PSF: Office of Strategic Services: Donovan Reports, March 26 - April 13, 1942
Folder #8

PSF Subject File
Box 165

CONTINUED
MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: William J. Donovan

In view of my memorandum to you of today concerning Otto, I thought you might want to have the following information on the official British attitude toward freedom movements:

"All movements have, in general, proved disappointing. The people of occupied countries have a certain distrust of more fortunately placed emigrants. In addition such emigrants are almost invariably persons who in their own countries were already repudiated. They are out of touch with their own homelands although they have the virtue of democratic and liberal ideas.

"With regard to Italy, movement here commenced under Petrone, broke up by reason of internal dissensions, and no longer enjoys recognition: Sforza is considered entirely unrepresentative of modern Italy.

"With reference to Hungary, KAROLYI is considered ineligible because he is regarded as a KERENSKY. ECKHARDT is considered outstanding by the British but
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

FROM: William J. Donovan

I thought that you might like to see the proposal I will take up with our Propaganda Planning Committee next week relative to the attempt to split Japan and Germany. It is as follows:

"In considering the question of driving a wedge between the Nazis and their Japanese allies, it is assumed that the main weight - and perhaps all the weight - of propaganda must be directed against Germany since the scarcity of short-wave listening sets in Japan renders broadcasts to that country largely ineffectual.

"There are a number of points which might be touched on and which might cause dissension.

"1. In general broadcasts to Germany:
   a) Stress the point that in the event of an Axis victory Japan, with the territory which she will control, and the riches which she will
and China since 1920. Many German military figures - Bauer, Wetzell and Seeckt - turned to China as a field for their genius. They knew that the threat of Japan to China was a great threat to all civilization.

b) The German Military Mission under Falkenhausen was withdrawn in 1938 only on the demand of Japan. Since when have German soldiers been ordered out of their positions by an alien race?

c) Ask General von Falkenhausen what he saw at the sack of Nanking, and how it affected him? Ask him why German officers were prepared to wear Chinese uniforms in protest against the barbarities of Japan. Ask him why many of his officers refused to leave with the Mission and remained to fight against the Japanese."
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM: William J. Donovan

The following is a report from our New York office covering the highlights of the week's war on the propaganda front. It is based on recording of broadcasts on shortwave heard at FCC's listening posts in Washington and Portland, Oregon; the Columbia Broadcasting System's listening posts in San Francisco and New York; on medium wave broadcasts recorded by the British Broadcasting Corporation and by our own monitors.

Propaganda developments of the week must be against a psychological background of mounting expectancy and anxiety.

The over-all impression left by the world propaganda war this week has been that of two mighty contenders sparring for position before the joining of battle. While no important shifts in basic strategy have appeared, both sides have shown great ingenuity in exploiting day-by-day developments in a hopeful effort to injure the enemy's striking and staying power.
The Axis, on the whole, has been relatively weak in terror propaganda of the type which generally accompanies offensive action, and relatively strong in the dissolvent type of propaganda which seeks to divide the ranks of the enemy and destroy the will to fight. From a military standpoint, this may suggest that the Axis is now seeking to prepare the anti-Axis world psychologically for the greatest possible shock from terror propaganda if and when the Axis offensives are unleashed.

Our own propaganda line, on the other hand, has stressed steady progress, especially in military preparations for an offensive, in munitions production, and in the harmonious enlistment of labor in the war effort. We have avoided promises of success of specific offensives, although we have exploited to the utmost whatever military actions have been taken by us and our allies against the enemy. The Axis, too, has heavily stressed its day-by-day successes in battle. To the hypothetical neutral listener it might seem that both sides are going great guns on the raid-and-skirmish level, in a kind of warming-up for greater successes to come.

It was particularly evident this week that the Axis expends considerable energy in replying to, and attempting to disprove, our claims. We have shown virtually no concern of this sort about Axis claims. Only in the instance of the attack on the
British Malta convoy have we referred to Axis claims for the purpose of discrediting them. In general, our attitude seems to be that Axis military claims are not worthy of notice or reply.

**AXIS LINES**

In the great mass of propaganda put out by the Axis and Axis-controlled stations may be distinguished four major objectives:

1. To alienate United Nation from United Nation.

Emerging with special clarity this week from all the frictions reported by the Axis as disturbing the fighting front of the United Nations, was the predominant thesis that the United States is shamelessly seizing the ruined carcass of the British Empire. In broadcasts beamed to non-European peoples, this theme now transcends the bogey of Soviet Russia greedy to seize and bolsheivize the lands of Europe and the Near East.

According to the Axis, we have already taken over Canada and other British possessions in North America. We are now getting Australia, which is aiding the process of falling out with Churchill. We have designs on South Africa, whose General Smuts is already Americanized and eager to change his allegiance.

Our policy of economic penetration in South America is directed solely to the end of squeezing out British commercial interests and closing the door of South American trade to all but Americans.
2. To alienate native populations from the United Nations. This is, of course, a continuing line, but nuances this week turned up some interesting Axis contradictions and uncertainties. Regarding India, for instance, the Axis said last Saturday that the Indians are now in a position to dictate to the British. By Thursday, the Axis said that Cripps had come with a ready-made plan that he would force on India; the Indians would have to take it or leave it. In the Philippines, Tokyo attempted to use L'Affaire Quezon to rouse Filipino hatred of the United States. With a curious faltering, however, Tokyo couldn't decide whether he had been assassinated by Americans for refusing to "escape" with MacArthur or had died from tuberculosis as a result of the hardships of the Bataan jungle. Tokyo finally dropped the matter by tagging the reported assassination as a "rumor"; and Tokyo, after reporting the jubilation of the liberated Indonesian population of the Nei, since that time has continued to blacken the character of the Dutch to the natives and to threaten the Indonesians with punishment if they failed to cooperate with the Japanese.

3. To alienate neutrals from the United Nations. Persistent has been Axis denunciation of Yankee pressure upon Latin America. The Axis harps on our responsibility for the sinking of the Tolten, and Tokyo even suggested this week
that we deliberately sank the Tolten to stir an anti-Axis reaction in Chile. Argentina has been praised for refusing to cooperate with an Axis-announced convoy system for the Western Hemisphere, in an obvious bid to split Argentina from other Latin American nations.

4. To divide the peoples of the United Nations against each other and against their governments. Rome has been particularly active in spreading division and defeatism. The English have been told that they have no reason to fight the Axis, and that their real enemies are Roosevelt, the Jews, and Stalin. Americans have been told that war is futile and horrible, and are asked whether they think the war is necessary in order to carry on the life they had been leading. A new Axis station, Radio DeBunk, believed by FCC monitors to be located in Germany, this week began broadcasting isolationism and anglophobia in a kind of pseudo-breezy vernacular of the American Middle West.

MILITARY CLAIMS

In addition to these efforts to split and confuse the United Nations, the Axis has bragged loudly of its military prowess. It has been particularly vocal on the "destruction" of the British Malta convoy. Tokyo has stressed the attacks launched against Bataan after the departure of MacArthur.
The European Axis still tends to make Japanese victories more brilliant than even Tokyo claims, and Tokyo similarly furbishes the successes of its partners in Europe.

Significantly, the clearest examples of terroristic propaganda, designed to spread fear and anxiety as a prelude to attack, have not come from the country which is presumably launching the attack. Tokyo reported as early as last Sunday, for instance, that the German spring offensive had already started on the Russian front with new secret weapons and new tactics. Reports of a huge Japanese invasion fleet heading for Australia have not come from Tokyo but from the satellite station of Saigon and from pro-Axis Vichy.

Obviously related to terror strategy was the Axis report of a meeting of German generals with Hitler in Berlin. While some American radio stations played this as news, our own attitude was skeptical, as we pointed out in a directive to our writers. We ridiculed the meeting in our notice of it, pointing out that Brauchitsch might again be used as a whipping boy in the event that the threatened spring offensive turned out badly.

To offset the wave of optimism following MacArthur's arrival in Australia, the Axis has taken particular pains to belittle our military preparations, stressing our shipping
losses and all losses of warcraft and planes admitted in our 
communications. The Axis has repeatedly proclaimed that offen-
sives by the United Nations are impossible. It has even 
poo-hooed our flying fortresses, calling them inferior to 
those of the Axis. There is good reason to interpret such 
statements as expressions of alarm rather than of confidence.

Axis name-calling, while lacking in novelty, has lost 
none of its vigor. Americans are greedy, undemocratic, and 
crude. They throw harmless Japs, including citizens, into 
concentration camps; they chop down innocent cherry trees; 
they mistreat Mexicans; they segregate Negroes in Jim Crow 
cars. MacArthur was abused as the man who used tear gas on 
the poor and hungry bonus marchers seeking a redress of just 
grievances. Even the seizure of the Toledo, Peoria, and 
Western Railroad was cited as an indication of American 
greed to control everything, including, of course, the world.

**AXIS ADMISSIONS**

Three Axis admissions this week should be mentioned. 
German shortwave stations announced a new cut in rations. 
The absence of evidence of direct mention of the new rationing 
on German medium wave programs suggests that the announcement 
may be intended to serve a propaganda purpose by creating a 
false impression of conditions in Germany and perhaps inducing
a feeling of complacency in United Nations in respect to German difficulties. Vichy subsequently sent out an extremely pessimistic account of Europe's food situation, which goes to strengthen the suspicion of deceit. The Axis line has usually stressed the self-sufficiency of Europe in food. Secondly, the Axis has apparently made no great effort to hide the reported friction between Hungary and Rumania. In spite of our own directive which stated that a Balkan flare-up is anticipated, one may perhaps question whether this story, too, has not been permitted to have currency with some ulterior motive. Certainly our own explanation, which we broadcast, is not too convincing. Germany, we said, is deliberately encouraging the quarrel for the purpose of mobilizing the Hungarian army, which will then be sent out to fight not the Rumanians, but Russians; and Tokyo has been talking all week about measures for protection against air raids.

**OUR OWN EFFORT: ACTION**

It may be said this week with even greater emphasis than last that we have not been interested in replying to Axis claims and arguments. With increasing force, we have stressed our own military actions and those of our Allies instead of trying to answer directly the offensive propaganda lines of the Axis. Fortunately, we have had an increasing number of American
exploits to report. These events are, of course, common knowledge, but it may be useful to report that we have given an especially heavy emphasis to sea and air action against Jap shipping, aviation, and bases; to the flying tigers, especially their attacks on ships and airfields in Thailand; to the American raid on Zamboanga, showing that the spirit of MacArthur is still alive; and to the Chinese advance into Thailand, which we reported as a full-scale invasion under General Stilwell's command. In connection with the flying tigers, we also broadcast as commentary a summary of an article by Eve Curie on General Chenault.

We have given generous attention to our Allies, especially Russia. In regard to the Malta convoy, we said that in spite of all the Axis talk, the laurels clearly go to the British. We departed from our usual contemptuous indifference to Axis claims in this case to point out contradictions between Rome and Berlin versions of the action.

ANTI-AXIS UNITY

Also on the positive side, we constantly emphasized indications of cohesion among the United Nations and of anti-Axis feeling and action among neutrals.

To neutralize Axis breast-beating over Australian irritation and divided loyalty, we quoted Curtin's statement that
MacArthur would have full authority to prepare Australia as a base for offensive operations against Japan. To Axis wailing over India's woes, we replied with a statement by Nehru in which he branded Axis promises of independence to India as false. We reported the arrival of an American mission to India to throw war production into high gear, and disclosed that American supplies are continuing to flow into Russia.

We gave much play to anti-Axis activity in Latin America, such as the rounding up of espionage agents in Brazil and confiscation of Axis shipping by Venezuela.

A particularly interesting unity item yesterday reported that Al Smith, Catholic leader and anti-New Dealer, had joined the Board of Directors of the Russian War Relief, and to offset Tokyo's anti-Democratic charges, we noted that two young Lieutenants and a Filipino Mess Sargeant hold the same military decoration as General MacArthur.

STRENGTH AND PURPOSE

The superior production power of the United Nations was reiterated. In addition, we began to give more attention to the sacrificial spirit of our own people in aiding the war effort. We spoke of "Mrs. America" going to war by conserving paper and tin, saving fuel and clothes, and cooking more economically.
in Italian memory. From German and Axis-controlled sources, we compiled a report on the ravages of typhus, pointing out how this scourge arose from Europe’s misery.

As for Japan, we mentioned Tokyo’s own admission that the scorched earth policy had robbed her of any immediate gains.

