing. This works out as a daily average of 1,200 killed and missing and of 4150 casualties of all kinds. When compared with the German

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official figures for the period the discrepancy is obvious. The rate as to killed and missing tends to be consistent with, though lower than, the High Command statement. The rate as to wounded might be interpreted as covering only the wounded still hospitalized and thus warped into consistency with the High Command figures. However, considering the occasion and Hitler's motives, it is simpler and more logical to regard these statistics as a deliberate understatement.

b. Consensus of our Military Attaches. Our attaches at Berlin, London, Rome and Budapest make estimates, that revolve around the figure of 12,500 killed, wounded and missing daily. This would produce a total of 2,100,000 casualties to December 1st. These estimates can only be regarded as the result of honest and painstaking conjecture. Their uniformity is striking, inasmuch as they are largely based on local official opinion. The prevalence of what may be called the "Military Attache view" is borne out by the estimate of the Turkish Military Attache, Moscow, as reported from Ankara, which sets up a daily casualty rate of 13,000.

c. Other estimates.

(1) On two occasions the German Military Attache at Rome has been reported as estimating German casualties at 15,800 and 17,400 daily. The two estimates are obviously based on interpretations of a single statement and are not first-hand.

(2) Reports from our Attaches at Vichy and Bern are uniformly high and are apparently based on French estimates. Vichy estimates a total rate of 22,800 casualties daily; Bern submits two estimates; one, from a French source, sets a daily rate of 25,700 and one obtained from the Swiss General Staff attains the high figure of 27,800 casualties daily. All these estimates are believed to be excessive. German casualties at the lowest rate of 22,800 daily would have totalled 3,800,000 on December 6.

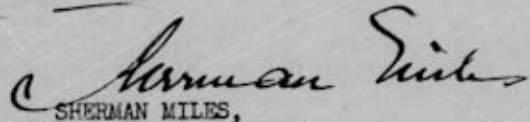
(3) General Chaney suggests that the Russian estimate of German losses should be the best, and that to arrive at that estimate one should take the Russian admission of their own losses and add a little. This is on the theory that the Russians will not admit losses greater than they estimate the German losses to have been. The latest Russian admission of their own losses, on November 25th, is 2,122,000. This develops a daily casualty rate of about 13,500.

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(4) In Berlin the Hungarian, Bulgarian and Swedish Military Attaches, who are of course pro-Axis, have informed our attache that they placed credence in the German official figures.

2. Of the figures cited above, the first two groups, that of the German High Command and that embodying the Military Attache viewpoint, are believed to be the most worthy of consideration. It is of some significance that the other figures herein noted tend to support the Military Attache viewpoint rather than the lower figures of the German High Command. The existing German tendency toward stabilization in Russia may also be an indication of losses to date in that campaign ~~not~~ the order of 2,000,000 men.



SHERMAN MILES,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2.

✓ THE PRESIDENT

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SECRET
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

I. B. 166

JAPANESE POTENTIALITIES AGAINST SINGAPORE

THE PRESIDENT

INTELLIGENCE BRANCH
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF

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WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION G-2
WASHINGTON

By authority A. C. of S., G-2
Date DEC 22 1941 (126)
Initials

BRIEF

I.B. 166

The Allied position in the Malaya Peninsula is critical. The British there are outnumbered both in ground and air forces. On the sea the potential forces available to the Allies are not inferior to those Japanese now present in that vicinity, except in the matter of aviation. However, the allied naval forces are not concentrated; they are scattered from Colombo to northern Australia.

In the air within two weeks the Japanese will probably be in possession of repaired airfields from which they can maintain pursuit protection for bombers over Singapore.

The restoration of the Allied situation depends upon: first, air reinforcements; second, ground reinforcements, with materiel.

Unless these reinforcements are made available, it is probable that the British position around Singapore will be under siege within a month.

R.L.

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WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION G-2
WASHINGTON

I.B. 166

December 22, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF:

Subject: Japanese Potentialities Against Singapore.

1. The Japanese advance in Malaya has steadily progressed toward the Allied key base of Singapore.

2. In the face of this Japanese attack, the following vital questions present themselves:

- a. What forces can the Japanese bring to bear in Malaya?
- b. What strength can the British impose?
- c. Can the British maintain their hold on this Far Eastern position?

3. The Air Situation.

a. So far, the Japanese have demonstrated practically complete aerial superiority. Their long range bombers, based on Saigon or on their newly occupied base at Kompongson, can easily reach Singapore; and from Siamese bases others can bomb Northern Malaya under the protection of fighter escort. The Japanese are also rehabilitating the airfields in Kota Bharu and elsewhere in Northern Malaya from which, in about two weeks, they will have pursuit protection for their bombers in the vicinity of Singapore. Furthermore, the Japanese have, in the Gulf of Siam and adjacent waters, at least two large aircraft carriers with a total of from 120 to 140 planes and several seaplane tenders. More aviation is available on short notice.

b. For defense, the British initially had only 198 planes in the whole Far East Command, and only 138 of these were considered combat aircraft. It is believed that about 100 of these have been lost. Although some Dutch bombers are operating from Sumatra, it is only a question of time, barring reinforcements,

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before the Japanese have unopposed air superiority. Even if the entire Dutch air strength of some 226 assorted planes were added to the British forces the Japanese would easily have twice that many within reach.

c. The nearest important British air units, from which reinforcements could be sent to Malaya, are in the Middle East. As of November 7, 1941 the R.A.F. strength in the Middle East totaled some 1,600 airplanes, of which 1,004 were then serviceable. It is believed that aircraft flown to the Far East could be replaced from storage in the United Kingdom. It is practicable to fly all types of combat aircraft from Cairo to Rangoon.

