

● PSF: Subject File

Carter, J. Franklin Jan.-Mar. 1944

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

*Have  
I speak to me  
about*

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

*Explained to  
J.F.C. Jan 11*

*J.F. Carter folder  
3-48  
File*

Metropolitan 4112  
Metropolitan 4113

January 3, 1944.

REPORT ON OFFER FROM SIDNEY HILLMAN.

Dave Niles told me the other day that Sidney Hillman had asked him to find out whether I would consider taking charge of the publicity and public relations work of his political organization of C.I.O. labor.

I have not yet talked to Hillman about it directly. Naturally, I am interested in the suggestion. If satisfactory terms can be arranged, I should like to consider it.

However, I would not wish to consider it if it does not meet with your approval and I should not like to give up the special work I have been doing for you since early in 1941. That is not only because I do not wish to abandon work related to the war-effort but also because in some things I am convinced that I can do them better than others. *and that they ought to be done.*

The purpose of this report is to ask, first, whether it would meet with your approval if I undertook this job for Hillman and second, whether I might continue to handle my special work for you as long as you consider that work useful and necessary.

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

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER  
(Jay Franklin)  
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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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

*file*

*PSF 9.7 Carter folder  
3-UK*  
*Grace T.:*  
*Confidential, from*

Metropolitan 4112  
Metropolitan 4113  
January 5, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. EARLY : WALKER REPORT ON "NEW DEAL".

Dear Steve:

You may be interested in George Walker's Report No. 3 (1944 Series),  
purporting to give Wall Street reactions to some recent statements attributed  
to Mrs. Roosevelt.

Yours,

*John Carter*  
J.F.C.

rs R.

Walker

#3

January 4, 1944.

Some of our contacts in New York have been critical of Mrs. Roosevelt's reported reluctance to drop the New Deal slogan and, apparently influenced by the way the press handled the matter as it developed in one of her recent press conferences, say that her statement simply added to the confusion.

A business man who is friendly to the President and his management of the country's foreign relationships although critical of his recent handling of labor said:

"Why in the world did Mrs. Roosevelt have to sound off as favoring New Deal when the President has indicated positively that it is his purpose to drop the slogan in favor of "in the War".

"The old phrase makers were wise men and I guess it's just another case too talkative woman.

"At the same time I do not misinterpret her sincerity at all but believe that in her zeal to uphold the social security acts of the New Deal she left herself open for sharp criticism as further disturbing our already ruffled domestic waters."

An executive in one of our large New York corporations said:

"It is unfortunate that that Mrs. Roosevelt let herself be jockeyed into her remarks about the New Deal as what she has said will serve to further increase the belief of many Americans that she is first a politician and second the humanitarian her "MyDay" columns at times seem to strive so hard to convey.

"She quite evidently was not, as the press has put it reluctant to forego the New Deal as a name, but was standing behind many of the fine reforms brought about under that title. Anyone who reads the full accounts of her press meeting can't fail to see that.

"But it certainly would have made things easier for the President if she had not touched on the matter at all."

Overheard in the Subway:

"Eleanor's sounding off again."

"Yeah."

"Looks like she's against FDR on getting rid of the New Deal name."

"Yeah. Too bad."

#####

Dear Mrs Tully: <sup>Telephone</sup> <sup>answer as</sup> <sup>signed by the</sup> <sup>President</sup> <sup>11/6/48</sup>  
I'm sure I do not get <sup>1/2</sup> <sup>hour</sup> <sup>with</sup> <sup>you</sup> <sup>see</sup> <sup>what</sup> <sup>you</sup> <sup>can</sup> <sup>do</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>get</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>quick</sup> <sup>decision</sup> <sup>on</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>report</sup> <sup>marked</sup> <sup>"urgent"</sup>  
J. F. Carter

Mr. R.

Walker

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#####

[1-6-44]

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER  
(Joy Franklin)  
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1-44  
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personal*

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

*Urgent*

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December 28, 1943.

REPORT ON SENDING HENRY FIELD TO TRINIDAD AND BRITISH GUIANA.

Charles Taussig of the Caribbean Commission has asked to send Henry Field on a short and quiet trip to Trinidad and British Guiana. Adolph Berle agrees. Both Taussig and Berle are disturbed by recent reports on conditions in both of those British possessions. Taussig wants, however, to verify before taking the matter up formally through the Commission and the Colonial Office. Field assures me that his current work is well enough in hand and will not suffer if he leaves for two or three weeks next month. I have told Taussig that I can spare Field for that time and purpose.

We all feel, however, that we should have your prior approval before making arrangements to send Field down to the Caribbean. If you do approve, some suitable and moderately official reason will be found for Field's expedition. The total cost will be within \$2,000. If that sum is not available in the funds of Taussig's office, a request will be made for an allocation from the Special Fund.

Taussig tells me that morale among the civilian population is bad and is dangerous among the East Indian population, now greatly agitated over the famine in India. He believes that the British policy will be simply to wait and see and then use the machine-guns after the trouble starts. He wants to get quick verification as to the facts and then act vigorously in order to head off trouble which would react in both hemispheres. I concur with his judgment as to the urgency of this request.

*JFK  
1943 Budget  
JFK  
J.F.C.*

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER

(Jay Franklin)

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~~SECRET~~

December 28, 1943.

REPORT ON GOOD NEWS.

On the theory that you might like to get some good news which requires no special action, I thought I would tell you that the War Production Board's Office of Production Research and Development under Harvey ~~Stax~~ Davis is doing a brilliant job.

They have a new type of engine--the B-3--which is calculated to double the effective load or range of bombers and transport planes. They also have a new type of carburetor which will effect a substantial economy in the use of gasoline for land-transport and which can also operate on lower-grade fuels (kerosene) efficiently. They deserve protection and encouragement which will certainly be needed when they reach the point of practical introduction of these revolutionary devices. The men chiefly concerned in these developments are Mr. Leroy Whitney and Mr. G.G.Tolman. They also tell me that they have found splendid cooperation on the part of General Henry and Bob Patterson in the War Department, as well as from the Vannevar Bush and the O.S.R.D.

J.F.C.

PSF; *J.F. Carter folder*  
4 3-44

January 6, 1944.

At the President's direction, I telephoned to Mr. Carter today and told him that the President suggested that he have a talk with Mr. J. Edgar Hoover about it and see if could arrange to take over this assignment.

G. G. T.

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER  
(Jay Franklin)  
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*file  
Confidential*

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DECLASSIFIED  
URGENT. By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.  
By W. J. Stewart Date 11-1-72

January 5, 1944.

REPORT ON SERVICE AND PROTECTION FOR PUTZI HANFSTAENGL.

Due to the shortage of suitable manpower and the peculiar problems involved, the task of employing adequate personnel for service and custody in connection with Putzi Hanfstaengl has become <sup>almost</sup> impossible of solution outside the Army.

At present a Special Agent of Counter-Intelligence has been assigned to help out, on an emergency basis, by the office of General Lewis, Commandant of the Washington District. However, General Marshall's Office has just informed me that they are instructing General Lewis to discontinue this emergency assistance, unless they receive a written order from the Commander-in-Chief. General Marshall feels that this assignment is outside the Army's jurisdiction and that it ought to be handled by the F.B.I., which previously declined assistance in this connection.

If General Lewis withdraws his man, the project will be without adequate control and without adequate protection. Previous non-Army personnel recommended by the Office of General Lewis proved insubordinate and drunken, jeopardizing the entire operation of the Hanfstaengl project at a time when it might have maximum value in helping penetrate Hitler's intentions and German political psychology.

This report is to request a decision as to whether General Marshall or the F.B.I. should be instructed to continue cooperation. In my own judgement, Hanfstaengl would be equally safe and perhaps more useful if he were released from special custody under suitable parole; however, the British Government would undoubtedly strongly object. It would also seem pretty silly if we liquidated the entire enterprise because of inability to assign to the job one or two men who would be subject to discipline and used to obeying orders. So far, the civilian manpower market has yielded nobody who has sufficient sense of responsibility and physical ability to deal with the problems of service and surveillance. *J.F.C.*

**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
**WASHINGTON**

GRACE:

John Carter is leaving later tonight for N.Y. and says he must talk to you about several things before he goes. He asks if you will call him at his home - Dupont 2039.

dot

*J. F. Carter folder  
3-44*

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER  
(Jay Franklin)  
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WASHINGTON, D. C.

"We, the People"  
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January 12, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY: REPORTS FROM THE "M" PROJECT.

Dear Miss Tully:

Herewith enclosed, please find a number of reports from the Bowman-Field  
Committee on Migration and Settlement ("M" Project)

*JF*  
J.F.C.

*M-48 through M-53*

*R-28*

T-208

*J. F. Carter folder  
3-44*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 14, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

DR. McINTIRE:

What can I say?

F.D.R.

Memorandum, 1-10-44, from John Franklin Carter, attaching report on High Altitude Frostbite and Secret memorandum giving present status of Navy Dept. responsibility for Emergency Rescue Equipment, Safety and Survival.

PSF: J. F. Carter folder  
3-44

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 18, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER

I think it is a mistake to bring Putzi to Washington, but I do think that the Army should look after him. Will you speak to Jack McCloy about it?

F. D. R.



Office of the Attorney General  
Washington, D.C.

January 17, 1944

THE WHITE HOUSE  
JAN 18 8 39 AM '44  
RECEIVED

*file  
personal*

The President

The White House

My dear Mr. President:

J. Franklin Carter tells me that you wish the FBI to "help him out" in the Ernst Hanfstnaegl matter. He informs me that helping him out means assigning a man or two from the FBI to live with and act as personal custodians of Hanfstnaegl.

Edgar Hoover protests against this and I agree with his position.

I have suggested to Carter that the only thing we can do is to order Hanfstnaegl interned at Gloucester, New Jersey (near Philadelphia) where he will be available to Carter for consultation. There is no available place nearer Washington where Hanfstnaegl, an alien enemy, can be legally interned.

Respectfully,

*Francis B. Biddle*  
Attorney General

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER

(Joy Franklin)

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~~SECRET~~ U R G E N T.

January 17, 1944.

REPORT ON SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS FOR PUTZI HANFSTAENGL.

As instructed by Miss Tully, I saw Mr. Tamm of the F.B.I. (Mr. Hoover being out of circulation at the time) on January 13, and asked for F.B.I. help in the matter of providing or recommending security personnel for Putzi Hanfstaengl under the present arrangement.

This noon, Francis Biddle (to whom the matter had been referred and who had had the need and nature of the project explained to him) telephoned me to say "No can do" without direct orders from you. Stringency of manpower and heavy burden of other duties were alleged as reasons for this decision.

Under the circumstances, there are two alternatives:

1) Either the Army or the F.B.I. should be ordered to cooperate with this project to the extent of either assigning operatives or selecting approved personnel to be paid out of the funds allocated for its operation. Since the Army has cooperated up to now very well, I should prefer the Army.

2) Without reference to our previous arrangements with the British, Putzi should be moved into Washington under an assumed name and allowed to operate here under control, from a hotel or an apartment house. I am convinced that he would be scrupulous in observing his parole; I am equally convinced that the British would be annoyed. I am reluctant to ask them to consent in advance to such an arrangement, because its cause would be this Government's inability to operate such an elementary arrangement in psychological warfare. *They would not consent.*

If neither of these alternatives are followed, I shall continue to operate the project as is, to the best of ability, under the notice that, in an emergency, I might be required to move Putzi into Washington in order to assure him of food and shelter.

*J.F.C.*

DECLASSIFIED  
By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.  
By W. J. Stewart Date MAY 1 1972

20 Jan 1944

PSF  
Carter

# Open Letter

from

The Czech National Union in London,  
40, Courtfield Gardens,  
S.W.5,

to

H.M. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,  
The Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden,  
P.C., M.C., M.P.

Downing Street,  
S.W.1.

LONDON, *January 20, 1944.*

**We, the undersigned,**

CERTIFYING that we agree to all the arrangements made to attain the victory of the Allies in this war, to secure a lasting peace and freedom in Europe, delivered from the constant threat of German aggression, as this programme was first expressed in the Atlantic Charter—

EMPHASISING the unavoidable necessity of a new European organisation (especially in Central Europe) in the closest co-operation with all the Allied nations and under the leadership of the Allied Great Powers—

WELCOMING everything which could bring together with other nations of Central and South-East Europe, as well as with the great Western democracies, the brotherly Slavonic nations living in Central and Eastern Europe, who have been blood relations from time immemorial,

**proclaim most solemnly—**

in the name of the Czech National Union in London and in our own name—

**the Treaty**

OF FRIENDSHIP, MUTUAL HELP, AND POST-WAR  
CO-OPERATION

**between the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak  
Republic**

agreed in Moscow on December 12, 1943, by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and M. V. M. Molotov on the one side, and by the "President of the Czechoslovak Republic" and M. Fierlinger on the other side

**is null and void**

AND DOES NOT BIND THE CZECH NATION IN  
ANY WAY.

## Reasons for Refusal.

### There is no such Language.

WE INSIST, first and foremost, that Dr. Edvard Beneš and M. Fierlinger have deceived public opinion in the world. In the Appendix to the said Treaty it is stated:—

“ The agreement has been drawn up in both the Russian and the Czechoslovak languages. Both texts have equal force.”

There can be no doubt that the wording of this Appendix could not have been formulated without the knowledge of Dr. Edvard Beneš and M. Fierlinger.