**DIVIDING THE AXIS**

Axis dissolvent propaganda had its parallel in our continuing effort to show strains between the Axis partners and the trouble or potential trouble created by the suppression of the Axis-hating peoples of Europe.

We mentioned, for instance, the continuous suspicion, reserved, and inner tension that complicate Nazi-Japanese relations. On the Riom trials, we pointed out that they were apparently producing results unpleasant to Hitler, and that he may call them off.

A considerable volume of our program material was devoted to indications of resistance in the occupied countries of Europe and to encouragement, either direct or indirect, of the will to revolt. This, too, is dissolvent propaganda, since it aims to increase the alienation of conqueror and conquered for the purpose of making the present organization of Europe intolerable.

The ultimate purpose of our effort was expressed in an eloquent script written by John Steinbeck and broadcast by
us during the week: "Before very long these peoples who are considered conquered, Serbs, Czechs, Greeks, Spaniards, Poles, French, Danes, Dutch, Norwegians, Albanians, even Italians, will be armed from the air and organized through the media of radio and dropped pamphlets. They will then be more than Fifth Columnists in the heart of Germany. They will be active patriot fighters behind the lines. Without any outside help the invaded peoples have done heroic things in the face of almost certain death. They have slowed production, destroyed machinery, wrecked trains, even shot Nazis in the streets, and this resistance will not grow less but will increase as their friends on the outside become stronger and begin to send them aid."

In support of this objective, we reported the hatred of Danish and French for the Germans, Norwegian resistance, the looting of France of supplies of food and minerals, the hope of Jugoslavs to open another war front this spring, and many similar items. We prepared features for broadcast on the great patriot heroes of the occupied countries, such as Mikhailovich in Jugoslavia and the ousted Bishop of Oslo, Eyvind Berggrav.

At the same time we made at least a small effort, more by implication than by direct statement, to keep alive the promise
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
From: William J. Donovan

The following is a summary of the German Home Propaganda by PWE:

1. Aside from vague references to future harvests from the Ukraine there is no obvious endeavor to provide consolation for cuts in meat, bread, and fat rations and gloomy prospects for the vegetable and potato situation. Propaganda emphasizes:
   (a) It is worse in Britain
   (b) The military situation is improving
   (c) Germany is aiding the New Order by feeding Finland and "worthy" elements of occupied countries.

2. Labor drive continues with the filling of 1,700,000 vacancies the goal! Forty thousand girls are being drafted into armament industry. Decree authorizes compulsory farm work by inhabitants of small towns and country. Under penalty of confinement in concentration camps in "serious cases" all private travelling is prohibited.
3. Russia continues to dominate the news. In spite of growth of confidence that the worst is over, there is great caution in predicting result of spring offensive. Home propaganda did not carry Wilhelmstrasse denial that British American tanks in use in Russia. Instead the destruction of American British planes and tanks claimed.

4. For the first time "hedgehog" military position is mentioned and new type "cockade" defense is described.

5. Growing attention to Australia, over which "British flag will not fly much longer" although not yet certain whether it will be replaced by Japanese or American flag. Increase in attention to America, Philippines, China, Mediterranean; decrease in attention to war at sea, western front, Japanese operations.

6. No attention at all to the following:
   (a) Roumanian-Hungary squabble
   (b) London debates on propaganda to Germany
   (c) Trials at Riom

Instructions issued to avoid praising NEHRU and to avoid any commitment to breakdown Cripps negotiations.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: William J. Donovan

March 30, 1942
6:00 P.M.

The following is the Home Intelligence Report for the week ending March 23.

There does not appear to have taken place any definite change in the state of public confidence this week, the prospect on home and industrial fronts is still viewed with depression, even though allied initiative in the Far East contributed to "a certain brightening of the general scene". Some quarters openly discuss "the possibility of a defeat". The question "do we deserve to win" is coupled with this. "A certain reluctance to discuss the war" is reported from several regions.

A demand for inspired, strong and active government leadership is reported by ten regional intelligence officers. The main reaction to new restrictions on fuel and clothing has been an "almost pathological gratitude". Both are regarded as real steps toward a total war. "If the people's sacrifices are not capped by vigorous government action a swing toward communism or defeatism is thought likely".

Reference is made to a sense of "fatalism and frustration" in five regions. It is suggested that such feelings rise from the desire for concrete evidence that we
are really tackling war production and successful British military action. Dissatisfaction over production comes both from the many stories of holdups and idleness which are in circulation and from the direct experience of workers and also from a "lack of information about what is already being done." Five RIO's record appreciation of Halifax's speech in this connection.

**Far East.** A more hopeful outlook is apparent in public feeling about this theatre of war. Regional intelligence officers are almost unanimous in ascribing this mainly to MacArthur's appointment. "MacArthur's prestige stands higher than that of any general outside Russia. Evidence is taken from the heavy blows dealt the Japanese fleet that "at last the allies can hit and hurt the Japs." This news "has counteracted the fatalistic depression caused by allied losses in the Java Sea Battle".

Cripps has receded a little from forefront of political picture. "Magnitude of his task is appreciated" but most people expect him to be successful. A typical comment is "the one man for the job." It is hoped that he will not be gone too long. The main public interest at the moment in India, it is stated, is "strategic rather than political" although "India should get her freedom" is the general feeling.
Singapore. Talk of its fall is being renewed. "It is the first time in history that so many men have surrendered without a fight." It is felt that "no adequate explanation has been given." "Sorrow seems to stifle criticism" among those with missing relatives.

Australia holds increasing interest. Presence of U. S. troops is welcomed but there is speculation as to real strength of these reinforcements. There is a wide belief that "Australia is gravitating more and more" toward the United States and is "as good as lost to us as a Dominion." It is regarded by most people who comment thus as a "sound idea to have a permanent link between the two countries" rather than as a disaster.

Russia. There is continued admiration for the Russian efforts but doubts of the accuracy of their communiques grows. The anticipated German eastern offensive in the Spring is causing increasing anxiety.

United States. There is an increasing belief that at last United States is "getting a move on", particularly in Australia. The news reels of Pearl Harbor are said to have "brought home to the people what a handicap it has been and how much was lost there."

Invasion prospects. There is some evidence that the people are growing "more invasion conscious in southwest" with little reliance on our methods of combating the invasion.
Columbia University
in the City of New York

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VOLCANOES ON OUR SOUTHERN FLANK

by

Carl W. Ackerman

This is a survey of the current situation along the East Coast of South America from Buenos Aires to Trinidad.

The events of the war are going against us in Argentina, Brazil and Trinidad. The situation vis-a-vis the United States of America is grave and portentous. The time is approaching when evidence of our ability to win will be essential to preserve solidarity.

Developments in the Orient are having a profound influence. Submarine activity in the Caribbean and in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans is paralyzing our ocean commerce and injuring the economic life of our Good Neighbors. High pressure official missions from Washington, cultural missionaries from Hollywood and a universal lack of co-ordination and direction of policies and activities of U.S.A. agencies and officials operating in these countries, combined with world events, are having a profound influence on the destiny of the Americas.

Our Latin American ledger is filled with liabilities, such as the following:

For two years no U.S.A. naval officer has been permitted
aboard an Argentina warship. In recent maneuvers the Argentine navy was seriously crippled by collisions of battleships, cruisers and destroyers caused by confused orders in a fog. The anti-aircraft gunsights on the two Italian-built vessels are out of order and unrepairable except in Italy. The government of the Argentine Republic has not broken diplomatic relations with the Axis Powers and at this writing world events, rather than our diplomacy, will be the decisive factor in the future.

A British cruiser, on a routine trip from the Falkland Islands to Puerto Santa Cruz, Argentina, left Stanley on the day the children were evacuated to the country. The warship arrived in the Argentine port on Saturday. The following night the Berlin radio reported the news of the evacuation. It is impossible for any existing army, navy, or air force in the Western Hemisphere to police the vast areas of Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil to prevent short-wave radio communications to enemy countries.

En route from Brazil to Trinidad our ship was ordered to wait outside an unmined passage into the Gulf of Paria for an airplane and destroyer escort. During the night a tanker nearby our station was torpedoed. At dawn there was no escort. The ship proceeded to Port-of-Spain. About an hour after anchoring, a U.S. Army plane appeared; then a U.S. Navy plane. Two U.S. destroyers were riding at anchor in the harbor. In the capital I learned from official sources that the destroyer had returned Saturday night without sufficient fuel for another voyage and oil could not be obtained on Sunday.

Trinidad reminded me of Singapore, which I visited in 1936. On Saturday nights there is always a dance at the Country Club, which boasts of 3,000 members. On Sunday morning nearly everybody sleeps.
Two days before we reached Trinidad two ships were torpedoed in the Gulf of Paria. The day after the attack Berlin radio broadcast a more complete account than the censors permitted the local newspapers to print.

On the 33,000 ton S.S. Brazil I traveled from Rio to Port-of-Spain, Trinidad and New York. To date the U.S. Navy Department has announced the sinking of seven ships along our general route while we were at sea. Our ship was authorized to sail from New York without gun protection because guns were not available for our merchant fleet. At one port a British sailor looking at the six inch "gun" mounted at the stern, remarked:

"Damn clever of those Yankees to make a defense gun look like it was made of wood."

Throughout the 14-day run from Rio de Janeiro, three U.S. patrol planes flew over our ship for a few minutes on two days. For twelve days we did not sight a protecting plane or warship.

The night before we sailed from Port-of-Spain I rode in a motorboat from the dock six miles out to our ship. We passed many vessels at anchor, including one which was casing oil from an ugly burned and splintered wound amidship. Lights were visible on several vessels despite the blackout orders of the British and U.S. navies. As there is no harbor patrol to enforce the regulations, these lighted ships become easy targets for submarines. Despite the presence of enemy craft in the waters around Trinidad, neither Port-of-Spain nor the other ports are blacked-out at night.
Along the East Coast of South America it is said that the Axis countries are centering their attacks at the sources of our rubber, oil and bauxite supplies and that the Axis navies are concentrating on the sinking of ships bearing these cargoes, or manganese and quarts, equally essential to our war industries, and our army and navy. This is one reason why the East Coast countries are impressed by the events of the war, by enemy intelligence services and strategy as well as by the conquests.

Not only the events of the war, but the acts, actions and propaganda of our own government are causing the trend of war to turn against us on the East Coast. The appointment of a Dutch admiral as commander-in-chief in the Pacific was interpreted as a political move.

In Rio I was asked: "Hasn't the U.S.A. any admiral capable of matching the wits of the Japs?"

Strategically, Brazil is the most important country on our southern flank. The areas we are interested in are mountainous, not volcanic. We are making our own volcanoes.

On my last day in Rio I called at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Propaganda Ministry, the Brazilian Press Association, the American, British, Mexican and Argentine embassies and at other offices to leave cards or to say good-by personally to some of those who had extended aid and comfort to an unofficial visitor. When I greeted Mr. Jefferson Caffrey, our Ambassador, I remarked that he was the first diplomat I had met who was accredited to a Volcano.

It is not very difficult to find out what is happening in Rio, or what important personages are talking about, inspite of complete governmental control of news. In this respect Rio is like Washington.
There are some official secrets which sometimes culminate in surprises, but by and large both Brazilians and Americans are communicative. "Off the record" information is not for publication, but it may be circulated among those who should be "in the know." At luncheon one day I remarked to the interpreter that one of the Brazilians spoke Portuguese in four different ways. He was talking about Hawaii, Manila and Singapore. While I could not understand the language he spoke his facial expressions, his mannerisms and his hands made his thoughts unmistakably clear before I received a complete account of the conversation afterward.

As I had been in Rio on former visits to Latin America I had no difficulty establishing sources of information. I knew where to check reports and try out my impressions in order to establish the reliability of the news and the soundness of my deductions. Therefore, when I made the statement that Brazil is a volcano I had the facts to prove the proposition.

In addition to the events in Europe and Asia, we are making the volcanoes by our excessive propaganda, by our cultural missionaries, by our autocratic assumption of local authority, by our unrealistic censorship, by conflicting policies of U.S. agencies in Brazil and by our lack of preparedness. Add to these the reaction of fear of Communism caused by the advances of the U.S.S.R. army, our policy of Allied isolation in Latin America and vast appropriations which are not supported by shipments of war materials to Brazil, and you will obtain a panoramic preview of how the traditional and essential friendship of Brazil is being tested in volcanic crucibles.
While only one man in Brazil has power and authority which is supreme in everything, there are others who occupy important positions and who have influence either with President Vargas or with the people. Generally the President's daughter is regarded as a personage of first importance both at the palace and with the people. Four men probably rank next: Sebastiao Cardinal Leme, the spiritual leader of Brazil; Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, Minister of Foreign Affairs; General Goes Monteiro, Chief of Staff of the Brazilian army and the Minister of War, General Dutra.