4. Ground Situation.

The most recent information indicates that the Japanese are now employing four divisions in Malaya, with two more in process of landing at Songkhla and Patani. They probably also have a regiment of tanks. More divisions can be made available at early date. Against these forces, the British have a total of ten Infantry brigades, two of which are now practically out of action from losses, while four have not yet been committed. There are eight Field Artillery regiments (24 field guns each), ten Antiaircraft regiments (48 Bofors-40mm.-each), and two Antitank regiments (64-2 pdr. guns each). Unless large reinforcements arrive in the very near future, continued British withdrawal must be expected until they have reached the outer defense lines of Singapore. Thereafter, the chance of reinforcement will lessen.

5. The Naval Situation.

While the Japanese naval strength is not concentrated in the South China Sea or the Gulf of Siam, they have, in these waters, a total of some 12 cruisers, 44 destroyers, 22 submarines, 4 aircraft carriers, with about 200 planes, 6 seaplane tenders with at least 72 planes, and miscellaneous other units. There may also be one or two battleships. The British strength, including the China and East Indies stations, and the Australian and New Zealand units, is 4 battleships (assigned, but probably not yet joined), 21 cruisers, 24 destroyers. Dutch naval forces include 4 cruisers, 7 destroyers, 15 submarines. The American Asiatic Fleet consists of 2 cruisers, 17 destroyers, 14 submarines, and 1 carrier. These Allied forces are not concentrated. Moreover, in view of the fate of the "Prince of Wales" and "Repulse", and with growing Japanese air strength in the area, it is not likely that the allied Far Eastern naval forces will risk a general naval engagement with the enemy, even though by a swift concentration

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they might outnumber him locally in surface craft. The Allied naval forces, particularly their submarines, do have considerable harassing value.

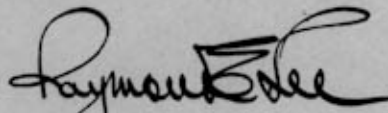
6. Conclusions.

On the basis of the foregoing:

a. The British forces will be driven back on Singapore, slowly during the next two weeks, but probably more rapidly after the full Japanese air effort begins to take effect.

b. Without air reinforcements the British will find it increasingly difficult to maintain their aviation. Unless conditions change, decisive naval action is unlikely.

c. It is fairly certain that, within a month, the British position on the Island of Singapore will be critical unless the general situation is altered by events elsewhere, or unless heavy Allied reinforcements, air and ground, reach Malaya.



RAYMOND E. LEE,
Brigadier General, U. S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2.

✓THE PRESIDENT

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MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

I.B. 184

JAPANESE COMMANDERS IN THE SOUTHWARD DRIVE

THE PRESIDENT

**INTELLIGENCE BRANCH
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF**

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**WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION G-2
WASHINGTON**

I.E. 164

BRIEF

Russian Intelligence through British Army Delegation in Washington reports names of General Officer Commanders Japanese southward advance and names of four task force or Army Commanders. Terauchi, G.O.C.; Yamashita, N.E.I. force; Seki, Malaya force; Iida, Thailand, and Burma force; Homma, Philippine force.

S.M.

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WAR DEPARTMENT
WAR DEPARTMENT GENERAL STAFF
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION G-2
WASHINGTON

I.B. 164

December 16, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF:

Subject: Japanese Commanders in the Southward Drive.

1. This Division has information from Russian sources, through the British Army Delegation in Washington, partially confirmed by the Chinese G-2 Office through our Military Attache in Chungking to the following effect:

a. General Count Terauchi is Commander-in-Chief of all Japanese forces in the current southward drive.

b. Lieut. General Tomozuki Yamashita commands the force intended for an attack on the Netherlands East Indies.

c. Lieut. General Kameharu Seki commands the expedition against Malaya.

d. Lieut. General Shojiro Iida commands the expedition against Thailand and Burma.

e. Lieut. General Masaharu Homma commands the expedition against the Philippines.

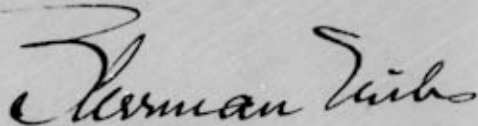
2. The normal command for a Lieutenant General in the Japanese Army is a division, though during the past four years task forces of two or more divisions have been commanded by officers of this grade.

3. General Homma (age 54) has had a distinguished career as a staff officer and as a division commander in active operations in China. He was Military Attache in London in 1930; Chief of the Press Relations Bureau, War Office in 1931-32; Army representative at the Geneva Disarmament Conference in 1931; Member of Prince Chichibu's suite in London in 1937; Director of the 2nd Bureau (G-2) Army General Staff in 1938; Commander of the Tientsin Garrison in 1939; Commander of the Taiwan Army in 1940. He speaks English fluently, is outwardly pleasant and affable with foreigners, but has a deep-seated feeling of resentment against Anglo-Saxons.

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4. It is significant that in this report no mention is made of any Japanese Army commander of an expedition against Hawaii. This lends credence to the belief already expressed by this Division that the attack on Oahu was a naval and air raid only - not to be followed by Japanese landing operations.



SHERMAN MILES,
Brigadier General, U.S. Army,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2.

THE PRESIDENT

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