There is, however, no Czechoslovak language! There is a Czech and a Slovak language.

The second text of the Treaty could only have been worded either in the Czech or the Slovak language.

Both the above-mentioned negotiators could not have been unaware of this, and still they permitted this great untruth to be included in the text of the Appendix to the Treaty.

### Unauthorised Negotiators.

WE INSIST, further, that “ The President of the Czechoslovak Republic ” and M. Fierlinger, are guilty of a still more unprecedented international deception.

They presented their credentials to the other high contracting party, declaring themselves to be plenipotentiaries of one of the high contracting parties, i.e., Dr. Edvard Beneš as “ President of the Czechoslovak Republic ” and M. Fierlinger as his “ Ambassador ”.

The other high contracting party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., was obviously led into a factual and juridical error when it found these credentials in perfect order.

WE INSIST, therefore that Dr. Edvard Beneš and M. Fierlinger acted as unauthorised negotiators and attached the seals illegally.

Both these personalities might represent their (Beneš's) Party abroad, which might express the will of a small fraction of the citizens of the former Czechoslovak Republic. But they have no juridical or political title to represent the “ Czechoslovak Republic ” as authorised negotiators, and still less the Czech nation.

### Is Dr. E. Beneš President?

Dr. Edvard Beneš who proclaimed himself “ President of the Czechoslovak Republic ” in London in 1940, pretends quite arbitrarily and without any justification at all to be a President, in total contradiction to the provisions of the Constitutional Charter of the Czechoslovak Republic, dated February 29, 1920, provisions which admit of no exceptions.

Article 2 of the Constitutional Charter of the Czechoslovak Republic definitely prescribes: “ The Czechoslovak State shall be a democratic Republic, the head of which shall be an elected President.”

Dr. Edvard Beneš was actually elected President of the Czechoslovak Republic in the year 1935 for a period of seven years. Before the termination of this period of his office, however, Dr. Edvard Beneš abdicated constitutionally from his presidency on October 5, 1938 (ANNEX 1). This took place when he

convinced himself beyond the possibility of any doubt that the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the Czechoslovak Republic desired his resignation, and gave expression to this wish by mass demonstrations, which had to be suppressed by the State authorities.

Then Dr. Edvard Beneš, former President of the Czechoslovak Republic, left Prague secretly for Britain by aeroplane, "leaving his country in desperation." His flight was characterised in these words in the "Libel action Prehala versus Beneš" before the High Court of Justice on October 12 to 14, 1943. (ANNEX 5.)

From Britain, where he lived as a private person, Dr. Edvard Beneš later left for the United States to take up a position at the University of Chicago. When Prague was occupied by the German Army on March 15, 1939, Dr. Edvard Beneš sent a telegram of protest to the representatives of the Western Great Powers, and signed these telegrams with his own name, with the additional remark "Former President of the Czechoslovak Republic, Professor of the University of Chicago". Shortly after this Professor Dr. Edvard Beneš founded a Committee in the United States, the programme of which was the restitution of the Czechoslovak Republic. He put himself at the head of this Committee, complying with the request of three officials of the Legation at the Consulate of the Czechoslovak Republic in the United States.

Thus Professor Dr. Edvard Beneš became head of the Beneš Party, and as such he returned to London in the summer of 1939, from where, after the beginning of the war, he undertook fruitless attempts to have a Provisional Government of the Czechoslovak Republic recognised in France under his presidency. The French Government did not consent to this, but took cognisance of the fact that a Committee of the Beneš Party had been created in France entitled the "Czechoslovak National Committee in Paris". This same Committee was later taken cognisance of in England by the British Government.

This all took place in spite of the objections of the representatives of other movements directed to the liberation of Czechs and Slovaks from German oppression, and especially in spite of a protest by the representatives of the "Czecho-Slovak National Council in Paris". After the collapse of France Dr. Edvard Beneš got rid of these unpleasant adversaries. After their arrival in England his agents denounced the members of this Council to the British Authorities, who arrested, imprisoned, and interned them.

The British Government and public not being in possession of proper information, and the enforced silence of the other representatives of the Czechs and Slovaks, Dr. Edvard Beneš and his Party abused the situation in an unheard-of manner. The false representation that all the people at home and abroad are behind Dr. Edvard Beneš, induced the British Government to recognise the individuals named by Dr. Edvard Beneš as a Provisional Government of the Czechoslovak Republic, under the presidency of Dr. Edvard Beneš. Immediately after this Dr. Edvard Beneš committed another deception. Being recognised as the President of the "Provisional Government of the Czechoslovak Republic", he began to call himself the "President of the Czechoslovak Republic". Under this title appropriated without any legal right, Dr. Edvard Beneš has from that time appeared in Great Britain and the world.

Behaving in this manner, Dr. Edvard Beneš utterly disregarded the afore-said Constitutional Charter of the Czechoslovak Republic, Article 56 of which prescribes:—

1. The President of the Republic shall be elected by the National Assembly (Art. 38),

although he himself always refers to the legal continuity of the Czechoslovak Republic, and therefore he himself should be the first to hold to the letter of the provisions of the fundamental laws.

### The Real Position of Dr. E. Beneš.

The legal position of Dr. Edvard Beneš in the light of the Constitutional Charter of the Czechoslovak Republic is as follows:—

The former (abdicated) President of the Czechoslovak Republic, who as a private person put himself at the head of his political Party abroad, used a dishonourable artifice to get rid of those who represented the will of the people at home, grossly misused the lack of information of the Western Great Powers, and despotically and by means of tricks illegally pretends to be the President of the Czechoslovak Republic. All his negotiations resulting from this illegally appropriated title are null and void in law, and are therefore not binding. For any damage which might result to anybody from his actions, Dr. Edvard Beneš himself is liable, eventually the persons acting for him.

### The Rights and Duties of a Legal President.

The negotiations in Moscow and the signing of the above-mentioned Treaty on December 12, 1943, would have been null and void in law and therefore not binding according to the provisions of the Constitutional Law of the Czechoslovak Republic, which should have been the source of the constitutional power of Dr. Edvard Beneš, even if the validity of the continuity of the constitutional state of the Czechoslovak Republic were proved, and therefore it could be assumed that in consequence Dr. Edvard Beneš is a lawful President of the Czechoslovak Republic abroad, which however we do not admit.

This follows clearly from the provisions quoted from the Constitutional Charter of the Czechoslovak Republic, Article 64 of which states *inter alia*:—

1. The functions of the President shall be as follows:—

(1) He shall represent the State in its external relations and negotiate and ratify international conventions. Commercial treaties, treaties imposing on the State or its citizens any charges or obligations whatever, whether financial or personal, and in particular military obligations, and treaties involving changes in the territory of the State, require the consent of the National Assembly. As regards alterations in the territory of the State the consent of the National Assembly must be expressed in the form of a Constitutional Law (Article 1 of the Preliminary Law).

In the aforesaid Article 1 of the Preliminary Law it is stated:—

1. Enactments which are in conflict with the Constitutional Charter, with laws which may supplement or amend it, are invalid.

It is indisputable that the Treaty signed in Moscow on December 12, 1943, would impose both on the State and on the citizens charges and obligations, financial or personal, and in particular military obligations (Article III of the Moscow Agreement).

Even if Dr. Edvard Beneš were President of the Czechoslovak Republic abroad—which we do not admit—he would be bound, according to Article 64 of the Constitutional Charter of the Czechoslovak Republic, to ask for the consent of the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic.

There is no National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic in London or abroad at all, from whom Dr. Edvard Beneš would be able to ask for their consent for this international Treaty. (The so-called State Council in London.

the members of which were nominated by Dr. Edvard Beneš from members of the Beneš Party, cannot surely be seriously maintained to constitute the supreme constitutional representatives as mentioned in the quoted Constitutional Charter of the Czechoslovak Republic; still, the members of the so-called State Council in London do not even embrace all the members of the last constitutional National Assembly living abroad.)

Therefore Dr. Edvard Beneš cannot ask the consent of the National Assembly for the Treaty signed in Moscow on December 12, 1943. Therefore this Treaty is subject to the sanctions of Article 1 of the Preliminary Law, which refers to the whole of Paragraph 1 of Article 64 of the Constitutional Charter of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Objection that things were put right by a Constitutional Decree (issued on October 15, 1940, By Dr. Edvard Beneš and by the organs nominated by him, about the temporary exercise of legislative authority, stating: 'As long as it is impossible to effect the provisions of Chapter II of the Constitutional Charter, the President of the Republic will carry out with the consent of the Government all enactments prescribed by Article 64, Paragraphs 1 and 3') i.e., the consent which should have been given by the National Assembly, could now be replaced by the consent of the Beneš Government in London—is an absolute mockery of all rational constitutional, legal and democratic principles.

This Constitutional Decree, by which Dr. Edvard Beneš unconstitutionally, absolutely and dictatorially changed the Constitutional Charter of the Czechoslovak Republic, is a classical example of the methods of Dr. Edvard Beneš and his Party. He maintained to the world that he is President in accordance with the Constitutional Charter of the Czechoslovak Republic, but internally cancels the validity of this Charter just in those Articles which are not favourable for him, but which are fundamental for the whole structure of the Charter. (His Press simultaneously finds excuses for him, maintaining that this emergency measure is covered by the recognition of him and his Government by the Allied Powers according to International law.)

## Conclusion.

THE TRUTH IS THAT ANY NEGOTIATIONS AND ENACTMENTS OF DR. EDVARD BENEŠ IN SUCH MATTERS ARE IN CONFLICT WITH THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHARTER OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC, AND ARE THEREFORE INVALID ACCORDING TO ARTICLE 1 OF THE PRELIMINARY LAW, EVEN IF IT WERE ADMITTED—WHICH WE DO NOT—THAT DR. EDVARD BENEŠ IS THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC ABROAD.

IT HAS, HOWEVER, BEEN PROVED THAT DR. EDVARD BENEŠ APPROPRIATED THE FUNCTION OF PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC ILLEGALLY, AND THEREFORE HE IS NOT THE CONSTITUTIONAL HEAD OF THE STATE, HAS NO RIGHT TO NOMINATE A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT OR CIVIL SERVANTS AND OFFICERS OF THE ARMY, AND HAS NO RIGHT TO REPRESENT ANYBODY BUT HIS OWN PARTY.

THERE IS *DE FACTO* NEITHER A CZECHOSLOVAK

NOR A CZECHO-SLOVAK REPUBLIC TO-DAY (vide Political Summary), FOR WHICH THEIR FORMER CONSTITUTIONAL REPRESENTATIVES ARE TO BLAME, AND THE PEOPLES CONSTITUTING THE INHABITANTS OF THE SAID REPUBLICS MUST BE LEFT TO DECIDE THEIR FUTURE FATE FOR THEMSELVES ACCORDING TO THE TERMS OF THE ATLANTIC CHARTER. THUS THESE PEOPLES CANNOT TO-DAY BE BOUND BY INTERNATIONAL TREATIES CONCLUDED BY UNAUTHORISED NEGOTIATORS, THEREFORE NOT EVEN BY THE TREATY SIGNED IN MOSCOW ON DECEMBER 12, 1943.

LONDON, *January 20, 1944.*

GENERAL LEV PRCHALA, D.S.O.,  
*The President of the Czech N.U.,*  
Minister of the last Czecho-Slovak  
Government,  
C.-in-C. of the Legions of Czechs  
and Slovaks in Poland.

VLADIMÍR LEŽÁK-BORIN,  
*The Political Secretary of the Czech N.U.,*  
Editor of "České Slovo" in  
Prague.

KAREL LOCHER, LL.D.,  
*The Vice-President and Treasurer of the Czech N.U.,*  
form. Consul and Editor in Prague.

S./Lt. JOSEF KRATOCHVIL,  
worker in a War factory in G.B.

S./Cpt. BARON ROBERT HILDPRANDT,  
D. Agr., D.Sc., Priv. Assist. of the  
Med. Fac. of the University in Prague,  
worker in a War factory in G.B.

MME. LUDMILA BALNAROVÁ.

## Political Summary.

### The First (Czechoslovak) Republic.

Dr. Edvard Beneš was personally always unpopular with the overwhelming majority of the people of the Czechoslovak Republic. The cause of his unpopularity arose from the fact that he never kept to his obligations, and always used all kinds of tricks and deceptions in the interest of his own personal career. His position as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and later as President of the Czechoslovak Republic, was created and maintained on assertions that he enjoys the unlimited confidence of the leading statesmen of the Western Great Powers, and that the international position of the Czechoslovak Republic depends on this confidence.

In the year 1935, in spite of his personal unpopularity, he was elected President of the Czechoslovak Republic simply for the reason that the majority of the members of the National Assembly believed these assertions. The Slovak members voted for him because he bound himself to make Slovak autonomy effective as soon as he was elected President. However, he did not keep this honourable obligation, just the same as he had not previously kept his former obligation regarding Slovak autonomy (Pittsburg Agreement of May 30, 1918). The breaking of this obligation brought the majority of Slovaks into the sharpest opposition to the Prague Government, and thus weakened the internal position of the Republic already shaken by disputes with the German inhabitants.

The Munich crisis showed that the confidence of statesmen of the Western Great Powers in Dr. Edvard Beneš—the only assertion of his in which the Czechoslovak citizens still believed—was also a deception. Thus Dr. Edvard Beneš lost the last remnant of the people's confidence in him, and became a political wreck.