As I was visiting Brazil exclusively for the purpose of studying the press, as I was not on an official mission, as I was not writing interviews for publication and as I had no propaganda scheme to peddle, I did not ask anyone to arrange appointments with officials. Brazilians are gracious and hospitable so I met many interesting personages. Brazilian minds are always on the alert even in carnival time. President Vargas sets the example of listening outside of official channels. An Ambassador (not Mr. Caffrey) told me that one of his secretaries living in Petropolis, the summer capital, saw the chief executive as often as he did. Therefore, the democracy of political and social associations was no more surprising than the autocracy of government. The Ministry of Propaganda occupies the Palace of the banished Congress. The Director of Propaganda is as affable as an experienced mid-Western Congressman. Nevertheless, he has the authority to decide what 45,000,000 Brazilians should read in their newspapers, hear on their radios or see at the cinemas.

When I entered Dr. Aranha's office he greeted me with the casual diplomatic remark that he wished me to sit beside his desk, rather than at
the conference table, because he had time for a long talk. He opened the conversation by expressing interest in the Maria Moors Cabot prizes and commenting specifically about several Brazilian newspapers and their editors, including the exiles in Buenos Aires and New York and those who were unfriendly as well as friendly to the government. He was as well informed as he was frank, so that I had an opportunity of explaining why it appeared to me that certain men would meet the qualifications of Columbia University, which was an educational and not a propaganda institution, while others did not seem to come within the scope of Dr. Godfrey Lowell Cabot's aim of recognizing international friendship in the Western Hemisphere.

The relationship of our work to the advancement of understanding prompted him to exhibit (but not read) an airmail letter from President Roosevelt, which he commented upon as indicative of the importance of communications, private and through the press services and newspapers. Then, opening a drawer in his desk beside my chair, which was the obvious reason for inviting me to be seated there, he brought out a copy of LIFE magazine (December 15, 1941), opened it to the pages devoted to the construction of Pan American airbases in northern Brazil. Pointing to the pictures and reading the captions he asked if I would explain why some American journals were so sensational and inaccurate while others, like the Associated Press, were conservative and reliable.

Why, he asked, do American editors invariably refer to the new naval and air bases in Brazil as if they belonged to the United States? Brazil is paying for them, he said with emphasis. They are on Brazilian soil. They are for the defense of Brazil. Why, he asked, do American editors always feature pictures of Brazilian negroes? Are there no negro
laborers in the United States? Why do editors write about the 30-cent-
a-day wage of Brazilian labor without explaining the difference in cost
of living? Why make a point of the fact that Brazilian labor is cheaper
than American machinery? Don't editors know that the United States could
not supply and transport the machinery necessary for the construction
of bases?

Such was the substance of his inquiry.

After examining the photographs and text I remarked that the
photographs were taken and the information was obtained either from United
States official sources or by official approval, and I thought the article
reflected a state of mind in the United States that the bases constructed
by our engineers for the use of our naval and air forces belonged to the
U.S.A., in view of the fact that Pan American Airways buys the land from
Brazilian owners and our government was lending the money for construction.

As a journalist, I had the instinctive reaction of defending
editors, especially in this case, because I had learned from other sources
that the cause of friction was not the publication of information, but the
autocratic conduct of those who were entrusted with the location and con-
struction of the bases. Without consulting the Brazilian ministry of war
or Chief of Staff of the Army, our officials proceeded as if the Brazilian
coast line belonged to the United States. This is a common complaint.
While I was in Rio General Goes Montiero asked President Vargas to permit
him to resign because of the "high handed" methods of the North Americans.

Shortly before the Pan American conference of foreign ministers
there was a riot in Recife, one of the bases being constructed by our
engineers. It was clearly a violent anti-U.S.A. demonstration. Because of the serious potentialities, Cardinal Leme assumed the unprecedented role of peacemaker. He flew to Recife and personally appealed to the people not to cause trouble with Brazil's good neighbors from the North. This extraordinary action by the Prince of the Catholic Church illustrates one of the measures necessary to prevent the hot lava from our American-made crucibles from rising out of the volcanoes we are making along the northeast coast of a friendly, independent country.

It was not necessary for the Minister of Foreign Affairs to give me the reason for the employment of thousands of laborers at the new air bases. I knew from other reliable sources that the United States could not provide the machinery or transport it. I knew also that neither the Minister of War nor the Chief of Staff had been shown the courtesy of consultation in regard to the location of bases. I knew also that there was in Rio de Janeiro an official from Washington who said that it was his mission to arrange for the protection of these bases by American troops. In fact, there are so many men and women from the United States who are investigating or reporting or arranging for bases, factories, railroads and espionage, propaganda or motion pictures that Dr. Aranha is generally credited with having made the remark that if United States sends any more missions to Brazil, diplomatic relations will be broken.

Among the political and cultural missionaries we have sent to Brazil is a certain well known American artist. His visit was arranged and is financed by the Co-ordinator of American Affairs, commonly called the Rockefeller committee, although he is officially the guest of the Brazilian Minister of Education. After he had been in Rio a few days
he went to an insane asylum to sketch types of Brazilian citizenship.

Orson Welles was also in Rio on a cultural mission arranged by a deal between the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs and the Tourist Bureau of the Propaganda Ministry. The arrangements for all the cultural missionaries follow the same pattern. Some Brazilian agency extends an invitation and the Rockefeller committee provides U. S. dollars to pay the expenses. Before carnival began Mr. Welles was photographed and interviewed at all the leading casinos. Each day his activities occupied more space in the daily newspapers than news of the seriousness and earnestness of our American war effort. As the fortune of war turned against the United States and Great Britain the chief propaganda of our country in Brazil was centered about the day and night in the life of a Hollywood actor!

Behind the scenes there was another story, another incident creating a volcano. Mr. Welles arrived without some essential parts of his equipment including lights for indoor and outdoor motion picture photography. As he had been invited to make a film of the Carnival and inasmuch as the best Carnival attractions were at night, in the casinos and at the municipal ball, Mr. Welles was in the stupid predicament of not being able to take any night shots because the equipment which was coming by ship was somewhere in the Atlantic. Jokingly it was said that the Germans would not waste a torpedo on that boat.

Someone in the propaganda ministry suggested that the Brazilian army should provide Mr. Welles with military searchlights which technicians could adjust to the needs of the occasion. Army officers objected on the ground that the lights might be needed for the defense of the capital.
"This is war time" they protested. If the lights were not available immediately in case of attack, or if they were damaged, two million inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro would be endangered. Around the city those in responsible positions cited Mr. Welles’ predicament as typical of the lack of North American efficiency, as another evidence that the United States was at war in the Hollywood manner while Singapore was falling under the attack of the Japanese. But Mr. Welles received the army lights. Propaganda won out over the necessities of war because the Brazilians did not wish to see their guest from the North lose face with the public.

Throughout Brazil and Argentina the United States has F.B.I. and other governmental intelligence officers running down Axis agents, particularly Germans and Japanese. Blacklists are published together with photographs of pro-German magazines on the news stands. Stories were printed about spy-rings and spy-exposures in New York. Then came the news of the sinking of the Normandie. Pictures were published from London of the damage of the three German cruisers at Brest. Then came the news of the escape of these vessels which the Brazilians thought were damaged beyond use. Under these conditions is it surprising that the people and officials should be deeply impressed by the events of war and skeptical of British and American propaganda? Brazilians may be mercurial, as one diplomat of long experience described them, but they are also realists. To date our performances have not kept up with the strides of our propaganda. The lag between the two extremes is creating another volcano.
Among the passengers returning to New York on our ship were two naval officers, an army colonel and an engineer. One was a British captain of a cruiser in the south Atlantic, transferred to the Admiralty in Whitehall. One was a naval intelligence officer of the U.S.N. The engineer had been in charge of construction of airbases in Iceland and Brazil and was on his way to Africa. A U.S.A. Lt.Colonel was returning from retirement to war duty. All of these men together with a number of young Brazilian, Uruguayan and Argentine student-pilots and mechanics had to travel by the slow and dangerous sea routes while our cultural missionaries and men and women on economic and political missions traveled by airplanes and clippers under the system of reservations by priority, prescribed in Washington.

The point of the jesting remark that Brazil would break diplomatic relations if there were more cultural missionaries from the United States has not been forgotten. Only because of the personal protests and opposition of an important and experienced diplomat were Hollywood bathing beauties prevented from sailing for Rio for the Carnival although the plans for the junket were made in Washington by the Rockefeller Committee.

The Amazon is said to be the sentimental heart of Brazil. Business men in the valley and at the ports are complaining to the government in Rio de Janeiro that they cannot ship their goods without the approval of the American consul because the construction of airbases is making necessary the control of shipping. While this situation may not be correctly described as possessing volcanic properties we are not making friends at the only open source of our rubber supply.
Meanwhile the thousands of Germans and Italians residing in Brazil have ceased their propaganda activities and are living quietly in their homes. They have received orders from Berlin and Rome to change their viewpoint and become Brazilians. From Sao Paulo and Porto Alegri, from Rio de Janeiro and Petropolis one hears the same reports. Axis citizens are telling all their friends that they wish to remain in Brazil forever and become Brazilians. Patiently and quietly they are making friends, agreeing with Brazilians that their country has no alternative but to unite with the United States of the North, no other choice because of the wealth, the economic and political power of Washington. A Japanese diplomat is quoted as having made the remark that his country's interest in Brazil was not transitory, that Japan's vision of the future of Brazil was at least fifty years hence. The Germans and Italians have no time limit. They are becoming Brazilians until the day our volcanoes become active under the Southern Cross.

If the present policy of the Axis government in Brazil appears to be shrewd, clever or far-sighted, it is largely because it is not being matched by an understanding and comprehension in some Washington agencies of the domine spirit of Brazil which is intensely nationalistic, passionately American and realistic. Brazil is awaiting evidence that we have the will to fight and the intelligence as well as the weapons of war. If all the United States dollars being spent on propaganda and cultural missions were immediately diverted to tangible war preparations, to shipping, to steel, machinery and tools, to cars, trucks and railway equipment so urgently needed for the defense and the economic life of Brasil and Argentina, if all of our diplomacy were centered in our embassies under the direction and supervision
of men and women trained in foreign service, the volcanoes on the East Coast of South America might never become active.

However, each week Pan American planes or U. S. government airplanes bring new officials from Washington. It is a fast but hard ride down from Miami and the casinos are welcome havens in the tropical heat. The morning after a nightclub party everyone in Rio who wishes to know the latest news from Washington can obtain it at the Jockey Club, the Copacabana Hotel or at a cocktail party. Every American traveler likes to talk, especially if he knows something "off-the-record". Some American officials like to be photographed at the casinos holding the hands of the entertainers. Around Rio there are pictures of prominent officials from Washington in unconventional poses with women entertainers at the Urca Casino.

In tropical countries where the press is controlled by the government and where there is no local news coverage, information circulates from group to group and from office to office without restraint or restriction. Anything and everything known among the informed people in Washington is also known in Rio or Buenos Aires within a few days. By telephone, airmail and courier it spreads to Buenos Aires and Santiago from whence it is speeded to Berlin, Rome and Tokyo by wireless telephone.

Our southern flank today is wide open to our enemies because our propaganda and censorship activities in Washington are directed at the control of news publication and radio broadcasting in place of at the official sources of vital government information. In Buenos Aires and in Rio de Janeiro it is not uncommon to hear our capacity for talking described as the North American mouth disease.
While I was in Buenos Aires during the Pan American Conference of Foreign Ministers I became so concerned over the flow of information from Washington that I sent the following letter to Mr. Byron Price, Director of Censorship:

"During the first two weeks of my stay in Argentina and Uruguay I have been impressed by certain facts which indicate that the southern flank of the U.S.A., is exposed and endangered by the continuous flow of confidential information from Washington to these countries and by the facilities and speed of communication from Buenos Aires to enemy capitals.

The information I refer to does not in any manner involve the newspapers of Argentina or Uruguay or the press services of the United Press Association or The Associated Press.

The danger to our war effort exists because letters containing unpublished information from Washington come regularly to these countries by airmail without being censored in the U.S.A., and this information becomes known in Buenos Aires and Montevideo.