The bankruptcy of his policy and personality culminated when he, with the Government of General Syrový which he nominated, and which did not arise in a constitutional form from the National Assembly, was bound to protect the frontiers of the Republic by force of arms, but did not do so, accepting instead—in violation to the Constitutional Charter of the Czechoslovak Republic—with his Government the Munich Agreement, ceded unconstitutionally a great part of the territory of the Czechoslovak Republic to a foreign Power, and even recommended the inhabitants to accept it in his broadcast speech to his people on October 5, 1938 (ANNEX 2).

Thus he committed in fact a serious violation of his presidential obligations as imposed by the Constitution, and it was only by a rapid abdication that he escaped from the consequences threatening him. Dr. Edvard Beneš has, therefore, no right to appeal to the legal continuity of the Czechoslovak Republic, which ceased to exist in fact as a consequence of his policy and enactments.

### The Second (Czecho-Slovak) Republic.

Then the Czecho-Slovak Republic arose, a new tripartite State founded on agreements with the Slovaks and Subcarpathian Russians-Ukrainians. These agreements constituted in fact an amendment of the Constitutional Charter of the Czechoslovak Republic, which was accepted by the overwhelming majority of the Constitutional factors. After the legal abdication of Dr. Edvard Beneš, Dr. Emil Hácha was constitutionally elected President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The former President, Dr. Edvard Beneš, sent a letter of congratulation to President Hácha on his election (ANNEX 3).

As a consequence of the events between March 10 and 15, 1939, the continuity of this State was again violated, and the Czecho-Slovak Republic also ceased in fact to exist. President Dr. Emil Hácha, previously entrusted with full powers by Constitutional factors, accepted this state of affairs illegally.

### Dr. E. Beneš during the War.

After the outbreak of war Dr. Edvard Beneš decided to flee away from his acts and post-Munich proclamations. After his experience in France in the autumn of 1939 he, however, realised clearly that he would need the alliance and support of an undoubtedly legal government to be instrumental in his success with the Great Powers. For this purpose, according to information received from the late Polish Prime Minister, Gen. W. Sikorski, he used the help of the Polish Government to have his Committee from Paris acknowledged in London as a Provisional Government of the Czechoslovak Republic. For this help he promised the Polish factors that he would form a Czechoslovak-Polish Confederation. As soon as Dr. Edvard Beneš had attained his object, he permitted the signing of agreements between both Governments for the formation of this Confederation.

In the year 1941 he declared that Munich and all its consequences do not exist: that everything that happened had not actually happened, and therefore that he himself is still the legal President of the Czechoslovak Republic in Constitutional continuity. (ANNEX 4.) And, as was his general practice, he used the first opportunity to evade his promise to the Poles. Dr. Beneš understood how to prolong the preliminary negotiations about the Confederation for more than two years, and in the summer, 1943, he suspended all further negotiations in the matter of the Confederation with Poland.

In the meantime he began a similar political game with the U.S.S.R., the object of which is to confront the statesmen of the Western Great Powers with a *fait accompli*, viz., the recognition of the pre-Munich frontiers of the former Czechoslovak Republic. He was unable to obtain this recognition from the Western Powers direct. The publication issued by the Czechoslovak Information Service entitled "Tři roky druhé světové války" (Three Years of the Second World War) gives ample evidence about the impatient pressure of Dr. Beneš and his agents on the Allied factors, which—as the cautiously selected Documents published in this booklet show—successively yielded in nearly all questions except that of the frontiers. Therefore he attempted to receive it through a Treaty with the U.S.S.R. (As, however, Dr. Edvard Beneš makes a principle of not holding to his obligations, as has been proved, we are justified in assuming that this Treaty with the U.S.S.R. is no more binding for him than that which his Minister signed previously with the Polish Government.)

### Czechs against Dr. E. Beneš.

The political activity of Dr. Edvard Beneš in London has sapped the will of the Czech nation to resist Nazi-ism, and has brought the good name of the Allied Powers into disrepute with the Czech people. These people cannot fail to see that Dr. Edvard Beneš whom they know so well, was in receipt of unusual help from the Allied Powers. The Czech nation, however, again realised that Dr. Edvard Beneš has not changed in any respect. This state of mind of the Czech people has been utilised so successfully by the Nazi propaganda that the resistance of the Czech people to Nazi-ism has ceased to a considerable extent in the last two years. As a reply to all Dr. Edvard Beneš's really desperate attempts to revive this resistance against Nazi-ism, the Czech people replied with demonstrations against Dr. Edvard Beneš and against London. They made it quite clear that, in their struggle against Nazi-ism, they do not wish to have anything in common with Dr. Edvard Beneš and his Party abroad.

The Czech nation refuses to allow a person to speak in their name who led his own country to ruin by his internal and external policy. The people are of the opinion that every politician is responsible for his policy. If Mr. Chamberlain was made responsible in Britain for a certain policy, and Col. Beck in Poland, then nobody else but Dr. Edvard Beneš could be held responsible for the policy which led to Munich. And it was for this reason that the Czech nation forced President Beneš to abdicate.

## The Results.

Dr. Edvard Beneš's Government in London does not serve for any purpose which was intended by the British Government when recognition was granted. Britain certainly had no other intention than to express sympathy for a nation under the yoke of the Nazi-German oppressors. The British Government obviously wished to serve the interests of the Czech people through those who succeeded in getting abroad, and till the time the nation itself, freed from Nazi oppression, would be able to determine its own fate, and elect its regular political representatives. It is not the fault of the British statesmen that they were deceived by the ambitious capitulants whose chief aim was personal power.

During three years there has been ample opportunity to arrive at the conclusion that DR. EDVARD BENEŠ'S CZECHOSLOVAK GOVERNMENT IN LONDON—

IS AN UNCONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT,

IS IN CONFLICT WITH THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY,

IS IN ABSOLUTE CONFLICT WITH THE PRINCIPLES EXPRESSED IN THE ATLANTIC CHARTER,

AND HAS, THEREFORE, NO RIGHT TO ACT IN THE NAME OF THE CZECH NATION.

## A Few Documents.

### ANNEX 1.

#### THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC ABDICATES.

Dr. Edvard Beneš, President of the Republic, sent the Prime Minister, General Jan Syrový, a letter of abdication reading as follows:

October 5, 1938.

MR. PRIME MINISTER,

Three eventful years of my presidency culminated in the events of recent days, in events for us exceptionally sad, and for our country of great import. They lacerated the soul, heart, nerves and intellect of all of us.

But they have not broken our faith or our fidelity to the ideals of our people, nation and State, ideals which have been maintained by the Czechoslovak people, who will remain faithful to them.

These historical events, however, have changed nearly from the foundation the conditions of our life and the development of our State. I played such a great part in all of this that I cannot fail to consider what I, as President of the Republic, should do in the new conditions.

I was elected in quite different circumstances and under conditions fundamentally different and I cannot ignore this to-day. The circumstances have also changed in that my person, as a political person, could eventually be an obstacle to the development to which our country must adjust itself, especially also from the international point of view, and with regard to the necessity of attaining tranquillity in all our surroundings, and good relations and co-operation with neighbours.

We have just succeeded in forming a Government which in the new conditions will be a Government of tranquillity and order, a Government exerting itself for economic and social reconstruction, a Government seeking mainly work at home, transition, and total regeneration. I believe that they will succeed in their work. For myself, however, I consider it necessary in the new situation to draw the consequences and resign my office.

This does not mean that I abandon the duty in difficult times, and not remain on the bridge of the ship in a heavy storm. I simply wish to facilitate the further healthy development of the State and the nation from the standpoint of internal policy.

For this reason I resign my office to the hands of the constitutional factors, and request you, as Head of the Government, to arrange everything that is necessary according to the requirements of the Constitution.

I thank you and your colleagues for all co-operation, and I sincerely wish you and all the others success in your further activity. I firmly and deeply believe that better times will come soon, times of tranquillity, effective work, and successes for the new State and for all our Czechoslovak people.

(Signed) DR. EDVARD BENEŠ.

## ANNEX 2.

## PRESIDENT DR. EDVARD BENEŠ SAYS FAREWELL.

On October 5, 1938, Dr. Edvard Beneš, President of the Republic, said farewell to the citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic by wireless. Here are the significant parts of his statement:

DEAR FELLOW CITIZENS,

I have just sent the Prime Minister a letter in which I resign from my presidential office. And I address you to say farewell to you as President, to take leave of my political collaborators, of our splendid soldiers and legionaries, and of all those with whom I, as President, came in contact and collaborated.

I came to this decision freely and from my own personal conviction after consultations with political circles, constitutional factors, and with a number of other factors. . . . I think that, in these circumstances, the new development and the new European collaboration should not be disturbed on our side in that it would appear that its most prominent representative would place his personal position in the way of this development. Being elected to my position of to-day at a period fundamentally different, I must consider whether I should remain in this position in the changed circumstances. Being a convinced democrat, I think that I am doing right when I leave. . . .

. . . Our country had a special structure of nationalities. Now the circumstances will change considerably. A number of causes of quarrel with our neighbours will disappear. We shall have a national State, a country of Czechs and Slovaks, as the development of the principles of nationalities indicates. In this will be the great strength of our country and of all the Czechoslovak people. It will give them a great new efficiency and a strong moral basis such as it has never had previously. Our national culture will deepen and become stronger. We are still quite strong and numerous enough, and therefore look with hope to our national future. By their origin and their whole education for generations the Czechs and Slovaks are anything but a nation of catastrophic people. We are a typically temperate nation, and as we did not become haughty in fortune, we shall not lose our heads in misfortune. The heroism of work and of self-abnegation, for which the moment has now come, is not a whit less and is not less honourable than heroism on the field of battle.

The crown of the tree of our homeland has been cut off, but the roots of the nation are firmly embedded in its soil. Descend to the roots, concentrate all our old, generative strength on them, as we have done several times in our history, and the crown will later bring out new shoots. Bear in mind that which remains to us after all these sacrifices, remains as the core of our country, as the inheritance we must preserve for future generations, and is always an eternally valuable estate, so that we still remain a country not of the smallest, a nation with culture which is equal to the culture of the greater nations of the world, and exceeds the culture of many. All the more this binds us to hold this most personal heritage in calm and firm hands.

Dear fellow citizens, friends!

Finally I appeal to you, to all of you, with a warm, frank appeal from the heart: the homeland of the Czechs and Slovaks is in danger, and would be in greater danger if in this moment all did not stand mutually together in concord, in unity, and in the full moral strength of mutually devoted peoples. First and foremost it is necessary to come to an agreement with the Slovaks.

Even they are in danger. To-day it is not a question of one concession or another. We must give way mutually everywhere where it is necessary. . . .

## ANNEX 3.

## LETTER FROM DR. E. BENEŠ TO PRESIDENT DR. E. HÁCHA.

LONDON, November 30, 1938.

MR. PRESIDENT,

I well know what a difficult task you will have as President of the Republic, and I therefore wish the Republic and you that your election to-day will serve for the complete success of the Republic in these difficult times.

You have shown great service to the country in your function as President of the Supreme Administrative Court by your great experience and knowledge, and by your just and deliberate legal proceedings in matters frequently of a most delicate nature, and the fact that all united for your election only emphasises this.

I wish you that you will be successful in your new work, and that the State and nation will get out of to-day's situation with the greatest speed and in the best manner.

(Signed) DR. ED. BENEŠ.

## ANNEX 4.

DR. E. BENEŠ'S B.B.C. BROADCAST FROM LONDON, JULY 28, 1941.

"The British recognition of July 18 (1941) is of political, diplomatic, and international significance for us legally and of such great extent that it is possible to say that it is decisive for this war. There is no return from this diplomatic document. It means that the former Czechoslovak Republic, its President and Government to-day have the same international status, both diplomatic and legal, as any of the other Allies, such as Norway, Holland or Belgium, whose certain position of power or territory, even after their occupation, has remained, and which has not suffered the state of Munich, March 15, 1939, the separation of Slovakia, and the state of the Protectorate. All these phases of our national suffering are wiped out and definitely removed by the British recognition. Legally nothing of all this is valid at all.

Our diplomatic representations, our Government, our whole sovereignty is again functioning in the whole world as it did before Munich. It is important especially from the political, diplomatic and legal point of view that recognition was made of the President, who is functioning with all full powers according to our pre-Munich constitution, your freely elected pre-Munich President by an enormous majority of Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, and Subcarpathian Russians, as the head of the Czechoslovak State, with reference to you at home and to all other Allied States, and to all those neutrals who have recognised us to one extent or another. These are all irrefutable facts. . . ."

## ANNEX 5.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE,  
KING'S BENCH DIVISION.ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE,  
12-14th October, 1943.

PREHALA v. BENEŠ.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE EVIDENCE.

MR. G. O. SLADE, K.C. (on behalf of the Plaintiff, General L. Prehala): The action is an action for libel, and the libel is contained in a foreign newspaper, the "Čechoslávák," which I am instructed is the mouthpiece of the Czechoslovak Provisional Government in this country. . . . This article is written by a nephew of Dr. Beneš and no doubt from his point of view anyone who does not bow the knee in its entirety to Dr. Beneš is a nuisance.

On July 21, 1940, Dr. Beneš set up a Provisional Government in London which has been recognised by the British Government. Dr. Beneš, I think, in fact styles himself to this day as the President of the Czechoslovak Republic. . . .

General Prehala is an officer who has had an extremely distinguished Army career with plenty of active fighting. . . .

\*

PROFESSOR FRANCIS DVORNIK, cross-examined—

by SERJEANT SULLIVAN, K.C. (on behalf of the Defendants): Q. There was some criticism of Dr. Beneš by a number of Czechoslovakians, was there not? A. The enormous majority of Czechoslovakians: there was a very small minority who was for Beneš after Munich. —by MR. SLADE: Q. Rightly or wrongly there were people who took the view that Dr. Beneš had chosen an unfortunate moment to resign the Presidency of the Republic? A. Yes; many people thought that it would have been better if he had resigned before.

Q. Do you know whether he removed himself entirely, and left the country? A. Yes, he became a private person like anybody else.

Q. So quite frankly the position was that having resigned the Presidency and become a private citizen just after Munich, he resumed the title of President again in England after the Great War started? A. Yes, that is true.

\*

GEN. LEV PREHALA, re-examined by MR. SLADE:

Q. What position was occupied by Dr. Beneš, so far as your country was concerned, between May and the 1st September, 1939? A. I did not know it rightly because he was in the U.S.A. I heard that he was a Professor at a United States University.

Q. So far as you know, was he authorised by anyone to place himself at the head of any particular liberation movement? A. I did not think so. There were some former officials of the Czechoslovak Legation at the Consulate in the United States who elected Dr. Beneš at this time the leader of a body.

Q. On the 31st August or the 1st September of 1939, did Mr. Slávik come to see you at your office? A. Yes.

Q. Was it on that occasion that he produced to you a letter from Dr. Beneš? A. Yes. I do not remember exactly the date of the day but it was either the 30th or 31st August. He came to me in my office and produced a letter from Dr. Beneš.

Q. Was that the letter that you told us you ultimately signed and handed back to him again? A. Yes. In this letter Dr. Beneš presented himself as Chief of the Liberation Movement, elected by all the Ambassadors and men of importance abroad, gave me an ultimatum to sign to join this body and to be subordinate to him.

Q. Did you say that he told you that Dr. Beneš had the support of all the leading men? A. Yes. Later on I found out it was not true.

Q. At any rate, that is what you were told by Mr. Slávik as the emissary of Dr. Beneš on the 31st August or the 1st September? A. Yes.

Q. You then, at any rate, believed it to be true? A. I believed it was true.

Q. And in fact you did sign that letter, did you not? A. I signed that letter.

Q. As a result of your signing that letter did Dr. Beneš recognise you as being in command of the Czechoslovak Legions in Poland? A. Yes. By this letter I was put in command of all the Czechoslovak forces in Poland and in the same letter Mr. Slávik, the former Minister in Warsaw, was designated as the political representative of this Movement in Poland.

Q. Serjeant Sullivan asked you whether you objected to the Movement bearing your name. Suppose for one moment that it bore your name in this context: suppose it was a separate Liberation Movement. Do you object to the statement that you were inspired to take the line that you did by personal or Party ambitions? A. Never, Sir. This fighting force was called the Legions of Czechs and Slovaks in Poland and never the Legions of General Prchala. If someone called this fighting force after General Prchala it was his private opinion, it was nothing official. I had never ambitions that the fighting force should be called after my name. My only wish was to fight.

\*

MR. JUSTICE CROOM-JOHNSON: He (Gen. Prchala) told me over and over again about that. He said "I did not know that Beneš had put himself at the head of any organisation. Beneš left on the 5th October, 1938. He resigned his Presidency. He left his country in desperation," and then this morning he (Prchala) told me that he (Beneš) went to the United States.

SERJEANT SULLIVAN: I am not concerned with time, my Lord.

MR. JUSTICE CROOM-JOHNSON: Time may be of importance because it is not until the 31st August, 1939, according to this evidence, that Dr. Slávik produced a letter from Beneš, who—Slávik said—had been elected—

SERJEANT SULLIVAN: Yes, my Lord.

MR. JUSTICE CROOM-JOHNSON: —of the Liberation Movement by all the Ambassadors and he gave him an ultimatum to sign in support of this. That is the 31st August, that is the day before the march into Poland.

SERJEANT SULLIVAN: Yes, my Lord. May I respectfully say, that this matter of time does not bear on the argument that I have to put forward and I have already quoted . . .

MR. JUSTICE CROOM-JOHNSON: I hesitate to interrupt you, but to my mind the question of time may be all-important as to whether this was an attempt to create a separate Liberation Movement when there was already in existence a Liberation Movement which the writer calls the second Liberation Movement.

SERJEANT SULLIVAN: I am not here on behalf of the Czechoslovak Government, two private individuals are sued. The Beneš who is the Defendant is a nephew of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic. The actual Defendant, who is in an official position which keeps him in America, is not here. He was the writer of the article, but you can see it is a defence of the Czechoslovak Government, but if they sued the President, of course, they could not proceed in this Court, he is, in the contemplation of law, the head of an Independent State, and they could not sue him in this Court.

MR. JUSTICE CROOM-JOHNSON: If the thing you have to show has been proved, the fact must surely be this . . .

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE JUDGMENT.

" . . . Up to that time Dr. Edvard Beneš had been the President of Czechoslovakia, and less than a week after the Munich Agreement was made, namely, on the 5th October, 1938, Dr. Beneš resigned his Presidency and left his country (to use the language of one of the witnesses) in desperation." . . . "by the words 'our Liberation Movement' they mean the movement at which Dr. Edvard Beneš has put himself at the head."

\*

"I entertain no doubt at all about these three things: Firstly, that these words do refer to the Plaintiff, secondly, that they are capable of a defamatory meaning, and, thirdly, that they are defamatory in fact. The real difficulty in the case, I think, is the question as to whether the Defendants are to be absolved by reason of the fact that they were only commenting on that which is admitted to have been a matter of public interest, and a matter of public interest which they are presumably commenting about, if it is comment at all,

is an attempt by somebody to set up a schism or to set up an opposition. The first difficulty I have in this case is in seeing whether there really ever was at any time up to the time of the collapse of France any Liberation Movement of such a sort that anybody in Poland, situated as the Plaintiff was up to the 5th September, 1939, when the whole of his activities and his Legions apparently collapsed, could have been engaged in any schismatic or separatist opposition. As recently as the end of the previous month, the Plaintiff—although the article does not refer to it in any way—had been giving an undertaking to abide by that organisation which had apparently come to a head after President Beneš had returned to Europe from America.

Now about all this, I must direct myself as to what it is that I have to enquire into. First of all, I have to enquire and see whether such comment as there is complained of in this article is based on facts truly stated. Secondly, it must be an honest expression of the writer's real opinion, and, thirdly, if it contains imputations of corrupt or dishonourable motives on the part of the person whose conduct is criticised, those imputations must be such as are warranted by the facts stated. Now what are the facts stated? Are they facts? In my view there never was an attempt by this Plaintiff to create a schism. He never did attempt, so far as I have heard in this case, to set up an opposition "within our Liberation Movement". I gravely doubt whether at the time he was actively engaged in setting on foot his Legion there was a liberation movement within the meaning of that expression. I have no final judgment about it, but I remind myself that the National Committee with Dr. Edvard Beneš at its head was not really established until it was established in November, 1939, in Paris shortly before it was recognised by the French Government as having the right to call up Czechoslovakians to serve in the Army. That the Plaintiff ever attempted to set up an opposition to the Liberation Movement there is, I think, no evidence about at all. The Plaintiff has denied it. The onus about these matters is, I suppose, on the Defendants. They have called no evidence about it, and I am quite unable to see that there is any alleged fact set out in the first part of this libel which has been proved to be a fact. Assume that it was right, assume that there were attempts to create a schism, or assume that that part of it falls and that there was an attempt to set up an opposition "within our Liberation Movement". Is it fair comment to say of a distinguished soldier, the Generalissimo as he was of the Liberation Movement after the end of August, 1939, beyond any question, that together with all sorts of other people his own actions faded away, that they were all shadows which did not leave any lasting trace and that his attempts, his activities, were obviously grounded in personal or party ambition? With every wish not to say any word which will render more difficult the carrying on of the activities of the Czechoslovak people to the complete and ultimate vindication and liberation of their country, I am bound to say that I think such a comment is a loathsome comment. To say of a man purporting to be a patriot that really and truly all he is after is his own personal or party ambition is, I think, to make a very definite statement of dishonourable motives. Ambition may be very good, ambition at the right time may be very good. It depends entirely what sort of ambition it is. To indicate that a man who purports to be a patriot and to be working in the defence of his country is really and truly only grounding himself on personal or party ambitions is, I think, to make a comment which, in order to be fair, has to be proved as being justified up to the hilt.

The right of free speech includes the right to criticise the conduct of others. It is, I suppose, to all people who believe in liberty one of the essentials of a free people that they shall have the right not merely to hold their opinions but to express them freely, courageously and without favour. But that expression must not pass beyond the point at which reasonably minded people would go. It does not entitle people to ascribe corrupt or dishonourable motives or to be extreme or extravagant or to draw inferences which no sensible person would draw. Whether the gentleman who wrote this article knew about the activities of the Plaintiff, I do not know, I gather he is not available to give evidence. In those circumstances, having paid attention with due care to all that has been urged on behalf of the Defendants, I am bound to say that I think this plea of fair comment fails. I can see no justification for this inference of base and dishonourable motives. It obviously was not intended to be laudatory. This expression was not intended to mean: "Look at this brave man and look at what a beautiful and wonderful ambition he has." It is a personal ambition as distinct from the public, national and patriotic ambition which I am convinced this Plaintiff held at all material times. The use of the word "personal" makes that quite plain, I think. In those circumstances it seems to me that this defence fails equally with the others. I do not suppose that this Plaintiff has brought this action with a view to pocketing a large sum of money, but I think it necessary that I should consider the question of damages with a view to marking the occasion, to make it quite plain to everybody who reads this article that there is no justification—I do not mean justification in the legal sense, so perhaps I had better say any excuse—for publishing matters of this sort. I think I should award to the Plaintiff\* such a sum of money as will make it quite plain that this was an attack which was, so far as he was concerned, without excuse. I assess the damages at the sum of £150, and I order the Defendants\*\* to pay that amount with the costs of the action."

(Judgment given by Mr. JUSTICE CROOM-JOHNSON, October 14, 1943.)

\* Gen. Prehala.

\*\* Beneš and another.

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

Metropolitan 4112  
Metropolitan 4113

January 21, 1944.

REPORT ON NEED FOR CIVIC EDUCATION PROGRAM IN OUR ARMED FORCES.

Here is an excerpt from a letter sent me by a friend of mine in Naval Air Reconnaissance, stationed in India, concerning his colleagues. The writer, I hasten to add, is a hearty Indiana hedonist, with a movie and radio background, and very far from being an ideological perfectionist:

"...the prospect of the new homecoming Legion gives me the shudders. Never before in my limited experience has the shoddiness of our educational system been so apparent. The men I've met are fine fighting men, alert, well-trained and on the ball. Their knowledge of civic and international affairs is nil. Their interest in social, economic and administrative problems is nil. Their attitude towards our revered body of lawmakers is that each is a scoundrel. If you try to develop a quiet conversation about the 'peace', 'what are we going to do with the Germans and Japs', you are met either with a phanfare of pharts or the thoughtful statement 'kill all the sonzabitches!... and let's begin on those Jew-bastards at home'. In any event the post-war years should be fascinating to watch--if I can find a safe place on the side lines. Don't put me in, coach."

My only suggestion is that a broader program of indoctrination and education, designed to fill the necessarily long periods of boredom, should be started in an effort to fill this gap. Here is a case where post-war planning should start now.

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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*file  
personal*

January 24, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER

I frankly do not think we will ever get this through, for the very good reason that there are going to be many hundreds of landing craft to be sold at the end of the war which can very easily be converted for local traffic and operated nearly as cheaply as a Seamobile. However, I should like to see the report of the Board when it comes in.

F. D. R.

PSF J.F. Carter folder  
3-40

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"We, the People"  
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Metropolitan 4112  
Metropolitan 4113

January 21, 1944.

REPORT ON THE SEAMOBILE.

As near as I can make out the "Seamobile" has been murdered.

The report of the Trial Board, which has been submitted to you, is interesting in the sense that while reporting favorably on the use of multiple engines it ignored the precept to the trial board which also directed a report on the functioning of the vertical drive. The President of the Trial Board also told me that he had not given the ship any open water trials because he wished to avoid calling on the Navy for any escort craft.

The fact about multiple engines is that they all must employ a vertical drive. The only question is whether that should be long, with the horizontal shaft ~~long~~ short, as with the Seamobile, or whether the vertical drive should be short with a long horizontal shaft which would approximate the conventional shaft.

From the outset, there have been reasons to believe that the hostility to this type was based not so much on the unconventional design as on the low cost of construction and operation, as compared to other ships. From two different sources, I have been advised that the ship-building industry would never allow a Seamobile program to be undertaken, because of the competitive threat.

When, as and if you get time to consider this, I recommend that you call in Commander Hamilton Bryan, U.S.N., who is now in Washington on unlimited sick-leave. If for no other reason than that he has put in three years of thankless work on this job, I think he rates some recognition of his efforts, other than a kick in the teeth from his colleagues in this enterprise.