So long as it is as easy for any resident of Buenos Aires to telephone to Berlin, Tokio or Rome as it is for anyone to telephone to New York, this confidential information can be relayed to enemy capitals. Furthermore, so long as any Latin American nation maintains diplomatic relations with Axis countries and so long as there is not a rigid, fool-proof, air-tight censorship of information at the sources of governmental activities in Washington and of the mail, cable, wireless and telephone services, every Latin American telephone channel to Berlin, Rome or Tokio endangers our war effort."
"The newspapers and the press associations which are overwhelmingly friendly to our country are cooperating with all United States agencies so cordially and willingly that there is no difference between the news published in Argentina and Uruguay and the news at home. Nevertheless, there is a striking similarity between the currents of off-the-record information available in Washington and the currents of unpublished information in Buenos Aires.

"Furthermore, so long as British and American warships (or in the case of Brazil, U.S. warplanes) arrive and depart from Latin American ports the names of the ships and in some cases their recent cruising areas are subjects of conversation although the newspapers do not publish the news.

"Because information in regard to the presence of warships is a matter of common knowledge it can be relayed to enemy capitals. I should think that it would be an advantage to the Japanese, for example, to know definitely that two cruisers, the HMS Birmingham and the USS Savannah are operating off the east coast of South America at this time when the Japanese navy must be keeping a record of the movements of every British and American warship in order to calculate the strength of our fleet in the Orient.

"Therefore, if all of the Latin American nations do not break off diplomatic relations with the Axis powers, it seems to me that it will be necessary for the U.S.A. to establish and maintain a complete embargo of information by mail, telephone or cable, excepting the news published in the U.S.A., or distributed by U.S.A. press services.

"As far as the movements of warships or the arrival of airplanes and supplies at bases in Brazil may be concerned, this is a subject for our
military and naval authorities to consider. Undoubtedly they are fully aware of the situation.

"You know from your own experience how inside information circulates in the U.S.A., despite censorship of newspapers and press associations. This same inside information, both accurate and false, also circulates in Latin America. When it reaches any country outside the U.S.A., it is available, with the speed of the wireless, to our enemies."

After visiting Rio I could add to this list the names of other U.S. and British warships (the U.S.S. Green, for example) published in the news columns or among the social items of the local press referring to cocktail parties and entertainments for officers and sailors. I could add the names of other ships, men-of-war and merchant vessels which have been transferred from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans or vice versa. All of this information is available to Axis agents. U.S. censors cut dates, names of vessels and weather reports from letters but they do not eliminate directions for forwarding mail. In casual contacts both in Rio de Janeiro and in Buenos Aires I learned about the movements of ships from coast to coast from relatives or friends of officers, soldiers or sailors who had requested that their addresses be changed from "Postmaster, New York" to "Postmaster, San Francisco," or to Panama.

Wireless telephone communication from Buenos Aires to Rome, Berlin and Tokio was functioning while I was in Buenos Aires. It seemed to me that it would be comparatively easy for enemy intelligence departments to keep daily charts of the movements of many of our ships. Because of the concern I felt as a private citizen for the safety of our country
and after consultation with Ambassador William Dawson, I communicated
the information I obtained to the Under Secretary of State Mr. Sumner
Welles when he was in Rio,

Our alliance with the Soviet Union is not welcomed in
Argentina or Brazil. When the newspapers of Rio displayed the news of
the daily successes of the Soviet armies the Propaganda Ministry requested
that the editors change their news judgment,

In Washington our government proclaims its solidarity with the
Allied governments. In Latin America we are playing a lone hand, isolating
the leaders of the influential, well-informed and long established British,
Polish and other colonies. In this manner we are making another volcano
on our southern flank. Unfortunately some Americans have already created
the impression that this is our war and we will show how it can be won.

There are too many Americans in Argentina and Brazil on
official missions. Untrained for foreign service, without knowledge of
the language, customs and character of the people they are creating little
personal volanoes in official circles. One day a report from an American
source was received at the Presidential Palace in Petropolis that President
Roosevelt had expressed the desire to have President Vargas's daughter in
Washington as the wife of a new Brazilian Ambassador. Whether true or
false the report originated in Washington and was not denied. Outside
the palace it was not accepted as a compliment especially when it came at
the time the Chief of Staff had requested permission to retire.

Traveling as a Dean from Columbia University I was asked on
several occasions in Brazil and Argentina whether the universities and
churches of the United States shared the same concepts of culture represented
by the missionaries of the Rockefeller committee. One Brazilian occupying
an important post remarked that he had read five thousand French books
before he read five hundred in Portuguese. Since the war he has been
reading American books but most of them, he said, appeared to be of a
propaganda character so that it was difficult for him to learn whether
we had any culture. The Cardinal has asked some of his American visitors
whether there are evidences of a spiritual life in our country.

Every day in Rio one hears astounding stories of corruption
involving the transfer of Axis property on our blacklists to Brazilian
ownership; the high cost of legal fees when European refugees seek visas
or passports to travel to the United States of America and the innumerable
transactions connected with the construction of bases, port facilities,
factories and railways. Both mountains and men appear to be moved by
American dollars. However, the unit of measurement is not the dollar but
the Brazilian conto ($50). I doubt whether anyone can estimate the number
of millions of contos which will be required to complete and maintain the
bases on the East coast of South America and their lines of supply. It
may be appropriate here to refer to the fact that Brazil is larger in area
than our own country.

In Argentina the resistance to participation in the war is
increasing. The daily news of continuous British and American reverses
in Manila, Malaya and Africa is not balanced in public effect by Russian
military successes. Every Russian victory strengthens the anti-Communist
forces which oppose participation in the war on the side of the Soviet Union.
Every Japanese victory emphasizes the pre-war predictions of American public
officials, the false hopes created by public addresses in the U.S.A. that
our Navy would dominate the Pacific. British losses in Africa confirmed the unpublished but generally circulated reports of Prime Minister Churchill's private conference in Washington, especially the statement he is said to have made that the Axis forces outnumbered the British by 40,000 men. Explanations of the reasons for the tide against the Allied governments, speeches by American cabinet officers, propaganda from the North, huge appropriations, and the nation-wide pictorial campaign of American war industries do not offset the effects of the clock-like advances of the Japanese.

The conference of foreign ministers in Rio de Janeiro has been acclaimed a great success for our country and for the solidarity of the Western Hemisphere. It was supported by tremendous economic and political pressure from the U.S.A. In Buenos Aires we could observe only the maneuvers which involved Argentina. Because of the state of siege the newspapers could not comment editorially on the developments, but the pressure upon Argentina from the United States was evident and known. Reports, like attacks by bombers, reached Buenos Aires from New York and Washington and the capitals of other American republics. Argentine officials, bankers and publishers were informed that ships would cease calling at Argentine ports; that purchases of meat and wheat would be curtailed; that new locomotives would not be available for the railroads; that there would be an embargo on coal; that oil well supplies and oil essential to economic existence, trucks and highway machinery would be unobtainable; that ships of other republics would cease carrying Argentine mail; that Uruguay would stop the transfer of money to Argentina; that the United
States would finance the construction of naval and air bases in Uruguay thereby giving that country control of the entrance to Argentina's chief ports; that the U.S.A. would aid friendly governments financially and economically; that unfriendly governments would be overthrown by internal economic dissatisfaction and political agitation; the the "reptiles" (the word used to describe Axis agents) of the Western Hemisphere would be dumped into Argentina with or without visas; and that the proud, independent Republic of Argentina would experience economic strangulation. These reports came by telegraph, by airmail and by urgent telephone calls from abroad.

While pressure from North America was being intensified the U.S. Maritime Commission requisitioned a Norwegian ship chartered by LA PRENSA to carry newsprint and the U.S.Priority Board stopped shipments of paper to other Argentine newspapers. Without recognizing the obvious fact in Argentina today; namely, that our most dependable friends are the majority of the leading newspapers, our government took measures calculated to put them out of business or force them to accept newsprint imported by their own government, which they distrust.

Nevertheless, the hope for an ultimate American victory and almost sublime admiration for the U.S.A. in time of peace, are still alive in Argentina and Brazil. At many conferences this was so evident I remarked frequently that our country carried a terrific load of responsibility for leadership. When I added the question: "How can we meet your great expectations?" the answer was spontaneous and unanimous: "Win the war!"

That appears to be the key to the future of American solidarity. Wars are won by fighting, not by propaganda, promises, appropriations and cultural missionaries.
In Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay there are only two "checks and balances" on the action of their respective governments. One is their armies and navies, the other is world events. In all three countries there is also inherent in their national life and history a belief in the common sense policy of American solidarity. Nevertheless, world events and our own mistakes are having a portentous influence because they are not being balanced by a corresponding growth in confidence in the wisdom, the sincerity or the ability of our political, military and naval leadership.

From time to time public officials in the U.S.A. have characterized the war as a phase of a world revolution. In Latin America, governments are frequently changed by revolutions. Whenever American statesmen talk about this war as a world revolution they are creating the most dangerous of all types of volcanoes on our Southern Flank.

Above all we need friendship and order along the East Coast of South America because it must be as evident today at home, as it is below the Equator, that we are not prepared to wage a war on three fronts: in the Orient, in Europe and along the East Coast of South America.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:
FROM: William J. Donovan

We have just received the following message from our London office:

All previous Axis reports of the ineffectiveness of the Saint Nazaire raid are drastically contradicted by Berlin's war reporter's account of raid which was picked up by London.

The Berlin war reporter's account acknowledges that before the German garrison became aware that an attack was afoot, a large British force had silently landed in the port area.

The report concedes that before Germans claimed to have set off the destroyer's explosive charge by shellfire, the vessel had reached vicinity of dry dock gates.

Destroyer Ruply admitted to be close to docks because she "sank as far as bridge"; possibly shallow water near locks where she would obstruct entrance.

Although claiming vessels were sunk, when report
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:
FROM: William J. Donovan

On about the 27th or 28th of March the following message was received at Vichy from Henri-Haye in Washington:

"L'attention de l'opinion américaine ayant été au cours des semaines passées, fréquemment attirée sur les capacités de production aérienne des États-Unis, j'ai demandé au Colonel Jacquin, attache de l'Air des éléments d'appréciation à cet égard que Votre Excellence voudra bien trouver résumés ci-après:

1. À la suite de la déclaration de guerre des États-Unis les programmes de construction ont été portés de 39.000 avions à 60.000 pour 1942 et de 44.000 avions à 125.000 pour 1943. Le financement de ce programme d'achat de 185.000 avions en deux ans est en passe d'être approuvé prochainement par le Congrès. Sur cet ensemble de 185.000 avions seraient pour l'Armée et le restant pour la Marine. Les avions qui peuvent être transférés aux Allies des États-Unis au titre de la loi de prêt et de bail, seront
toutefois pris sur ce total.

"2. Afin de permettre d'arriver à une telle capacité de production, le président a fait voter les crédits nécessaires pour créer de nouvelles usines d'aviation et continuer la transformation des usines. De plus, d'après le directeur de la production M. Nelson, si la semaine de 168 heures de travail était adoptée dans l'industrie, la production augmenterait immédiatement de 25%. Le succès du programme du président dépendra de la rapidité avec laquelle les nouvelles usines seront terminées et la semaine de travail augmentée.

"3. A part quelques exceptions, comme l'usine Consolidated où un travail à la chaîne semblable à celui qui existait dans l'industrie automobile a été récemment inauguré, le rendement des usines d'aviation est encore inférieur aux plans établis. De plus, on signale que les constructeurs d'accessoires d'avions suivent difficilement le rythme de cette production accélérée; c'est pour ceux-ci surtout qu'la adoption de la semaine de 168 heures est particulièrement urgente. Néanmoins,
6. Pendant la période 1er décembre 1941-30 juin 1942, il est vraisemblable que les États-Unis ne pourront produire en moyenne que 3000 avions par mois, dont 12000 d'entraînement et 1800 de combat. Ces derniers se décomposent en 1100 chasseurs et bombardiers en piqué, 580 bi-moteurs de reconnaissance, transports et hydravions, 120 quadri-moteurs de bombardement et hydravions. Seuls sont capables d'atteindre l'Europe, l'Afrique et l'Australie par la voie des airs, les quadri-moteurs et 130 à 160 des 580 bi-moteurs signalés plus haut.


8. Les États-Unis disposaient au 1er décembre 1941 de 3200 avions de combat dans l'armée (dont 200 quadri-moteurs et 200 transports) et de 1600 avions de combat
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: William J. Donovan

Our information through Polish sources abroad indicates:

1. That during the first half of February the number of transports by rail, road and sea route (via Libya) has been steadily increasing. A considerable number of troops leave trains at points some 250-300 miles behind the lines and march to the front. Units are well equipped and include many motorized and armoured formations. Troops fighting at the front have been resting immediately behind the lines and quarters which had been prepared for this purpose in Poland had not been occupied.