J.F.C.

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

*27 Carter folder  
3-44  
file  
personal*

"We, the People"  
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Metropolitan 4112  
Metropolitan 4113

January 26, 1944.

REPORT ON THE "SEAMOBILE" SITUATION.

Referring to your instruction of January 24, the report of the Trial Board on the "Seamobile" has been at the White House for nearly three months.

Ed Stettinius has recently interested himself in the situation and perhaps his views might interest you.

Even if the old-line ship-building interests have licked us on this one, I think that it would be an appropriate as well as a justified gesture if you called in Commander Bryan. The British Admiral Potts told Bryan the other day that, while they would never receive credit for it, he (Potts) felt that Bryan and Starling Burgess were responsible for the entire Allied small-ship and landing-craft program, since "Sea Otter" and "Seamobile" had built a fire under the ship-building industry.

Confidential: Maury Maverick told me at dinner last night that he had enough dope on Emory Land to send him to jail. This was presumably a picturesque way of saying that the business operations of the Maritime Commission had been dominated by the industry rather than by the technical factors. I simply offered to bet Maury that Land would never go to jail.

*J.F.C.*

PSF 7.7 Carter folder  
3-44

REPORT ON ALLEGED BRITISH FAILURE TO COOPERATE IN LISBON-  
AZORES AIR TRANSPORT.

Yesterday afternoon I was told by a friend of mine in Government service that the British refused to send weather reports from Lisbon to the Azores for the guidance of American transport planes on the Lisbon run. As a result, he said, American planes had been lost and American lives had been lost.

The source of this report might be either a) rumor circulated by Pan-American Airways or b) official data in the War Communications Board. The man who told me believed it and also was confident in telling me that it would not be given any non-official circulation.

This sort of report can so easily lead to bitterness and to charges of bad faith that I feel justified in bringing it to your attention promptly.

MS  
FRONT OF

★  
Dear Miss Tully:

The attached report is not  
the matter which I hope to discuss with  
the President next Tuesday.

JFK  
J.F.C.

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER  
(Jay Franklin)  
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January 28, 1944.

REPORT ON ALLEGED BRITISH FAILURE TO COOPERATE IN LISBON-AZORES AIR TRANSPORT.

Yesterday afternoon I was told by a friend of mine in Government service that the British refused to send weather reports from Lisbon to the Azores for the guidance of American transport planes on the Lisbon run. As a result, he said, American planes had been lost and American lives had been lost.

The source of this report might be either a) a rumor circulated by Pan-American Airways or b) official data in the War Communications Board. The man who told me believed it and also was confident in telling me that it would not be given any non-official circulation.

This sort of report can so easily lead to bitterness and to charges of bad faith that I feel justified in bringing it to your attention promptly.

J.F.C.

A-213

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 31, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

GENERAL ARNOLD:

FOR YOUR CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION.

F.D.R.

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

*full  
Confidential*  
PSF: J.F. Carter folder  
3-44

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"The Week in Washington"

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~~SECRET~~

February 3, 1944.

REPORT FROM PUTZI ON CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS.

Here is Jack Morgan's latest State Department report on Putzi's views concerning current developments.

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

DECLASSIFIED  
By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.  
By W. J. Stewart Date MAY 1 1972



January 31, 1944

Dr. S. regards Hitler's speech on January 30, the anniversary of the assumption of power by the Nazi Party in 1933, as further confirmation of his diagnoses during the past several weeks of the trend of German propaganda.

The outstanding features of the speech he considers to be: (1) the assertion that Soviet victory means the inevitable destruction of all Western Europe and that Europe's preservation depends on the military strength of Germany and (2) the reference to the classless society and social reforms of the Nazi state and the emphasis on the indivisibility of the home front and the fighting front.

These last, Dr. S. considers a further emphasis on the Frederickian legend, since, it should not be forgotten, he says, that Frederick was important in German history not merely as a great soldier but at the same time as a great reformer of the state. Frederick, says the Doctor, was the New Dealer of his day and his reforms prevented the taking place in Prussia of such revolts as broke forth later in France.

DECLASSIFIED  
State Dept. Letter 1-11-72  
By R. H. Parks Date MAY 1 1972

He points out that the broadcast of the speech was followed by the playing of Frederickian marches and states that the emotional effect of this should not be underestimated.

The Doctor considers that it is foolish to speak of the speech, as many commentators have done, merely as a gloomy forecast of hard times to come for the German people. It is on the contrary, in his opinion, a declaration of firm intention to fight to the last and at the same time gives that fight an ideological background which has a great appeal to the peoples of non-Russian Europe--the inborn European feeling that Russia is Asiatic and must be kept at all costs from advancing farther into Europe. In the Doctor's opinion we play into Hitler's hands from the propaganda point of view unless we can prove to Western Europe by firm action independent of Russia that we are capable of holding Russia in check and that Europe's salvation from Asiatic bolshevisation does not depend on Germany alone; that in their present dilemma, the German solution is not the only solution.

The Doctor also observes that it is beside the point for commentators to dismiss the matter with the

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By R. H. Parks Date MAY 1 1972

~~SECRET~~

- 3 -

remark that "We have heard all this before. There is nothing new in the speech." The Doctor says "Of course, they have heard it before and of course there is nothing new in it. They should realize that the people are not moved by brilliant complexities, that it is simple, often repeated ideas which make effective propaganda."

DECLASSIFIED  
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72  
By R. H. Parks Date MAY 1 1972

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*BF J.F. Carter folder 3-44*

*file personal*

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February 4, 1944.

REPORT ON ARMY "ORIENTATION" COURSES.

The attached memo. from Robert Strausz-Hupe (one of Henry Field's assistants) indicates that greater attention might be paid to the Army "indoctrination" program. The most practical suggestion that has been made is that Army should operate a "School of Indoctrination and Morale"-- a sort of Military Teachers College--comparable to the School of Military Government. Perhaps they already do so, but I have never heard of it and I am inclined to believe that in this important aspect of morale the Army is no better than the rest of the country in assuming that ability to teach is easily acquired and probably innate.

*J.F.C.*  
N.F.C.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. John F. Carter

February 3, 1944

FROM: Robert Strausz-Hupé

In my recent talks with young men and women in the services I heard a great deal of criticism of the quality of "Orientation" and the men charged with administering it.

It appears that at the various Ports of Embarkation a special officer is charged with lecturing young officers going overseas on the causes of this War, our aims, and our place in the strategic geography of the globe. The officers are to transmit this information to their soldiers during the long voyage on the transport. It goes without saying that this is of critical importance. For in this period the morale of the troops undergoes a severe test: They are leaving behind everything they know and cherish; they travel into the Unknown and they want to know exactly for what purpose they have to do all this at great risk and inconvenience to themselves.

Only the most competent officers possessing a thorough knowledge of international relations and political geography should be entrusted with conducting the Orientation courses. These courses should be simple but uncompromisingly analytical. The geographical, economical, strategical, and ideological factors of world policy should each be analyzed and correlated with the political geography of the respective theaters of operation. The lectures should terminate with the discussion of the role of the U. S. in the postwar world and the spiritual and physical resources upon which the United States must rely in the conduct of its foreign policy.

I was asked by the University of Pennsylvania to prepare such a course for one of the A.S.T.P. classes. I gave this course for ten weeks (one hour each). The students, some of whom had been in the Army for a year and a half, told me that it was the first time that they had been subjected to this type of orientation and that they thought that they had now a rough but logical

To: Mr. Carter

February 3, 1944

picture of our world political problems. There has also been a great demand on the part of R.O.T.C., V-12s, and A.S.T.P. students for my regular international relations classes (two hours a week), in which the work is more detailed and the assignments more exacting.

This does not bespeak my ability as a teacher. It merely goes to show that the young men in the services are panting for knowledge and that the facilities of the Army are apparently inadequate for meeting this demand. This is surprising because the Armed Services have developed excellent methods for teaching, availing themselves of highly progressive visual techniques. However, these educational efforts are apparently confined to the minutiae of the soldier's trade. Thus the outlook upon world policy of the U. S. citizen-in-arms is dealt with as if it were of secondary importance.

An interesting comment on this situation is supplied in an article on Army Air Training in this month's Fortune. The writer believes that too little time is given to the indoctrination of the students.

*Robert*

Robert Strausz-Hupe

*I just lunched with Col. Greene of the Infantry Journal who told me that all kind of books and pamphlets - selected by a Board of which Sen. McLeary, W. G. Ford and Hamilton F. Armstrong are members - are being supplied to the orientation officers with the troops. But are the orientation officers being taught how to teach and are the right men selected?*

*PSF J.F. Carter folder 3-44*

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER  
(Jay Franklin)  
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Metropolitan 4113

February 7, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY: "M" PROJECT REPORTS.

Herewith attached, please find two reports from the Bowman-Field Committee  
on Migration and Settlement ("M" Project)

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

R-29

T-30

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3-44

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Metropolitan 4113

February 8, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. EARLY: WALKER REPORT ON TAX BILL.

Dear Steve:

You might be interested in George Walker's Report No. 33, giving  
New York metropolitan comments on the current tax bill and similar matters.

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

Taxes

Walker #33

February 7, 1944.

Some of our New York contacts seem to be worried about the outcome of the wholly inadequate tax bill and whether or no the President will veto it when the measure finally reaches him. They are critical both of the President and the Congress for the present situation but apparently feel that both are on trial and that unless some adequate measures are taken to meet the costs of the war Congress and the Administration will be shocked at the results of the elections next November.

An economist for a large advertising agency handling a number of banking as well as manufacturing company accounts said:

" I'm about convinced that the American voter is about ready to demand some constructive laws from Congress and some badly needed cooperation between the upper and lower houses and the White House.

" Willkie talked plainly a week ago and, while I feel that politically, Willkie talks too loosely and too often and is suffering the sting of the Presidential bee, no thinking person can take away from him the fact that we must have heavier taxes and that we must be prepared to pay for the war and pay for it through the nose, the hard way.

" But in a Presidential election year I have grave doubts that either side will have guts enough to demand the kind of sacrifices from the public that will have to be made sooner or later to meet the tremendous debt we have been piling up and will continue to increase until the war is won.

" I do find that thinking Americans in all walks of life are beginning to express strong disapproval of politicians who won't face the facts but continue to dodge issues which the people will have to face.

" This has become so marked in some quarters that I'm willing to bet now that unless the President and Congress get together on such things as taxes, the soldier vote, labor control and a number of other important questions the voters will oust present office holders next November."

A banker said:

" It looks now as if a deadly parallel is building up for the President in the way of a recalcitrant Congress, which was what faced Wilson at the close of his administration.

" Without cooperation between the legislative and administrative branches there will be little accomplished in this vital war year and the American people are liable to rise in protest against such time-wasting and its threat to the proper ending of the war.

" The situation now looks pretty dark unless some force can be used to bring about the cooperation so badly needed now."

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T-229

*PSF J.F. Carter folder  
3-44*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 17, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

J. FRANKLIN CARTER:

Yes, I would very much like  
to have a copy of this British report  
for my personal use.

F.D.R.

Report on Seamobile, from John Franklin  
Carter, 2-15-44, who also requests per-  
mission to request from British Shipping  
Comm. a copy of their report on the  
"Sea Otter" trials in Dec. 1941.

RETURN TO THE PRESIDENT.

ER

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 17, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

MRS. ROOSEVELT:

TO READ AND RETURN.

F.D.R.

*Return to Mrs. Roosevelt  
if possible - have report  
prepared*

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

*PSF J. F. Carter folder  
file Personal 3-44*

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February 15, 1944.

**REPORT FROM HENRY FIELD ON TRINIDAD AND BRITISH GUIANA.**

Here is a summary of Henry Field's full-scale report, now in preparation for Charlie Taussig, on labor unrest in Trinidad and British Guiana.

The situation in Trinidad is under control but is aggravated by the reluctance of the 20,000 workers no longer employed on bases to return to plantation or lower-wage employment.

The situation in British Guiana, though less severe, is more liable to erupt, due to current plans for strikes by the Postal workers, transport workers and longshoremen.

Henry is now working with Taussig and the F.B.I. on a general file on this situation throughout the Caribbean, as hitherto such data has been submerged in other more voluminous files.

*JFC*  
J.F.C.

February 16, 1916

REPORT ON TRINIDAD AND BRITISH GUIANA

GENERAL SUMMARY - These islands are administered as a single unit through the office of the Governor, Trinidad and Tobago, and are included in the

Administrative Department of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago.

**REPORT ON TRINIDAD AND BRITISH GUIANA**

PREPARED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

The islands of Trinidad and Tobago are situated in the West Indies, and are separated from the continent of South America by the Gulf of Paria. The islands are administered as a single unit through the office of the Governor, Trinidad and Tobago, and are included in the Administrative Department of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago.

Trinidad and Tobago are the only islands in the West Indies which are situated on the northern coast of South America. The islands are separated from the continent of South America by the Gulf of Paria. The islands are administered as a single unit through the office of the Governor, Trinidad and Tobago, and are included in the Administrative Department of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago.

February 14, 1944

REPORT ON TRINIDAD AND BRITISH GUIANA

General Situation.- There exists a considerable undercurrent of unrest throughout both Colonies caused primarily by:

- (a) General reaction against British Colonial policy and administration combined with the backwash of the "U.S. Invasion"--a term confined to Trinidad.
- (b) The widespread feeling inspired through agitators to workers that "unless they receive main desiderata before the War is over they will never obtain them."
- (c) Growth of racial feeling especially since the Negroes have awakened recently to the fact that the thrifty East Indians have achieved, and are increasing, their power, prestige and predominance.