2. The reorganization of units is being carried out also in the immediate vicinity of the front.

3. Bridges on the r. Dnieper and other works
designated to ensure communications are to be completed by the end of March.

4. Further reports confirm that intense preparations for chemical warfare are being made.

Further intelligence from our sources in Poland report that:

1. The divisions which are to be used for the Spring offensive have been concentrated in the rear where they are being complemented. The number of vehicles in the division has been increased. Flame throwers have been mounted on many tanks. Many infantry divisions are said to have been given flame throwers.

2. Large amounts of war material were observed on ships and on trains at Danzig. Stores of material had been set up along railway lines and highways in the rear, especially in the southern sector of the port.

3. It is being presumed that Germany may surprise the Red Army by launching the offensive at an earlier date than initially planned.

4. By the end of February mass movements of German
units from the region of Zytomierz-Winnica to that of Kijew - Biala Cerkiew - Human and from the region of Dniepropetrowsk - Kriwoj Rog to that of Poltawa-Charkow were observed. In the central sector of the front large formations are being withdrawn for reorganization behind the lines.

5. The arrival of wounded indicates that on the northern tip of the southern sector a considerable number of Italian, Hungarian and Slovak troops is being employed.

6. In Latvia and White Russia an increase of air units has been observed. On February 20th about 300 bombers and fighter planes in Dineburg and 100 Stucka bombers with a few dozen large gliders were identified. Considerable activity around Pskow and Minsk.

7. Large transports of toxic gas from western Germany to all sectors of the Eastern Front. There are also rumors that Germany will concentrate her main effort on the Caucasus, Iran and Suez Canal while in the north she will remain on the defensive.

According to certain Italian sources, the Spring offensive is to be launched by the Axis forces in the
No. 367  
April 1, 1942  
6:00 P.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: William J. Donovan

I thought you might be interested in the following letter.

"As I told you in my telephone call to you at the St. Regis Hotel in New York yesterday afternoon, a number of us here in Wichita—Protestant and Catholic—are concerned about the lack of public statements by Catholics tending to counteract the obvious intent of the Axis powers to tie themselves in with the Vatican for the purpose of a peace offensive at the opportune time for them. We do not know, of course, enough of the facts to be conversant with the world picture, but we do think that something should be done by Catholics to let all Americans and people all over the world know that Roosevelt is our leader and that we will follow the wishes of the President and Congress with reference to the question of peace. We believe that statements should be made from time to time by outstanding Catholics, such as Governor Smith and Francis P. Matthews, covering this
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:
FROM: William J. Donovan

The following report on the St. Nazaire raid may interest you:

Night of March 27/28 Atherstone Brocklesby Cleveland and Tynedale with a number of small craft escorted the ex-American destroyer Campbelltown whose bows had been specially prepared filled with delayed explosive charges and whose object was to destroy the lock gates by ramming. Campbelltown rammed lock gates at 0100 two and one half hours later when when delayed action explosives were due to go off, a large explosion was heard. Complete surprise up to time of ramming was achieved. At this time special service troops landed to carry out demolition docks installations. Fairly heavy casualties were incurred on both sides. On return of our forces, five torpedo boats were encountered which were driven off. Coastal Command aircraft covering the return of our forces shot down one
junker 88 and damaged a heinkel for loss of one Beau fighter. Apart from destroyers eighteen coastal craft took part, of which about half are missing. The Flak opposition was tremendous and indiscriminate. Enemy demolished at least one of his own Flak positions and in addition probably one of his own Flak ships. All destroyers and some MLS have already returned to harbor. RAF aircraft who were cooperating had orders only to drop bombs on targets they could distinguish but could not do so owing to the low clouds.

The following were the British casualties, killed, wounded and missing.

Naval - 102
Army - 172
10 small craft lost
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM: William J. Donovan

We have made a study to determine the magnitude of the German supply problem on the Eastern Front, and to suggest how its various elements may be related to strategy, tactics and the rate of advance. This was done to facilitate an understanding of possible German military operations in 1942.

The study represents an effort to estimate the quantities of supplies and equipment of all kinds required by German forces on the Eastern Front and the transport facilities needed and available to move men and material to the Front.

The supply problems dealt with are those of the Theatre of Operations, not those of the Zone of the Interior.

The tasks of measuring the German supply problem was made particularly difficult in view of the scarcity of direct information. The gaps were filled on the basis of comparable United States figures. Where neither German information or United States figures were available estimates were made after consultation with the appropriate branches of the Army, and in some instances civilian technical experts.
The monograph consists of four basic studies:

1) To estimate the volume of supplies utilized by the German army and air force in Russia during the period June 22 to December 6, 1941. Attention was focused on utilization of supplies at the point of combat.

2) This considers the transport facilities needed and available to move men and material to the front. It analyzes the amount of supplies which could be shipped over railroads, the quantities of rolling stock and the availability of skilled personnel.

3) Presents an analytical account of the Russian campaign from June 22 through December 6. It attempts to estimate the number of divisions of each type stationed at each of three fronts during each of the 3 periods into which the campaign has been divided. It indicates how many of the divisions were active and inactive.

4) Considers climatic conditions on the Russian front, suggesting the role played by the weather in determining the moment of the campaign’s inception and closing of the phase of German attack. It contains information on temperature, precipitation and drainage, which viewed in conjunction with what is known about the supply situation, may serve to indicate where and when the German armies may strike in the spring.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: William J. Donovan

The following is the Weekly General Directive of the British FWE:

1. **Policy.** Make no mention of Plato.

2. **Propaganda Policy.** a. We are approaching critical phase of the war when brunt land fighting wildly to be done by Russia. In a military sense we will not be heroic figures as we were in 1940 and as the Russians are in 1942. We should exploit the extent of our assistance to Russia to the full as our military effort will, be judged by it. Anything that we can do in the West, by RAF or other raids, should be tied in with the Eastern theater of the war, and thus give it a greater sense of purpose, rather than regard it as a secondary diversion. We cannot go further than this safely at present.

b. In the conducting of political warfare it is necessary:

**First:** That our military achievements be exploited in terms of actual fighting or other aspects of our war effort.
Second: That outlook of the British people should be exploited showing:

   a. An increased understanding of the European problem and the part they must play in it.
   b. A determination to build a new Europe on lines fair to all and capable of supplying the wants of all and not to return to the status quo before the war.
   c. We want to get the conviction into Europe that:

First: We are in the European war, heart and soul, and doing every possible thing to hurry the victory that Europe defiles.

Second: That we depend on Europe and Europe depends on us for their and our own future well-being; that the part we have to play in Europe is both desirable and necessary. If this thought can be instilled into the minds of the audience, political hope and promise for the future that we can inspire will offset the absence of striking military achievements by us.

   d. We should recall Hitler's record of consistent miscalculations during the week, before the German counter-offensive, by reporting his earlier announcements.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM: William J. Donovan

You might be interested in the following message which has just been received from our London office.

On Saturday night the Inter-Allied Committee here is releasing an Easter message to peoples of occupied lands from the British christians.

The British Broadcasting Company will start to broadcast it "shortly after dark". The message also is going in Morse Code to the Empire; the embassies, legations and consulates; by broadcast to Latin America; and to local foreign language, general press and news tickers. It will be released to them Saturday at 23.00 G.M.T.

The message reads as follows:

"Our hearts are with you in your suffering. Remember that after Good Friday came Easter morning. Christ is risen."

The signatures are Dr. William Temple, Archbishop-designate of Canterbury; Cardinal Hinsley, Archbishop of Westminster; William Ebor; Dr. Sidney Berry, Moderator of Free Church Federal Council; Dr. Hutchison Cockburn, Moderator of Church of Scotland.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: William J. Donovan

The following message was sent on March 31 by the French Ambassador here to Vichy:

"Je me suis entretenu longuement aujourd'hui avec M. Sumner Welles. En dehors des points de détail que je traiterai plus loin, le Secrétaire d'État par interim m'a tout de suite déclaré que le gouvernement fédéral était très satisfait des accords intervenus entre nos deux gouvernements sur la plupart des points nevralgiques en discussion mais que la plus grande alarme régnait ici depuis qu'il était question du retour au pouvoir de M. Laval.

M. Sumner Welles a été jusqu'à ma dire qu'il était convaincu que les accords en question ne seraient pas appliqués par M. Laval s'il revenait au pouvoir et s'il reprenait le portefeuille des Affaires Étrangères. J'ai fait remarquer à mon interlocuteur que la politique du Marechal était une, qu'il était souverainement imprudent de séparer comme on l'a fait ici trop de fois, la politique du Chef de l'État de celle de ses ministres, que je n'avais aucune information sur l'éventualité du retour aux affaires de M. Laval, que je ne croyais pas à la réalité de ce retour, mais que s'il avait lieu, rien n'autorisait à penser que les accords franco-américains
ne seraient pas appliquées.

M. Sumner Welles M&ea reitere qu'a tort ou a raison son gouvernement n'avait pas confiance en M. Laval et que les problèmes a resoudra entre nos deux pays seraient infiniment compliqués si M. Laval revenait. Il a ajouté que les assurances données hier par Votre Excellence et par le Chef de l'Etat à l'Amiral Leahy avaient été exprimées dans des termes qui ne rassuraient pas pleinement le gouvernement fédéral. J'ai promis à M. Sumner Welles de faire part à Votre Excellence, dans les termes mêmes ou ils étaient tenus, des propos du Secrétaire d'Etat par interim et des préoccupations que ces propos reflétaient.

Quant aux diverses questions traitées, en voici l'enlumération et les réponses qu'elles ont amenées de la part de mon interlocuteur:

MEROPE. Il n'est pas possible au gouvernement américain d'autoriser ce tanker à quitter les eaux américaines ou mexicaines pour se rendre à la Martinique. J'ai dit qu'une telle décision allait enormement compliquer la résolution des questions pendantes devant la commission d'armistice. M. Welles est reste intransigeant.

TRAFIC NORD AFRICAIN. C'est mon interprétation et non point celle de l'Amiral Leahy qui représente la doctrine du Département d'Etat. En d'autres terres, les Etats-Unis ne font pas de la livraison du cobalt, du caoutchouc et de l'huile d'olive, en provenance de l'Afrique du Nord, une condition sine qua non de la reprise du trafic de ravitaillement.
COMMUNIQUE sur la position des États-Unis par rapport à nos possessions du Pacifique. M. Sumner Welles se préoccupe de sa rédaction qu'il me soumettra avant que la presse en soit informée.

Le MONT EVEREST et le CAPULIN, navires de Croix-Rouge seront autorisés à partir des que les britanniques auront accordé l'autorisation de libre-passage.

PRISONNIERS. J'ai vivement insisté de nouveau pour que les conserves achetées depuis plusieurs mois par le gouvernement français, puissent être envoyées aux prisonniers de guerre. M. Sumner Welles a, une fois de plus, exprime la doctrine du gouvernement federal qui est que c'est à l'Allemagne à nourrir ses prisonniers. J'ai moi-même une fois de plus, rappelle que l'Allemagne dit ne point pouvoir nourrir suffisamment les prisonniers a cause du blocus et j'ai rappelé que la France permettait le transit des vingt livres mensuelles et par tête envoyées aux prisonniers britanniques M. Welles m'a promis de presser la solution de cet angoissant problème et je me propos moi-même d'aller en entretenir le Président Roosevelt.

AIR-FRANCE. J'ai dit au Sous-Secrétaire d'État combien l'inscription de la Compagnie française sur les listes noires était injuste et je lui ai rappelé qu'Air-France offrait de mettre sa comptabilité à la disposition d'experts américains qui pourraient ainsi se rendre compte qu'à aucune époque, aucune livraison ou vente d'essence n'a été faite aux puissances de l'Axe. M. Sumner Welles a d'abord invoque de pretendus renseignements mais sur mon insistance, il a finalement laisse percer que les États-Unis feraient tout pour empecher
la reprise de relations aériennes entre l'Europe et l'Afrique d'une part, l'Amérique du Sud d'autre part.

SAINT-PIERRE. Mon interlocuteur est fort ennuye car aucune solution n'a encore été trouvée et M. Welles sent très bien à quel point le gouvernement fédéral (pour ne rien dire du President) est complètement en porte à faux sur cette affaire.

PORTUGAL. En ce qui concerne les tankers français qui auraient pu être loués au Gouvernement portugais, M. Welles m'a dit que la question ne lui paraissait plus se poser. Le Portugal, en effet, a, m'a t-il dit, transporte dernièrement le pétrole qu'il a acheté aux États-Unis, sur un tanker espagnol. Il est peu probable, a ajouté le Sous-Secrétaire d'État, étant donné le tonnage que les États-Unis sont disposés à laisser acheter par le Portugal, que des bâtiments français puissent être employés pour le transport du pétrole destiné aux Portugais.

VOYAGE DE L'ANGOULEME. L'autorisation est donnée à ce navire de partir.

En terminant notre entretien, revenant sur la question du retour de M. Laval, qui lui tient particulièrement à cœur, M. Welles m'a répété que le gouvernement américain, tout en se défendant de s'immiscer dans la politique intérieure française, serait obligé de reconsidérer sa position si l'ancien Vice-President du Conseil revenait dans les conseils du gouvernement français.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: William J. Donovan

The following is a report from our New York office covering the highlights of the week's war on the propaganda front. It is based on recording of broadcasts on shortwave heard at FCC's listening posts in Washington and Portland, Oregon; the Columbia Broadcasting System's listening posts in San Francisco and New York; on medium wave broadcasts recorded by the British Broadcasting Corporation and by our own monitors.

The Axis propaganda attack on the United States this week achieved some kind of a record in viciousness.

Both the Axis and the United Nations are using the continuing Spring lull for psychological preparations for battle. As tension increased in expectation of Spring offensives, each side is striving to disunite and confuse the enemy and thereby increase the potential of military striking power.

The exaggerated viciousness of the Axis attack this week suggests that our opposites in Berlin and Rome may be over-playing their hands. Especially significant is the fact that the Axis is beginning to shift its scorn from American production and armament to the person of the American soldier. Every effort is being made
to create personal animosity toward American troops in whatever part of the world they may be found.

This campaign, which began in earnest last week with reports of Australian anxiety over marriages between American soldiers and Australian girls, continued this week with reports of marriages between American soldiers and Irish girls. South Africa was confronted with the spectre not only of armed American negroes being dumped on South Africa but also with the possible arming of South African blacks.

Relatively mild, but nevertheless insidious, were such related comments that American soldiers in Australia are "having what they call a hell of a good time with Australian girls on their days off", and that in Ulster they are cordially disliked because they hog luxury goods.

This kind of abuse is increasingly extended to the people back home, to the Americans whose sons and brothers represent the American character to the peoples of allied nations with whom they are increasingly in contact. Every abuse of Americans is an abuse of the American fighting man and calculated to increase the suspicion with which he is received in the theatres of war.

Americans are therefore portrayed as puerile, undisciplined, and trivial, full of grandiose schemes but emotionally infantile and thoroughly impractical in any military sense. Their musical tastes are childish: they sing songs like "Goodbye Mamma, I'll see
you in Yokohama". They are dissipated: Mrs. Roosevelt dances "at her age", and General MacArthur leads a gay life in Australia flitting from one cocktail party to another; they are criminal; they have no moral code; a wave of insolence has swept over the United States; female delinquency is increasing; and Jewish grafters are hoarding wool and cocoa for illegal profits.

Whatever local effect this kind of propaganda may have, it must surely boomerang on the Axis because it announces, in no uncertain way, that the Yanks are coming. It is obviously an admission of the defeat of the Axis line that American Soldiers and arms will never arrive.

Moreover, it may be considered as a testimonial to the effectiveness of our own effort to persuade the people of the world by short wave radio that our troops and supplies will arrive in the theatres of war. Such a conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the same Axis broadcasts that abuse us also betray fear of our short wave by specifically trying to refute statements of "Cincinnati radio" or "Boston radio". To enlarge this gratifying picture, Italy this week announced new penalties for listening to enemy or neutral radio programs.

Easter Week

If one needed any further evidence of the crudity of Axis propaganda behavior at the moment, it can be found in the sudden solicitousness of Berlin, Tokyo and Rome for the Christian religion. This is a good example not only of Axis timing, but also
of the way in which the Tripartite Powers seize any opportunity for the exploitation of dissolvent propaganda, no matter how far-fetched.

From Tokyo, of all places, came the first pious thoughts of the week. Tokyo loudly congratulated Japan and the Catholics of the world, especially in programs for Latin America, on the appointment of a Japanese envoy to the Vatican. Tokyo said that the incorporation of the Filipinos into the co-prosperity sphere brought Japan close to the Holy See, and pointed out the value of working in close harmony with French missionaries in the Far East. One might almost infer from this kind of talk that Japan is the eldest daughter of the church. Berlin, garbed as the apostle of pure christianity, reminded Americans of Easter Week with two programs which abused American clergymen who support the war as being corrupt, paid propagandists, unfaithful to their religious principles. Rome came along with an argument that Americans are anti-Christian because they tolerate Jews, who are anti-Christian.

Axis talk described above may well be considered as an effort to discredit in advance any religious appeals we may make to the people of the world. We have already broadcast President Roosevelt's message on the Fight Against the Powers of Darkness, as well as a story that the War Department is supporting religious instruction and worship in the armed forces in recognition of the importance of spiritual armament. We
also reported the destruction of the Barrio Catholic Church in Paranciue by Japanese bombs. On this Good Friday we are in the midst of broadcasting to the world a variety of messages appealing to the moral and religious feelings of all peoples.

St. Nazaire.

As the most dramatic military event of the week, the Commando raid on St. Nazaire was heavily played by both the Axis and the United Nations. After the first brief British announcement, Berlin jumped in with the total lie, or rather lies. The twenty-four hour delay before London supplied details gave Berlin a chance to portray the incident successively as a light raid that failed and as a heavy raid that failed.

Berlin first described the raid as a childish and futile "second front" offensive forced upon the British by the Soviet Ambassador, Maisky. Subsequently, and especially on medium wave radio for European peoples, the raid was held up as proof of the invulnerability of Europe's western defenses. The phrase "from Norway to the Bay of Biscay" was repeated so often in connection with the impregnable defense of the German rear that it may suggest the possibility that the Germans are beginning to create for themselves something of the Maginot psychology. The intensity and duration of German talk about St. Nazaire also suggests that the raid made them hopping mad.

Our own treatment of St. Nazaire was cautious and restrained until the British released details. We then gave it a heavy play,
stressing the success of the raid and calling it a model of skill and daring. We stressed the importance of the base to the Germans. As soon as possible, we broadcast the eyewitness account of the reporter who accompanied the Commandos. Later we reported that a committee of inquiry had been set up in Germany to find out why the St. Nazaire garrison had been caught off guard. Still later we said that aerial photos definitely proved destruction of harbor locks and installations.

**Lessons in Technique**

1. Twice recently we have given publicity to Japanese actions while Tokyo remained silent. Last week we widely broadcast the story of Japan's ultimatum to General Wainwright and its defiant rejection. Berlin picked up the story, attributing it to us, and finally Tokyo broadcast it, giving Lisbon as the source. Neither Berlin nor Tokyo, however, mentioned the rejection of the ultimatum.

This week we broadcast the Japanese explanation that the bombing of a hospital at Bataan was accidental. So far as is known, Tokyo made no mention of the apology at Bataan as being accidental. So far as is known, Tokyo made no mention of the apology on any of its regular Trans-Pacific short wave programs. (Yesterday Tokyo broke its silence by referring to the bombing as the "Fabricated News" of "American Demography").
2. There is a familiar sound in Tokyo's line this week that Japan is not against the American people, but against the American government. Tokyo also suggested that Republicans may soon replace the Roosevelt administration.

3. The affair of Subhas Chandra Bose matches the recent Affaire Quezon. Axis-controlled Vichy first announced the news that Bose had been killed in a Japanese airplane accident. The story was picked up by United Nations radio. Then the Axis violently attacked the report as allied propaganda, and declared that at the time of the supposed fatal accident Bose was speaking on the radio to the people of India. As further proof of his existence, Berlin broadcast Wednesday the contents of a speech Bose was supposed to have delivered to the Indians that day from an "unidentified" station. The point is that no reliable witnesses have actually heard his voice. Is he alive or isn't he? Is it possible that the Axis is keeping Bose artificially alive during the delicate Indian negotiations because of his value as a personal symbol of Indian independence?

Other main Axis lines

England has been a special target of Axis efforts this week to divide the United Nations. The British were told that victory would be worse than defeat, because it would be a victory only for Soviet Russia, Roosevelt, and the Jews. Berlin radio reviewed England's historic anti-Russian policy, and then appealed directly to the defeatism of the old school tie by declaring that victory would mean the Bolshevization of
England with the assassination of the upper classes and the extermination of religion. The upper classes were then asked to repudiate England's allies.

Britain was pictured as frantically trying to save the Empire from both Americans and Russians. The loss of Australia to the United States has already been announced, and this week the creation of the new Pacific War Council proved to the Axis that the central allied control of the war has definitely shifted to Washington. At the same time, the Axis cheered Australia with an excerpt from Hanson Baldwin's article in the New York Times stating that the United States could easily give up the fifth continent of Australia because it was unnecessary for the winning of the war.

The greedy ambitions of the United States, according to Berlin, extend from Dakar to Vladivostok, from Cape Verde to Chinese protectorates. But Rome added that American imperialistic dreams are childish reverses, like the building of castles in the sand. Let's be realistic, the Axis said, and admit that all the eggs of the United Nations are in one basket, Russia, which is soon to be overwhelmed. On home broadcasts to European countries, the Axis continued to assert that Allied offensives are impossible because of shipping losses and shortages, and, of course, because of the invulnerability of Europe's defenses.

The war of nerves is still restrained. Rome described the present "lull" in military action as exactly like the lulls
preceding the offensives of 1940 and 1941, but such terrorization has not yet been directed toward a well-defined target. A possible clue, however, may be the increasing Axis talk of trouble in the Near East. Frequent mentions have been made this week of strikes and hunger in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. Berlin pictured Germany to the Near East as the old friend of the Arabs, for whom, apparently, she is fighting the war. All of the Tripartite powers pretend to be grieving over the wrongs of the Moslems, but they have as yet offered no specific suggestions as to how Moslem interests are to be protected in "independent" India.

General Axis use for propaganda purposes of the charge by Martin Dies that the Board of Economic Warfare is honeycombed with Communists has already been widely publicized.

The dominant tone of our own propaganda effort was again positive this week. On the military side, we gave a particularly heavy play to the successes of the United Nations on the air, especially over New Guinea. We continued to feature the Flying Tigers in Burma, including a message of praise from Chiang Kai Shek. Yesterday, we gave considerable attention to the naval communique on our sinkings of U-boats.

We stressed the formation of the Pacific War Council, pointing out how it will press the war against Japan. We broadcast a special feature on the Battle of Toungoo, giving a prominent place to General Stilwell and quoting a statement by him.
On the military activities of our allies, we continued to give a prominent play to the Russians, although the impression was gathered that news of the Russian front has decreased somewhat in volume during the past week. The convoy attack off Murmansk was a prominent item for two days. In reply to Axis claims, we stuck to the British account which stated that the attack failed to disturb the convoy. While the Axis was describing the RAF raid on Lubeck as a wanton destruction of priceless historical buildings, we were quoting a Swiss newspaper which said that the raid was the heaviest of the war and particularly destructive to the city's industries.

We constantly called attention to our production strength and growing military preparedness. In broadcast features we said that our production total of 500 tanks in 1940 will be increased a hundredfold in 1942. We described how the Oldsmobile factory has been converted from making crankshafts to mass production of artillery shells. Our ship building program, we said, will produce more than 800 cargo ships, or more than eight million tons of shipping, in 1942, and 2,877 ships by the end of 1943.

We also gave graphic presentations of the lives of individual American workmen. We used as one example Albert Hollins, who works in a plant manufacturing bomb cases. This workman's life was described in homely detail for the purpose of reminding foreign workers of the advantages of labor in a democratic system.
We stressed too our determination. In one of our features we gave the true story of Ralph Cummings, a conscientious objector who was allowed to refuse Selective Military Service. Cummings subsequently decided that the Democratic right to refuse was worth fighting for, and enlisted. We also broadcast the reassuring words of Cecil Brown, who, when commenting on the war in the southwest Pacific during a recent interview, said, "Any notion that this was anything but a 1942 war requiring speed, offense and doing the impossible as a matter of routine is being tossed overboard."