Special Interest.- In December, 1942, the West Indian Nationalist Party, known as the WIN Party, was founded at San Fernando as a Negro organization aimed at uniting against East Indians and all non-Negroes. One informant stated that it was originally called the West Indian Negro Party.

The driving force is a tall, well-proportioned, dark-skinned Negro in his middle thirties, named Dr. D. Pitt, who received his M.D. from Edinburgh and was also President of the University Debating Society.

Extremely intelligent, filled with burning ambition and a real crusader, Pitt is the leader of a Party which is spreading rapidly in Trinidad and British Guiana and has sent representatives to St. Vincent and Grenada. He wants a "Negro Deal" for the West Indies.

I am preparing a Memorandum on the WIN Party and a Who's Who on leading labor leaders and agitators interviewed. These data will be correlated by Mr. Taussig, Mr. Berle and Mr. Tamm into a special Report on subversive activities linked from Harlem to the West Indies and British Guiana.

Anglo-American Relations.- Marked improvement since my visit in March, 1942. Police report conditions "sub-normal in Trinidad" and "normal in British Guiana."

Recreation and Morale.- Army, Navy, and U.S.O. functioning smoothly under good direction.

Food.- Stock position in Trinidad on December 31, 1943, tends to be on the low side and certain basic items (poultry feed, powdered milk, cornmeal and linseed

oilmeal) require assistance to British Colonies Supply Mission.

Regarding condensed milk, whose shortage will lead to disorder, there were 32 days' supply on hand (60 days being required emergency reserve) and U.S. Army General Depot has on hand 7,054 cases, i.e., 75 days' supply. No real shortage in small stores visited throughout Colony.

Village stores reported shortages of flour (50%), rice (70%), and cooking oil (50%).

No evidence of hunger but rather inability to purchase customary diet and therefore substitution necessary causes mild discontent.

In British Guiana stock position in Georgetown appeared to be excellent with abundance of staples such as rice, flour, and sugar. No shortage in sight.

Rope.- Almost complete absence of supply in Trinidad is causing greatest discontent, especially among East Indians. Cattle, which cannot now be tethered since neither rope nor cattle chain are available, cause damage through straying and expensive litigation and fines result in personal feuds and occasionally in slaughtering the cattle to pay the fine.

During 1943 only one quarter of amount allocated (i.e. 75,000 lbs. instead of 300,000 lbs.) for 1943 was received from Canada.

Action should be taken to relieve this situation at once.

Labor.- In Trinidad U.S. Bases have reduced native employees from 30,000 to 10,000. Considerable discontent prevails among discharged 20,000 who at present refuse either to return to sugar estates or to lower their U.S. wage scale.

In British Guiana this phase of the labor problem is far less, because only 5,000 were employed on Bases.

Considerable unrest prevails in Port-of-Spain, and to some degree in oil fields and on sugar estates. For this reason watch the WIN Party.

No signs of incident or strike on the immediate horizon although hooliganism in Port-of-Spain is increasing, probably linked directly to the temporarily unemployable.

However, from April to August certain dissatisfied elements may cause trouble. Police expect to be able to handle any situation.

In British Guiana apparently stable situation seems to me far more delicate. I was informed that the

Post Office Workers Union will strike again, probably in April, and that they will be joined by the Transport Workers Union and the Marine Workers Union and possibly other groups. This might well lead to serious disturbances in Georgetown, which would be useful for Axis propaganda. Police and Militia are confident that any situation can be handled.

Transportation.- Trinidad is requesting retreading and vulcanizing equipment. On February 5 official figures listed 100 Passenger and 1,000 Truck and Bus tires to last through 1944.

Heavy Equipment.- Trinidad and British Guiana each require about \$250,000 worth of equipment for Public Works projects. Plans will accompany my Report.

Health.- Slight shortage of drugs in Trinidad.

Malaria epidemic in British Guiana has cut into quota. There will be a serious shortage of quinine and sulfa drugs after October 1, 1944. Quarantine Control reports shortages of equipment and drugs which should be sent immediately.

Road to Maracas Bay, Trinidad.- On February 7 I walked across the 1,000-foot uncompleted section to the Seabee camp on the beach. The U.S. Engineers

expect this gap to be closed before April 1 and normal traffic before July 4.

Settlement Possibilities in British Guiana.-

Flying with Major Art Williams, I visited the Rupununi Savannahs and spent three days with Macusi Indians riding over Savannah and talking with local residents. A Report for "M" Project based on new agricultural, meteorological, and epidemiological data will be prepared.

*Henry Field*

*J.F. Carter folder  
3-44*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 17, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
MRS. ROOSEVELT:

TO READ AND RETURN.

F.D.R.

Report from Henry Field on Trinidad  
and British Guiana, submitted by John  
Franklin Carter, 2-15-44.

*BF J. F. Carter folder*  
3-44

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personal*

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(Jay Franklin)  
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February 18, 1944.

REPORT ON "SEAMOBILE" DATA.

- 1) Mr. J.S.Maelay, of the British Shipping Commission, is now trying to locate his report on SEA OTTER II. He verified the principal points mentioned in my memorandum on the subject. If he locates the report, I shall send it to you.
- 2) The attached brief report on the Seamobile-type ship was prepared by Commander Bryan at my request. It covers the story to date.
- 3) The attached report from the Reinauer Transportation Companies on the operating record of "SEAMOBILE" indicates that it is efficient and economical.

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

*J.F. Carter folder  
3-44*

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(Jay Franklin)  
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"We, the People"  
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February 18, 1944.

PROGRESS REPORT ON SEAMOBILE.

With a view to expediting a decision on whether a SEAMOBILE program would be advisable at this time, I have taken the ~~foreign~~ following steps:

1) Admiral Vinkery has been asked to give you his judgment on a) whether the alleged technical defects of the vertical drive outweigh the advantages of ease of installation and ease of replacement and repair without dry-docking; and b) the comparative cost factor. I also suggested that the Admiral advise whether SEAMOBILES would be better as replacements for ships lost in invasion operations or as relief tonnage for ships diverted to invasion operations, assuming the other factors to be satisfactory.

2) Representative Sheppard, Chairman of the House Naval Appropriations Subcommittee, is prepared to authorize funds for a SEAMOBILE program, if satisfied on the technical and cost factors;

3) Maury Maverick of the Smaller War Plants Corporation wants the SWPC to finance any program which is decided on;

4) New Jersey Ship Yards, approved facilities of the Bureau of Ships and affiliated with the Todd organization, is interested in building SEAMOBILES and has facilities and equipment available for that purpose. The Todd people are fully informed on progress to date of the development of this type of vessel.

5) I am getting operating reports from the present operators of the SEAMOBILE and am trying to get a copy of the British report on the SEA OTTER trials.

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

*16  
Confidential*

*PSF 9.7 Carter folder 3-44*

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~~SECRET~~

February 23, 1944.

REPORT ON FIRST "LOOK-SEE" IN ENGLAND.

L.D. ("Deak") Lyman of United Aircraft has left for England on the first of the projected "look-see" trips by qualified private observers to take the political temperature and report verbally on his return.

Lyman tells me that Rolls-Royce has made an overture which he and his company interpret as meaning that Rolls is trying to form a horse-power cartel. Lyman is going without authority to negotiate, simply to find out what is on their mind. He tells me that United Aircraft (Pratt & Whitney) have no intention of entering a horse-power cartel.

On his return, I shall interview him and, if you are interested in his report, he will be available to give you the facts he has discovered in person.

*JFC*  
J.F.C.

PSF: J.F. Carter folder 3-44

*Like Confidential*

*urgent*

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER  
(Jay Franklin)  
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February 23, 1944.

REPORT ON BOMBING OF MONTE CASSINO BY PUTZI HANFSTAENGL.

Here is Henry Pringle's report of a talk with Putzi yesterday. Putzi, part of whose value is that he thinks like a Nazi, says that the bombing of the monastery is a ~~propaganda~~ propaganda theme as good as the "Lusitania" and is being so used by Berlin. Here it is worth remembering that what Axis Europeans believe to be the truth is fully as effective as the truth itself. *Counter-propaganda is strongly indicated.*

*J.F.C.*  
*J.F.O.*

DECLASSIFIED  
By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.  
By W. J. Stewart Date MAY 1 1972

HENRY F. PRINGLE  
1210 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING  
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

Metropolitan 4112

February 23, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO MR. CARTER:

A session with the Doctor yesterday was extremely interesting and possibly valuable. He said flatly that there had been no soldiers or guns in the Monastery which we bombed. He called it a crime comparable to the sinking of the Lusitania. He offered as proof that we attacked the church which was not being used by the Germans the fact that the Abbot had so stated. The German Axis radio is naturally beaming this so-called outrage to all parts of the Catholic world.

The point, as you know, lies in the fact that the Doctor is able to think this which means that other Germans do to. It seems to me essential that the American Government take immediate steps to counteract this. The theater commander should be instructed at once to obtain photographs, if available, proving that the Monastery was used as a base to attack our forces. There should be statements from Catholics in the ranks telling of our long forbearance before destroying the Monastery which had become a fort. I am convinced this is a continuing problem and that the propaganda battle is now being won by the Germans. The situation will be even worse if, as seems likely, we are forced to attack Rome.

H.F.P.

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February 25, 1944.

PROGRESS REPORT ON "SEAMOBILE".

The attached analysis of the operating report of the "Seamobile" was made after a discussion with the operators. In addition to the marked economies noted in operation and the ease of effecting repairs without laying-up, the operators say that the ship handles well at sea and went through two major storms without difficulty. No tugs are needed for docking.

I am strongly of the opinion that Admiral Vickery will delay considerably in making the report you requested. I was confidentially advised that he was the real obstacle to a Seamobile program, but have no way of checking that statement. In any case, he has many duties and the possibilities of delay are very considerable.

My recommendation at this time are: 1) That you might suggest to Admiral King that he take up and study promptly the actual operating experience of the "Seamobile", with a green crew, in order to see whether the Navy has overlooked a useful type; 2) That the Army also be asked to examine the operating record and utility of this type; or 3) That I be allowed to interest private investment capital, with suitable priorities from WPB, to finance the construction of ten or more Seamobiles with a view to private commercial operation.

The indicated gross monthly profit on operating a Seamobile unit is over \$35,000 under W.S.A. management; in private operation the present operators say they could make \$80,000 a month; the Norwegians estimated that in foreign trade in West Indies, Gulf and Caribbean service they would make a profit of 27% net a year.

J.F.C.

February 24th, 1944

Subject - Seamobile I - A comparison of her operations as a Tanker and pre-construction claims of her backers.

1. The Seamobile type ship was developed because it was asserted that in comparison with similar capacity carriers she -
  - (a) was less costly to produce
  - (b) was less costly to operate
  - (c) required a smaller crew as a whole
  - (d) required less experienced engineering crew
  - (e) was self sustaining in engineering upkeep, without need of periodic layups.
  - (f) Had highest utility value in being free from need of dry-docking to effect propeller repairs because her vertical drive unit could be lifted to place propellers in engine room, even at sea.
  
2.
  - (a) Seamobile I was built by U.S. Shipbuilding Co. at Yonkers N.Y. Her cost was greatly in excess of estimates but the adverse personnel factors attending construction and the careful estimates of reliable designers and builders do not refute the claims of less cost to produce. The average estimate of cost per ship, if 10 ships were built, is \$550,000.00 In November 1943 she was turned over to the Reinauer Transportation Company of Port Richmond, N.Y. as agents for War Shipping Administration.
  
  - (b) Less costly to operate.

During January 1944 the operating costs were \$8,489.96 for carrying 100,550 barrels of high test gasoline. Her earnings during January 1944 were \$42,231.42 These earnings were at the standard rate of 42 cents per barrel set as a fair rate for orthodox carriers. She is so manoeuvrable that no tugs have been used to dock or undock. She loads and discharges in 12 hours time.
  
  - (c) Smaller crew

The civilian crew aboard totals 22 officers and men. The pre-operational estimate made by the Federal Agency which fixes crews, was 32. Orthodox ships of similar capacity were from 33 to 40 in crew. She was allowed to use 22 on a temporary test period to find out actual requirements. The President of the Reinauer Transportation Co. states that the crew has better accommodations than on any competing tanker - that in normal times he could get the pick of all coastwise men, that the crew is well content and adequate.

- (d) **Less experienced engineering crew.**  
The chief engineer only is experienced. The rest of the engineering crew are young men trained by Maritime Commission.
- (e) **Self-sustaining in engineering upkeep**  
The President of the operating Company states that there is no occasion for laying up the ship for a repair period; that she has operated at 83% of her normal speed with 50% of her engines that one of her eight engines can be worked on without any noticeable loss in speed, that the power plant is simple, that the small Diesels used are rugged and easy to keep up.
- (f) **A vessel which can lift a propeller out of water with her own crew and repair or replace it, is particularly valuable in all operations where propeller damage is to be expected.**

T-244

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 8, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. E. R. STETTINIUS, JR.

TO READ AND RETURN FOR MY FILES.

F.D.R.

(Copy of report sent to Mr. Stettinius.)

*PSF J.F. Carter folder 3-44*

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

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

Metropolitan 4112  
Metropolitan 4113

March 7, 1944.

REPORT ON "FRIENDS OF PALESTINE".

George Walker, in my New York office, reports the impending formation of a "Friends of Palestine" group, which he believes is to be financed from British funds and to be headed by Charles Hart, former U.S. Minister to Persia.

*JFC*  
J.F.C.

Palestine

Walker #58

March 6, 1944.

There is in process of organization a group to be known as "Friends of Palestine", according to our New York Near East contacts which will be headed by Charles Hart, former U.S. Minister to one of the Near East States.

It is the plan to have sponsors who are recognized as 100 per cent Americans--Hoover ex President may be one-- and present plans call for publication of a page ad in the Washington Post which will present an impartial view of the Zionist-Moslem problem in Palestine.

Confidentially, your reporter believes that there will be some British money behind the effort. If not directly supplied it will probably come from British nationals now in the United States.

The plan calls for an initial advertisement which will set forth both sides of the question and your reporter suspects that the final copy --of which we may get a copy in advance of publication-- will be skillfully written and prepared in such fashion that it will not appear to be propaganda.

Friends of the British and the Arabs in New York are enthusiastic about the formation of "Friends of Palestine" which they feel now will become a fact within a week of ten days and it appears that this movement has been predicated on Gen. Marshall's request that the Wagner-Taft resolution be soft-pedalled.

Marshall's request coming along as it has after Sec. Hull has been reported as favoring an ultra-conservative stand on the Zionist-Moslem problem, coupled with similar action attributed to Sec. Stimson has spurred the formation of the new activity.

When and if copy for the proposed advertisement is written your reporter will forward it immediately and he has been promised the text well in advance of the publication date.

#####

*J.F. Carter folder 3-44*

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

March 10, 1944

*file  
personal*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Note on "Friends of  
Palestine"

I return herewith the memorandum on  
the "Friends of Palestine" which you for-  
warded to me on March 8.



Enclosure:

Memorandum

✓

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 8, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. E. R. STETTINIUS, JR.

TO READ AND RETURN FOR MY FILES.

F.D.R.



March 6, 1944.

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Marshall's request coming along as it has after Sec. Hull has been reported as favoring an ultra-conservative stand on the Zionist-Moslem problem, coupled with similar action attributed to Sec. Stinson has spurred the formation of the new activity.

When and if copy for the proposed advertisement is written your reporter will forward it immediately and he has been promised the text well in advance of the publication date.

#####

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

*PSF* *J.F.C. folder*  
*3-44*  
*file*  
*personal*

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

Metropolitan 4112  
Metropolitan 4113

March 13, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY: REPORTS FROM BOWMAN-FIELD COMMITTEE ("M" PROJECT)

Dear Miss Tully:

Herewith, please find five (5) reports from the Bowman-Field Committee on Migration and Settlement ("M" Project). Special attention is invited to No. R-27 on "Documentation on Soviet Colonization Policy, 1925-40", which represents material not hitherto available to the Government in usable form.

*JAC*  
*J.F.C.*

- R-27*
- T-32*
- M-55*
- M-54*
- M-56*

*J.F.C. folder  
3-44*

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

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

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March 23, 1944.

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Dear Miss Tully:

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R-6  
R-38  
M-57  
M-58  
T-31

*JFC*  
J.F.C.

PSF: J. F. Carter folder  
3-54

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

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

Metropolitan 4112  
Metropolitan 4113

March 13, 1944.

~~SECRET~~

*file* →

REPORT ON PUTZI'S REACTIONS TO CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE.

You might like to look over Jack Morgan's report of a recent talk with Putzi. In his talks with me, Putzi takes it for granted that the British Government does not intend to stage an invasion of Western Europe and is encouraging Hitler to concentrate his forces against the Red Army.

*JFC*  
J.F.C.

DECLASSIFIED  
By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.  
By W. J. Stewart Date MAY 1 1972

PART XLIX

March 7, 1944

After an absence of about a month, I again visited Dr. S. yesterday afternoon. I found the Doctor chiefly interested in the attention being paid by the German radio to alleged war weariness in England as evidenced by articles stated to have appeared in the English press-- among others, he mentioned an article stated to have appeared in the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN to the effect that terror bombing was begun by the Allies early in the war by the bombing of Freiburg and that the bombing of Coventry which followed some months after was merely a reprisal for Freiburg.

He also mentioned an editorial in the DAILY MAIL attacking a supposed tendency toward appeasement of Japan in influential circles in England. The Doctor, who accepts these German radio reports at their face value, considers them as confirmation of his feeling that there is growing hesitancy and doubt in England with regard to the course of the war.

Such articles as those just mentioned, together with the attitude of the British Bishops toward the bombing of German cities, he considers to be typical expressions of British uneasiness with regard to the present trend of events. British public opinion, he says, develops slowly

and in an unorganized and inarticulate fashion. The ground swell is difficult to see until it has reached great proportions, but such individual utterances as those above are indications of a greater mass feeling which has not yet found expression.

The Doctor states that the German radio remains completely silent with regard to Finland. He himself advances the opinion that it is impossible for Finland to withdraw from the war. He states that under pressure of the United States and as a gesture of appeasement to us, Finland has made inquiries concerning Russian peace terms but that the Russian conditions will inevitably be found unacceptable by the Finns. In the meantime the Finnish front is holding against the Russian attacks and the German front around Narva is also holding. He considers therefore that the Finnish-Russian conversations are a tribute to American diplomacy but will not have any practical effect. He is similarly pessimistic with regard to Bulgaria.

When asked in the course of the conversation whether he thought there was any possibility of an enduring South German State, independent of the rest of Germany, he answered, "As a Bavarian, my heart would say 'yes,' but my head tells me 'no.' The central attraction would in the long run prove too strong to be resisted; 'home rule' runs counter to the fundamental trend of the times."

While rejecting the breaking up of Germany into independent states, the Doctor suggests that it would be feasible and desirable to move the capital from Berlin and set up a Federal District on the American model. This would be welcomed by the non-Prussian States and would both physically and symbolically emphasize that while Prussia was still a part of the German Commonwealth it was no longer the dominant leader of the nation.

The Doctor suggests that from the point of view of communications Leipzig would be well suited to be the capital of the new German State and has also the advantage that it is the seat of the Supreme Court of the Reich. The Doctor considers that it was one of the great mistakes of the Republic that it did not transfer the capital from Berlin. He suggests that if Leipzig is considered too large and too industrial a city, then Kassel might make a suitable capital.

*PSF J.F. Carter folder 3-44*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 13, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

LEW DOUGLAS

Somebody sent me the enclosed memorandum on the SEAMOBILE type of ship. I am not wedded to this type but I am wedded to the size and draft.

Please let me have the enclosures back.

F. D. R.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*file  
personal*

March 10, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Mr. Carter asked me if there was any further news on the Seamobile. I wondered to whom you referred this last report. On picking up I find you filed it. Did you want to send it to anyone for comment or report?

G.

WAR SHIPPING ADMINISTRATION  
WASHINGTON 25

THE WHITE HOUSE  
MAR 18 10 19 AM '44  
RECEIVED

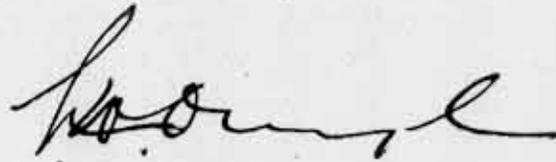
March 17, 1944

*file  
personal  
of Carter*

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

I am returning herewith the papers accompanying  
your memorandum of March 13th, as you request.

I am discussing the matter with Jerry.



L. W. Douglas  
Deputy Administrator

Enclosures

Washington, D. C.  
February 18, 1944

#### THE SEAMOBILE TYPE SHIP

If any sea going hull is powered with multiple small engines which drive propellers through a vertical drive unit it is a Seamobile.

In May 1941 Sea Otter I, an 80 foot vessel, was built by Roland L. Redmond and presented to the Navy which tried out her 4 Chrysler marine engines of 65 H.P. each, all connected to a Chrysler produced vertical drive. The vertical drive is a packaged unit with shafting gearing and propeller all connected, ready on arrival at ship assembly area, to be lowered into a vertical well in the hull and connected up in a few hours.

Sea trials off Montauk were very successful. Naval Trial Board advised waiting for full sized sea going ship trials.

In October 1941 the 250 foot Sea Otter II was built. She was powered with four vertical Chrysler drives and 16 Chrysler marine engines. She cruised from Texas to South Carolina and off Hatteras. Naval Trial Board, Rear Admiral Wilcox, President, found power plant satisfactory, making minor recommendations for improvement.

During 1941 the U. S. Naval Experimental Laboratory at Annapolis tested one complete Sea Otter unit in a tank and after this unit had run 1500 hours, Rear Admiral Albert Church, Director, stated that its performance was such that he considered the power unit equal in reliability to any marine installation.

In December 1941 Sir Arthur Salter, head of the British Shipping Commission in the U. S., sent representatives to witness special trials of Sea Otter II.

The British found the vessel too small for transatlantic service, did not like gasoline as a fuel, but found the power plant sufficiently interesting and promising to feel that it was a new source of power for small ships for operation in South American and coastal waters.

From late 1941 until late 1942 the Sea Otter was practically buried. Meanwhile the few bugs found on Sea Otter trials were studied and improvements outlined. The Falk Corporation of Milwaukee, who produce most of our destroyer reduction gears, was selected to redesign the Chrysler vertical drive to give it the standard marine factor of reliability, (it had been built to automotive standards). Falk completed their design (gratis) and stood behind it as a vertical drive whose reliability was equal to the reliability standards of any marine installation.

In June 1943, Seamobile I, built by Cargoes Inc., was launched and in September tested by a special Board whose President was Rear Admiral Harvey Johnson, Engineer in Chief of the U. S. Coast Guard. The vessel was powered with 8 gray marine Diesels of 165 H.P. each, two of each being connected to the 4 Chrysler vertical drives taken from Sea Otter II.

The precept of this Board requested conclusions as to the merits of the Falk vertical drive design so that the report would be an up-to-date inclusive review of the power plant potential and not be fogged with recommendations for improvement of the Chrysler drive, which improvements were already cared for by Falk.

The Board found the multiple small engines satisfactory for ocean going operations but ignored the Falk vertical drive design, and found that in view of the limited period of test of the Chrysler drive it was

better to use a horizontal drive with the multiple engines.

This conclusion practically nullified the asset value of the Seamobile type power.

The asset value of the Seamobile type power as compared to orthodox power is as follows:

Utility Value

During operations, any damage to a propeller can be repaired by the crew, as the entire vertical drive can be lifted so that the propeller is in the engine room.

Any trouble with an engine does not mean a lay-up. A spare engine is substituted by the crew within a few hours, while vessel cruises on the others, and the engine with trouble is overhauled by the crew at earliest opportunity.

Because the small engines are as easy to keep up as the automobile type, less skilled craftsmen are required and the engine room force is considerably less than required for the horsepower of larger units.

Cost

Cost of power plant is about one-third of orthodox power.

By cutting out orthodox standards of wasteful design the hull fittings and equipment can be simplified and upkeep reduced. The original Seamobile I cost was excessive, but if a number are built the cost would scale down considerably.

The Seamobile I is now carrying high test alcohol (21,000 BBL) up the east coast. She has a civilian crew totaling 23 officers and men.

On an orthodox vessel of this size approximately 32 officers and men would be required.

The above review seems to point out that -

(a) Small engines have been proven to be satisfactory in operation.

The vertical drive has functioned satisfactory on three ships. The Falk improved design guarantees a power plant reliability equal to that of any marine installation.

(b) The cost of the Seamobile I type of small vessel is considerably less than the orthodox ship.

(c) Small engines are more available than large. All the headaches of alignment of horizontal shafting are eliminated.

(d) Utility value in operations is greatly increased.

## REINAUER TRANSPORTATION COMPANIES

1983 RICHMOND TERRACE  
PORT RICHMOND  
STATEN ISLAND, N. Y.

February 17, 1944.

Commander H.V. Bryan,  
1628 - 29th Street N.W.,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

As per your request, I have compiled reports on operational data on the "Seamobile I" for the Month of January, 1944 and also a schedule of voyages from December 23, 1943 until February 10, 1944.

With the exception of delay caused by breakdown of Twin Disc Couplings and since we overcame that difficulty, the ships performance has been satisfactory.

The vessel is not being assisted by tugs in arriving at or leaving docks. She handles very good. Her average speed light is 9.6 knots and loaded about 9 knots.

With the exception of the Captain and Chief Engineer who are old employees of our organization, the balance of officers and crew members are young men trained by the Maritime Commission. They are willing boys but lack experience. The total number of officers and crew is 22 and 5 men in the Naval gun crew. The vessel has not stopped for stormy weather and has made her regular voyages between New York and Philadelphia regardless of weather and has proved to be a good steady sea boat. The time required for discharging full load of cargo about 12 hours.

We do not carry capacity load of bunkers, which enables us to increase pay load.

The daily operating expense exclusive of Crew War Bonus, Hull Insurance, Depreciation and Repairs of \$202.18 as set forth in January statement is in our judgement, although it appears low, a correct estimate for future operations.

Very truly yours,

REINAUER TRANSPORTATION COMPANIES

  
Executive Vice-President.