We kept reminding the world that American Democracy is real. For instance, we told about the Joe Louis fight, and quoted Assistant Secretary of War Fatterson's statement on the significance of the event in a fighting democracy. We broadcast character sketches of the four men who have been awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor--two lieutenants, a Filipino mess sergeant, and General MacArthur. We emphasized both Democracy and unity in a script on patriotism and loyalty of the family of Italian-born Mr. and Mrs. Frank Armogida, of Canton, Ohio.

Hope for Europe's Oppressed

In news and features we continued to send encouragement to the conquered peoples of Europe. Beginning some of our items with the words, "This is America calling underground radios and patriot newspapers everywhere," we tried to give the people of Europe the news that is kept from them by the Axis, especially news of internal resistance.
We reported instances of sabotage in occupied countries. We described forced labor in Norway and the resistance of the Dutch to Nazification of the schools. We gave a dramatic description of the escape of Norwegian patriots from a hospital with the aid of four comrades disguised as members of the Gestapo.

Against Axis pressure on Bulgaria, we offered a review of the traditional friendship between the people of Bulgaria and the United States, insisting that Bulgarian collaboration with the Axis was the work of Boris and the reactionaries and against the will of the people. We made general use of the word "slave" whenever describing labor in Axis or occupied countries.

Jugoslavia was a special object of attention this week because March 27 was the first anniversary of Jugoslavia's defiance of Hitler. In several broadcasts we paid homage to the courage and honor of Jugoslavs, including tributes by Dorothy Thompson and Louis Adamic.

Adamic's statement was widely used. Referring to the "no" which Jugoslavia gave to Hitler, Adamic said, "That 'no' forced the Nazi High Command to delay the invasion of Russia for five weeks...but for that 'no' General Mikahilovitch and his army might not be harrying the Nazis in Jugoslavia today...Jugoslavia's 'no' may contribute not only to our eventual victory; it may also make possible her own rebirth. 'You cannot fail if you stand up against infamy and for what is right—even if in doing so you die.'"
We were quick to make use of numerous signs of bad morale in Axis countries and of an increasing danger of inflation. We pointed out, for instance, how new Italian anti-inflation laws admitted the existence of the peril. We also stressed the implications of Italy's new law reducing the use of electricity by twenty per cent., and publicized the combing of Europe by the Axis for every possible scrap of non-ferrous metal. We repeated Italian official announcements that the government is confiscating one-quarter of all domestic copper utensils in Italy and one-quarter of the copper utensils used in many Italian industries.

India

The Axis, of course, doomed Cripps before he arrived in India and ridiculed his proposals after they were announced. The Axis line has been consistent: Britain "is like a criminal on the gallows who pleads for his life by promising to become a good man." The new offer to India is a repetition of the swindle offered during World War I to use India as a wedge to drive between the Allies, Berlin suggested that the United States intends to interfere with a guarantee that Britain will keep her word, and both Tokyo and Berlin suggested that the real interest of the United States is in taking over India.

Vichy

We have been active this week on the subject of Vichy, keeping up a drum fire against Laval and his intrigues. Our tone
April 4, 1942
6:00 P.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:
FROM: William J. Donovan

The following comes to us from British sources.

Larriviere is former first secretary of the Argentine Embassy in Paris. He recently went to Paris to get his wife who had been stranded there after the fall of France.

Larriviere, who left Paris at the end of January has noticed a big increase in terrorism since the United States joined in the war. Numbers of people have started to disappear - hitherto a comparatively rare happening. He quoted the name of a pro-British friend of his, the Duke of Ayen, whose disappearance has caused a first-class scandal in Paris.

He recently met Sieburg, the notorious German writer, and the latter told him that there are two German solutions for the future of France. One provided for amputations as far as the Seine, in the East, South-East and South-West
and the other for the sole cession of Alsace-Lorraine and the Channel ports, with a central German Government in Paris under a "Gauleiter"! Sieburg favors the latter solution.

Larriviere has been out of favor with the Argentine Government since his disagreement with the late Ambassador to France, Carceno, who upbraided him for donating a hospital to the French during the War - thus the Ambassador regarded as unneutral. Despite his personal dissonance with Carceno, Larriviere says that the latter has probably now changed his opinions (Carceno was never pro-German, but was definitely anti-Allied), as the Germans have since then refused Carceno leave to go from Vichy to Paris and made his life somewhat difficult.

Larriviere is a close friend of Ambassador Le Breton who is working actively against the Argentine Government and in favor of a revision of foreign policy. Larriviere saw Le Breton in Buenos Aires in December (he flew back to Europe to get his wife who was in difficulties with the Germans in Paris) and says that Le Breton, despite his age, is as active and influential as ever.
On December 10th, Larriviere lunched with the Argentine Foreign Minister, Ruiz Guinazu and Ambassadors Le Breton and Malbran at the Buenos Aires Foreign Office. In the course of the conversation, Ruiz Guinazu mentioned that Great Britain only took 10% of Argentine meat exports, whereupon Le Breton contradicted him flatly and said that the true figure was 90%. Thereupon Ruiz Guinazu grew red in the face, stammered that he had not meant to refer to the meat figures alone, but that his figure was meant to apply to the Argentine's total exports. Upon this the Ambassador Malbran contradicted him, saying that Great Britain took 35% of Argentine total overseas exports and that he could prove this officially. Ruiz Guinazu then became very angry and changed the conversation. This conversation, Larriviere said, was a typical commentary on Ruiz Guinazu's general cultural level - he described Ruiz Guinazu as an ignorant nonentity. The Larrivieres are close personal friends of President Ortiz's personal doctor Arana, and the latter has told them that, despite public allegations to the contrary, President Ortiz can never recover, by means of an operation or otherwise, from his blindness. His diabetes, also, in an advanced stage.
Senora Larriviére's brother, the Iturbes (Mexican) who have lived in Paris all their lives, have been arrested and released by the Gestapo, subjected to rigorous interrogation and are now living under house arrest. They were educated at Cambridge. Larriviére has only once tried to visit Vichy but said that he had met various politicians there. Of these he considers only Benoist-Mechin and Pucheu as really anti-British the others being opportunists.

In his opinion, French morale is higher than it was some time ago. He also believes that Vichy is putting up a better resistance. A friend of his, Pierre Brisson, editor of "Figaro", was recently warned that he had committed an offence in the shape of a mildly pro-British article, for which the Germans had demanded the suspension of his paper for three months. Instead, Vichy suspended it for one day, apologizing for so doing and refused to take further action. Such a reply to a German demand would have been unthinkable a short time ago.

The black-out is now much stricter in Paris than formerly. Senora Larriviére was recently fined for...
having a small torch which had not been painted blue and there have been many such cases of late.

Admiral Bard, Prefect of Paris, is definitely unpopular among Parisiens and pro-German. His personality is unpleasant.

As a rule, diplomats are treated abominably by the Germans. They are subjected to every kind of formality, including personal search, and the Gestapo officials are often extremely rude. South Americans are treated considerably worse than North Americans and most South Americans have now been arrested and placed in concentration camps, where conditions are abominable.

Larriviere noticed that the few Germans that they met were extremely apprehensive as regards British bombings. Their morale had obviously been affected and they displayed great anxiety as regards their families in Germany, not hesitating to say that the effects of British bombardments had been disastrous. In Larriviere's opinion, De Gaulle propaganda is excellent among working classes, but had not been properly framed for the intelligentsia. German anti-Communist propaganda found
a better market among the middle classes as the latter lack the common-sense shown by the working-classes.

On the other hand, nobody believes the German story that the British are stopping food supplies to France - in the occupied zone all are convinced that the lack of food is due solely to German depredations.

Count Welczeck, former German Ambassador in Paris, still goes on visits to Paris as he is in ill-health and still has some property there. Welczeck and his wife are quite frank about their anti-Nazi views and the Larrivieres have seen them in tears when referring to the behaviour of the Nazis. Their eldest daughter, however, is a fanatical Nazi.

Welczeck is personally on very bad terms with von Ribbentrop and does not hesitate to give his opinion of the latter.

There has been a definite falling-off of pro-German enthusiasm among collaborationists. Larriviere knew Andre Dubonnet, hitherto a fanatical pro-Nazi who recently modified his views to some extent, and this is symptomatic of most collaborationists at the present time.
He knew the marquis de la Bagassiere in Paris (suspected of being a collaborationist and now in Montevideo) and said that de la Bagassiere is married to a demi-mondaine on whom he lives - Larriviere said that de la Bagassiere is personally harmless but is obviously a type of person with whom it is wiser not to associate. De la Bagassiere had known a number of Germans in Paris, but, as far as Larriviere knows, only for business reasons. He also left France purely for business reasons. On the other hand, Larriviere knew that de la Bagassiere had given several signs of pro-British tendencies while in Paris, but would class him singly as a money-grabbing opportunist. Larriviere's brother knows de la Beggassiere rather better than does Larriviere himself. On the other hand, Larriviere considers de la Bagassiere's business activities in South America should be watched.

The Duke and Duchess of Levis-Mirepoix, parents of the Marquis de Levis-Mirepoix, who recently resigned from the French Embassy in Washington because of alleged de Gaullist tendencies, went to see the Marshal as soon as
they heard of their son's resignation and told him that they entirely repudiated their son and his opinions. But, to their surprise, the Marshal was quite abrupt and said that he had no intention of commenting on the political or private opinions of their son or holding them against him. Larriviere had met the Marshal and said that he recently told a friend of theirs that he was delighted to know that his regime's foreign policy did not meet with the approval of the country, as he was able to use this fact as a lever against the Germans during conversations.

Larriviere said that the worst profitters in Paris are German officers returning from Germany. They invariably speculate and are notorious for their Black Bourse and Black Market dealings.

While in Madrid, Larriviere lunched at the Argentine Embassy with General Rada, now commanding the Madrid garrison. The latter was extraordinarily outspoken in the course of lunch on the three things, which, he said, the Spanish people hate most: (1) Franco's brother-in-law, (2) the Falange and (3) the Ministry of Food. He also said that nearly all his brother-officers were heart and
soul against the Falange and that Serrano Suner was the biggest menace to Spain's peace and well-being.

General Rada also mentioned that Spanish Military Intelligence had learned that the Germans now had 65 divisions in the Balkans, most of them concentrated near the Turkish frontier. Spanish Military Intelligence believes that, in the event of an attack, the Turkish Army, although good, would collapse for lack of material. Larriviere also met the French Ambassador, M. Pietri, in Madrid. Ambassador Pietri is strongly anti-British according to Larriviere and although perhaps not a 100% pro-German in the Darlan sense of the word, is definitely collaborationist. He told Larriviere, however, that the French fleet would under no circumstances be handed over to the Germans and did not even contemplate transferring it with French crews.

Senora Larriviere had a friend in Biarritz who lived with her old English nurse, aged 70. In due course the Gestapo arrived, completely undressed the old woman in front of her mistress and told her that if she breathed a word about politics she would be shot. Her mistress
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: William J. Donovan

The following is a copy of a report that was sent by M. Lacour-Gayet, Inspector General of Finances and Financial Attaché of the French Embassy, who is considered by the French here as one of the most important of their administrators.

"L'Administration américaine se comporte, vis à vis de la French, de la manière suivante:

"Au sommet se trouve le Président que l'on peut considérer et qui veut être considéré comme la pensée dirigeante de la politique extérieure en général et de la politique à l'égard de la France en particulier.

"A l'échelon au-dessous, le Département d'État assure les relations mondiales et diplomatiques.

"A un échelon encore plus bas, les services administratifs sont, en principe, chargés d'appliquer les décisions auxquelles sont parvenus, après négociations ou discussions, les chefs de l'Administration avec
promesses pour de longues échéances après quoi ils s'empressent de proclamer publiquement qu'en ce qui les concerne leur politique à notre égard est 'au jour le jour'.

"Or si un pays devrait être fondé à pratiquer une politique aujourd'hui, c'est bien assurément la France.

"Si donc les Américains nous répondaient qu'ils ne peuvent rien faire pour nous, nous serions fixés et notre politique à l'égard des autres nations européennes serait définitivement fixée;

"Si, au contraire, les Américains nous disaient qu'ils peuvent nous aider et s'ils indiquaient par quels moyens pratiques, nous pourrions alors établir notre ligne de conduite proportionnellement à l'étendue du secours qui nous serait apporté.

"Il ne s'agit pas d'invoquer une hypothèque morale - quelles que soient les raisons puissantes que nous aurions de le faire-; il ne s'agit point de faire des reproches rétrospectifs - quels que soient les griefs que nous pourrions invoquer à propos des abandons dont nous avons été les victimes-; il s'agit seulement de demander aux Etats-Unis ce qu'ils peuvent et veulent faire pour nous.

"S'ils ne peuvent et ne veulent rien faire, il est inutile de parler et, moins encore, de nous engager unilatéralement."
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: William J. Donovan

On April 3 the following message was sent from Vichy to the French Ambassador in Washington:

"A date du Ier avril, les Français que se rendront désormais à l'étranger ne recevront leur visa de sortie qu'après avoir signé l'engagement de ne se livrer à aucune manoeuvre de dissidence à l'encontre du gouvernement français. Ils devront également dès qu'ils arriveront dans le lieu de leur nouvelle résidence se faire inscrire chez le consul de la circonscription.

"Au cas où, après s'être ainsi engagé à s'abstenir de toute manœuvre contre le gouvernement de son pays, un français passait à la dissidence, il y aurait lieu de signaler immédiatement cette infraction à la parole donnée."

The following message was received at Vichy from the Ambassador on the same day.

"Je réponds à votre télégramme 1022, signalant une information du New-York Times d'après laquelle, contraire-
ment aux affirmations renouvelées du gouvernement français le montant des frais d'occupation serait toujours de quatre cent millions de francs par jour.

"Je m'empresse de vous faire connaître que l'information du N-York Times est intégralement fausse. En effet, conformément aux indications données par le gouvernement, le montant des frais d'occupation a été réduit depuis plusieurs mois de cent millions de francs par jour et est, par conséquent, de trois cents millions.

"Des négociations sont en cours avec les autorités allemandes d'occupation pour l'obtention d'une réduction supplémentaire."
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM: William J. Donovan

The following messages were sent to Vichy by the French Ambassador on April 4, 1942:

1. "Devant être reçu mardi prochain 7 avril, par le Président Roosevelt, je serais reconnaissant à Votre Excellence, de vouloir bien, en dehors des points déjà précisés dans mes télégrammes précédents, m'indiquer ceux qu'Elle voudrait me voir aborder au cours de ma visite."

2. "J'ai protesté officiellement auprès de M. Sumner Welles contre les propos, insultants pour la Marine française proclamés à une des dernières séances du Sénat des États-Unis. Le Sous-Secrétaire d'État m'a rappelé que le règlement du Sénat ne permettait pas au Président de reprendre à l'ordre les orateurs qui s'écartent de la bienséance. Il m'a demandé de ne pas attacher trop d'importance aux outrances de certains sénateurs particulièrement excités."

3. "Je me réfère à votre télégramme 727."
"Comme je l’ai déjà dit à Votre Excellence, M. Sumner Welles, à qui j’avais proposé de soumettre la comptabilité d’Air-France pour prouver au gouvernement américain que jamais cette Compagnie n’avait vendu d’essence ni à la Latit, ni à Condor, et, par conséquent ne méritait pas d’être mise sur la liste noire, m’a dit que la véritable raison était que les États-Unis ne désiraient pas voir s’établir de liaison aérienne quelconque entre l’Europe et l’Amérique du Sud."

4. "Le Département d’État me fait connaître officiellement que l’ANGOULEME est autorisé à titre exceptionnel à se rendre de New-York à Fort de France."
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: William J. Donovan

On April 4 Admiral Darlan sent the following messages to the French Ambassador here:

1. "Au moment de l'armistice le gouvernement anglais s'est opposé au retour en France d'une dizaine d'officiers, pour la plupart aviateurs, faisant partie des missions qui se trouvaient à Londres. Le tréteux invoqué était que ces officiers avaient pu connaître des secrets militaires intéressant la défense britannique. Ceci se passait, il y aura bientôt deux ans et les officiers en question n'ont jamais depuis pu regagner le territoire français.

"Veuillez faire une démarche au Département d'Etat en appelant l'attention du Gouvernement fédéral sur cette situation anormale et inexcusable."

2. "Je me réfère à mes télégrammes 816 et 817.

"Le Gouvernement français fait les plus express reserves à propos de la liberté d'action que les Etats-Unis réclament pour eux dans les eaux de nos possessions..."
des Antilles. Cette prétention, en effet, est contraire non seulement aux accords Greenslade Robert et Horne-Robert, mais aussi aux engagements pris par le Président Roosevelt dans son télégramme du 14 décembre au Maréchal Petain, et dans lequel il garantit à la France le maintien absolu du statu quo de toutes nos possessions de l'hémisphère occidental.

3. "Je me réfère à votre télégramme 1227.

"Le Gouvernement français prend acte du départ sans nouvelles conditions des deux cargos actuellement en cours de chargement à New-York.

"Par contre, le Gouvernement français s'étonne des conditions nouvelles mises au départ éventuel des cinq autres cargos qui devraient normalement composer la chaîne des navires effectuant les voyages aller-retour entre les Etats-Unis et l'Afrique française du Nord.

"J'ai, en effet, compris par vos derniers télexigrams que, en plus des chargements de liège et de tartre, les Etats-Unis, maintenant, subordonnent le départ de nos cargos à l'assurance qu'ils pourront charger du cobalt, du caoutchouc et de l'huile d'olive.

"J'ai dit à l'Amiral Leahy, et je vous prie de répéter à M. Sumner Welles, que nous n'avons obtenu de
la Commission d'Armistice l'autorisation de ne plus effectuer les livraisons prévues par l'armistice à destination de la Lybie, qu'en excipant du fait que ces livraisons avaient été la cause de l'arrêt du trafic américain à destination de l'Afrique du Nord. Si nos délégues à la Commission d'armistice se voient contraints de revenir devant elle pour y dire que, malgré les garanties données par la France à propos de la Lybie, le ravitaillement de l'Afrique du Nord reste interrompu, ils se trouveront dans la situation la plus fausse et la plus délicate, pour ne pas dire plus.

"D'autre part, la Commission d'Armistice, depuis le mois de novembre, et en présence de l'arrêt du trafic maritime États-Unis-Afrique-française du Nord, s'est opposée à toute exportation de liège et de tartre, en déclarant qu'il s'agit de contrebande de guerre. Nos représentants étaient sur le point de faire lever cette interdiction au bénéfice des États-Unis. Il est évident que l'exportation continuera à être interdite si les États-Unis persistent dans leur intransigeance quant à leurs nouvelles et inattendues exigences.

"Le Gouvernement français, en conséquence, demande qu'il soit bien entendu qu'en contre-partie des assurances..."
qui lui ont été réclamées et qu'il a fournies, les sept navires du trafic États-Unis-Afrique française du Nord effectueront normalement leurs voyages sur des programmes d'achat de marchandises, établis tous les trimestres.

Il est bien convenu que ces navires (Mont-Everest, Indiana, Aldebaran, Ile de Noirmoutier, Ile de Ré, Ile d'Ouessant, Angoulême) seront chargés à leur retour de liège et de tartre.

"Toutefois, la seule justification réelle des échanges États-Unis-Afrique est dans la fourniture de pétrole. Le Gouvernement français attache à cette fourniture un intérêt essentiel.

"Si les États-Unis acceptent de reprendre les fournitures de pétrole à destination de l'Afrique française du Nord: 1° Le Gouvernement français s'engagera à ne rien livrer à l'Italie des 1057 tonnes d'essence qui sont encore consignées à son profit en Tunisie, depuis l'armistice.

Il sera entendu que les navires venant des États-Unis et porteurs de pétrole, en débarqueront à chaque voyage, 1000 à 2000 tonnes à Dakar;

2° Le Gouvernement français s'engagera à faire sortir deux tankers de la Méditerranée conformément aux voeux maintes fois exprimés par les États-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne;
"3o Le Gouvernement français s'engagera à n'exporter aucune quantité quelconque de cobalt à destination de qui que ce soit. Si, en effet, les États-Unis insistaient pour la fourniture de cobalt, qui, en tout état de cause, se trouve en trop petite quantité en Algérie pour avoir un intérêt réel dans les fabrications de la défense nationale américaine, il est certain que la commission d'armistice exigerait que soit envoyée en Allemagne une quantité équivalente de cobalt. Ceci irait à l'encontre même de la politique du blocus, ce qui n'est certainement pas dans les vues des États-Unis.

"4o Le Gouvernement français s'engagera à exporter à destination des États-Unis les quantités d'huile d'olive demandées. En ce qui concerne le caoutchouc, il n'en existe plus aucune quantité en Afrique française, du Nord et il n'en est point attendu d'autre. Tous les stocks de caoutchouc ont été transportés en France et ont déjà été usinés.

"En résumé, le Gouvernement français, compte sur la reprise du trafic des sept navires entre les États-Unis et l'Afrique française du Nord, avec comme contre-partie les chargements de liège et de tartre, les envois d'huile d'olive, les démarches à la commission d'armistice pour les 1057 tonnes...
No. 377
April 6, 1942
6:00 P.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM: William J. Donovan

The following has been received from the British Ministry of Information weekly guidance.

"Emphasize the imminence of the German offensive and the Russian British preparedness to oppose it with utmost strength. Give no support to the German local nerve-pressure, i.e., discount the notion of an immediate attack on Turkey. Treat reports of return of German Generals to Hitler's favor with caution, circulate for propaganda effect, but give no strategic significance and do not attach too much weight.

"There is no evidence of likelihood or otherwise of the Jap attack on Eastern Siberia, though it is possible if not probable that there should be such an attack, synchronized with the German spring drive. During the worst of the German autumn advance the Eastern army was kept intact, and the Russians feel they can hold out in the East without withdrawing forces from the west. Do not assume
April 6, 1942
6:00 P.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: William J. Donovan

You will be interested to know that next Friday, April 10th, we plan to begin an entirely new broadcasting schedule to Scandinavia over the WBOS transmitter owned by Westinghouse in Boston. Last summer we suggested to Mr. Walter Evans of Westinghouse the possibility of his installing a new set of directional antennae, so beamed as to produce a much better signal than any now available in Scandinavia. The Westinghouse engineers have completed the assignment, paid for entirely by Westinghouse, and we have been asked to program this transmitter between the hours of 2:15 P.M. EWT and 4:45 P.M. EWT - the best evening listening hours all through Scandinavia.

The schedule of programs which will start next Friday is a good example of cooperation between the FIS and the short wave radio industry. Through the Bronze Network, we are in a position to move to the transmitter in Boston those Scandinavian programs already available
on existing schedules which have real quality. Through our own studio facilities in New York, we will be in a position to supplement these programs with others of our own where this is necessary.

The schedule with which we will begin is as follows:

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Nature</th>
<th>Origin</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:15</td>
<td>News</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Live</td>
<td>COI</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:30</td>
<td>Commentary</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Recorded</td>
<td>NBC-weekdays COI-Sat., Sun.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:45</td>
<td>News</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Recorded</td>
<td>COI</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>Goodwill Program</td>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>Live</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td>News</td>
<td>Swedish</td>
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<td>Commentary</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
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<td>4:45</td>
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If this new beam works out as well as the engineers predict, it will be possible to program it later in the day with broadcasting specially designed for India. We are prepared to go ahead on this and a concrete schedule can be drawn up as soon as final reports on signal strength in India have been received.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: William J. Donovan

The following has been received from the British PWE Survey of German Home Propaganda.

Main Theme: While engaged in Russia there is no need for Germany to fear attack from elsewhere because:

a. Allies are unable to begin an offensive anywhere.

b. The hopelessness of British efforts to batter at Atlantic coast defenses. This is shown by "catastrophic failure" at Saint Nazaire.

c. Ineffectiveness of Russian winter offensive.

d. Continued military defeats of allies.

e. Lack of allied shipping due to continued heavy sinkings along the American coast and in the Atlantic especially.

Secondary Theme: In England things are much worse, i.e.:

a. Military weakness.

b. Poor leadership.
No. 380
April 6, 1942
6:00 P.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: William J. Donovan

The following information has just come to us from one of our men in Lisbon.

For three months the Portuguese secret police, who have always been known for their pro-Axis bias have, under German pressure, been running a campaign against distributors of British propaganda and Portuguese sympathizers in all walks of life. They have now started to arrest British subjects. Three British consular officers have been summoned by the police for interrogation. Confirmed and authentic reports show that they have used typical Gestapo methods in the treatment of prisoners, and have beaten them up to produce confessions of subversive activities against the regime and bogus Anglo-Communist plots.

As they are independent, the secret police often act without knowledge of the government. Notorious figures are Paulo Cumano and Gaspar de Oliverira. Correia de Allmeida, their chief satellite, has even tortured Poles