HP:mf

SEAMOBILE I OPERATIONS - JANUARY 1944

OPERATING EXPENSES

Wages, including bonys	\$ 5,090.39
Subsistence	1,007.75
Supplies	22.96
Repairs	507.28
Miscellaneous	49.93
Insurance ( P. & I. only)	137.33
Fuel & Lube	1,669.32
Total Expenses	\$ 8,484.96

OPERATING INCOME

At current rates				
Trip #	Bbls.	Rate	For	Amount
3	20,465	.42	Navy	8,595.30
4	18,248	.42	"	7,664.16
5	18,618	.42	"	7,819.56
6	18,220	.42	"	7,652.40
7	19,801	\$1500.00 day	DSC	10,500.00
Total Income				42,231.42

Enclosed is a schedule of voyage terminations, showing trips completed during the Month.

During the period January 4th to January 8th, the vessel was tied up at our dock, undergoing repairs to the couplings. Practically all this work was done by the crew under our supervision, thereby reducing repair costs.

During the period January 24th to January 28th, the vessel was tied up at Philadelphia, for tank cleaning to make it suitable to carry the cargo of alcohol for Defense Supplies Corporation. All expenses in connection with said cleaning, etc., are to be charged to DSC in addition to the daily rate of \$1500.00.

The above repair account in the amount of \$ 507.28 includes an item of freight charges from the Twin Disc Clutch Company for \$ 229.05 which is refundable. Also included is an item in the amount of \$ 268.52 from the Radiomarine Corporation of American for adjustments to the radio equipment aboard the vessel and which should be charged to the original investment.

The daily operating expense exclusive of Crew War Bonus, Hull Insurance, Depreciation and Repairs is \$ 202.18.

*A. Pedersen*

SUMMARY OF VOYAGES - SEAMOBILE I

<u>Voyage No.</u>	<u>Port</u>	<u>Began Date</u>	<u>Port</u>	<u>Ended Date</u>
1	New York	12/23/43	Philadelphia	12/24/43
1a	Philadelphia	12/25/43	New York	12/26/43
2	New York	12/27/43	Philadelphia	12/28/43
2a	Philadelphia	12/29/43	New York	12/30/43
3	New York	12/31/43	Philadelphia	1/1/44
3a	Philadelphia	2/2/44	New York	1/3/44
Vessel tied up for repairs.				
4	New York	1/9/44	Philadelphia	1/10/44
4A	Philadelphia	1/11/44	New York	1/13/44
5	New York - 7:30 AM	1/14/44	Philadelphia	1/15/44 - 9 A.M.
5a	Philadelphia-12:15AM	1/16/44	New York	1/17/44 - 10 A.M.
6	New York - 3:15AM	1/18/44	Philadelphia	1/19/44 - 4 A.M.
6a	Philadelphia 3:40AM	1/20/44	New York	1/22/44 - 10:20 A.M.
7	New York 8:10PM	1/23/44	Philadelphia	1/24/44 - 11 P.M.
Cleaning tanks in order to load alcohol. Loading of alcohol began 1/27/44 at 5:45 P.M.				
7a	Philadelphia 12:25PM	1/28/44	Baltimore	1/30/44 - 12:30 A.M.
	Baltimore 3:15AM	1/3/44	Philadelphia	1/31/44 - 2 P.M.
8	Philadelphia 9:30AM	2/1/44	New York	2/2/44 - 10:25 A.M.
	New York 8 A.M.	2/3/44	Philadelphia	2/4/44 - 2:10 P.M.
	2/5/44	shift Sun Oil to Pure Oil		
	2/6/44	shift Pure Oil to Sun Oil		
	2/6/44	shift Sun Oil to Pure Oil		
	2/7/44	shift Pure Oil to Sun Oil		
8a	Philadelphia-12:50PM	2/8/44	New York	2/9/44 - 2:20 P.M.
9	New York 7 AM	2/10/44		

*A. Pedersen*

*J. F. Carter folder  
3-44*

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

*file  
personal*

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

Metropolitan 4112  
Metropolitan 4113

March 22, 1944.

**INTERIM REPORT ON THE "SEAMOBILE".**

Here is a good joke on the Maritime Commission:

Admiral Vickery sent a couple of inspectors--named Banks and Newell--up to look over the actual operations of the "Seamobile." They called on the operator with "blood in their eye", said it was a lot of damned nonsense and that they had heard nothing good about the ship.

After talking with officers and crew, however, they decided to take a trip on the "Seamobile". They accompanied her on her next regular commercial run and came back with a report that the "Seamobile" was a honey, easy and economical to operate, earning a pot of money and that the Maritime Commission ought to build a lot of them!

My bet is that Messrs. Banks and Newell will be disciplined, demoted, transferred or dismissed.

*J.F.C.*

PSF: J. F. Carter folder  
3-44

March 23, 1944.

The President directed me to telephone Mr. Carter that he thought this was a grand idea but it would be better all around if he would do it with the approval of the State Department.

G. G. T.

T-255

*J. F. Carter folder*  
*3-44*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 14, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE DIRECTOR OF THE BUDGET:

FOR PREPARATION OF REPLY

FOR MY SIGNATURE.

F.D.R.

Letter from John Franklin Carter, 3-13-44  
enclosing annual report from Dr. Henry  
Field on the Bowman-Field Committee on  
Migration and Settlement ("M" project). Re-  
quests an additional allocation of funds  
to pay for operation of this project during  
the last two months of the current fiscal  
year.

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

*file personal . B.F.C. Carter*

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

Metropolitan 4112  
Metropolitan 4113

March 22, 1944.

PROPOSED PROJECT FOR SPECIAL REPORT ON SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE.

Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupe (formerly with Henry Field, now back teaching with the University of Pennsylvania) was so pleased with your letter thanking him for his services that he has volunteered to do a special job of political reporting on Southeastern Europe.

His letter, herewith attached, outlines what he hopes to accomplish and his qualifications for its achievement. I entirely concur in his estimate of the utility of the proposed report or reports and believe that he would be able to accomplish it.

My suggestion is that President Gates of the U. of P. be asked to send him on a Travelling Fellowship to Turkey, to prepare a Ph. D. thesis on the general subject of "The Influence of American Missionary Colleges on Contemporary Opinion and Leadership in the Near East". This title is what at Rome we used to call a ~~daggo-dazzler~~ "daggo-dazzler", it is broad enough to justify any inquiry he might make into the political attitudes and leadership in Southeastern Europe.

The question of cost, credentials, etc. could be gone into later, if you are in agreement with the desirability of this major "look-see" operation. As an old Near Easterner myself, I am firmly convinced that the post-war political settlement will be no stronger than the post-war organization of Southeastern Europe, the Balkans, Turkey and the Levant.

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

*(Dr. Strausz-Hupe's letter returned to J.F.C. 3/24/44)*

March 23, 1944.

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G.C.T.

C.  
C.  
Y

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER  
(Jay Franklin)

1210 National Press  
Building  
Washington, D.C.

March 22, 1944.

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J.F.C.

C  
O  
Y

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA  
PHILADELPHIA  
WHARTON SCHOOL OF  
FINANCE AND COMMERCE

March 21, 1944

Dear John:

The last few weeks afforded me the opportunity to review what I want to do, what I can do, and whether what I can do and want to do ought to be done. This trinity of conditions is met in the mission I briefly outlined at your house Thursday of last week. I am ready to undertake this mission. Its objectives can be stated as follows.

I propose to obtain the first-hand view of the political landscape of southeastern Europe and to summarize my impressions in a report. The field studies are to be conducted in adjacent areas (Turkey) and -- if feasible -- in southeastern Europe proper. My proposal departs from the following premises:

1. There is a dearth of objective accounts by trained observers as regards the inwardness of the recent political and social evolution of the southeast European peoples.

2. The integration of the states of southeastern Europe into a regional system is a basic condition of the rehabilitation of Europe. The degree and nature of this integration is one of the principal issues of Anglo-Russian relations. The future position of Germany will depend largely on the shape of the new Danubian order. Hence the judgment United States foreign policy brings to bear upon this problem is the measure of its grasp on the problems of Europe.

3. Large groups of Americans in southeast European origin are deeply concerned over the fortunes of their former homeland. Their attitudes are largely fixed by conditions and tendencies prevailing a generation ago. The pressures of the last four years engendered new developments. These diverge sharply from those which the corresponding ethnic groups in the United States believe still dominate their respective countries of origin. Hence considerations of domestic as well as foreign policy suggest a clear presentation of the facts. Some of these facts lie outside the traditional ethnic frame of reference.

If these three propositions hold true, then the mission I propose to undertake will serve the interests of the Government.

I believe I qualify for this undertaking because:

1. I am a native of Austria and have lived among the peoples of the Danube Basin.
2. I have lived in this country for over twenty years, absorbed the American point of view, and rooted my existence in this country. In short: I have no southeast European axes to grind.
3. I have followed closely the political and economic developments in each country in order to write and lecture intelligently on southeast European affairs.
4. I have maintained personal contacts with a small number of men who are intimately familiar with southeast European problems.
5. I am not affiliated with any public or private group or organization which has a vested interest in southeastern Europe or policies formulated with regard to it.

I intend to seek answers to the following questions:

1. What are the aims of the peoples of southeastern Europe beyond liberation?
2. What forces are at work towards a symbiosis of nationalism and economic regionalism?
3. What aims do the people of southeastern Europe attribute to Russia, Great Britain and the United States?
4. What are the sentiments and aims of the individual national groups with respect to each other? This question is closely related to Question 2, which can be restated as follows: Will national antagonisms prove stronger than mutual economic and cultural interests?
5. What does the peasant want?
6. What ideologies, if any, are connected with the Cooperative movements?
7. What are the leaders of the liberation movements telling their followers?

These are but rudimentary ideas. It goes without saying that my investigations will also be guided by my attention to those elements of the situation which are of interest to our political warfare against Germany.

I concur with your suggestion that my first base of operation should be Turkey and that I should remain as inconspicuous as possible. I believe that the maximum independence of our intelligence organizations would enable me to carry out my task with the greatest economy of effort. I pondered the procedure which will insure the speedy execution of my plan. I reserve the discussion of the technical details of my project for our next meeting.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

c/ Robert

PSF: J.F. Carter folder  
3-44

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

23 March 1944.

**CONFIDENTIAL**  
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

- Subject: Parachute Release Equipment.
- Reference: Memorandum from John Franklin Carter dated 1 March 1944.

1. The following is submitted in reply to your memorandum of 7 March 1944.

2. There have been three principal objections to the quick-release type of parachute which have delayed its adoption by U.S. Forces. These were:

a. The need for some type of safety pin to prevent premature release;

b. The likelihood of slipping out of certain types of harness in the event of a headlong plunge from the plane;

c. The danger of fouling the release box with mud and dirt if dragged by the chute upon reaching the ground (this applied particularly to paratroopers).

3. These defects have been corrected, and this type of parachute has been made standard for the Army Air Forces. 65,000 harnesses and release boxes have been ordered and contracts for additional 115,000 will be signed in the near future.

4. For the Air Forces, the quick-release is essentially a device to prevent drowning, but the "paratrooper" must accomplish two preliminary steps before the release can be operated. For him the device is a time-saver in going into action.

DECLASSIFIED  
By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.  
By W. J. Stewart Date JAN 29 1973

**CONFIDENTIAL**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5. The following is a brief summary of the development of this project:

In 1937 and again in 1941, quick-release parachutes were tested by the Army Air Forces and were found to be unsatisfactory. In January 1943, the 8th Air Force under Reverse Lend-Lease, received some parachutes of this type from the British. The quick-attachable feature was found to be very effective and the R.A.F. quick-release harness was adopted for the heavy and medium bombardment crews of the 8th Air Force Bomber Command. The Army Air Forces began experiments in March 1943, to develop a safe, fool-proof quick-release for parachute harness.

On the 26th of September 1943, procurement of 2500 of an improved type from the Irving Airchute Company was authorized. It is believed this is the order to which Mr. Carter refers. Further improvements were incorporated in the design on the recommendations of the 8th Air Force.

On 13 December 1943, the Army Ground Forces recommended in favor of the quick-release parachute with a safety pin modification.

Contracts have been let for 65,000 harnesses and release boxes for installation on parachutes already in use, including 25,000 for Army Ground Forces. Contracts are in process for additional 115,000 harnesses and safety boxes for use with parachutes already under contract.

6. The situation, which Mr. Carter describes in his memorandum, does not exist. It is believed that no action is needed.

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By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.

By W. J. Stewart Date JAN 29 1973

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

JCS  
CRP

9 March 1944. **B** 23628 ✓

**DECLASSIFIED**  
JCS memo, 1-4-74 |  
By RMP, NLR, Date **APR 11 1974**



**MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY, JOINT COMMITTEE ON NEW WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT:**

**Subject:** Parachute Release Equipment.

**Enclosure:** Memorandum for Admiral Leahy from the President, dated 7 March 1944, transmitting memorandum from John Franklin Carter, dated 1 March 1944, with accompanying report on quick release parachute harness.

The enclosure is referred to the Joint Committee on New Weapons and Equipment for preparation of a reply to the President by Admiral Leahy.

(SIGNED)

A. J. McFARLAND,  
Colonel, G.S.C.,  
Acting Secretary.



FOR THE SECRETARY  
JOINT COMMITTEE ON NEW WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT

MEMO FOR RECORD:  
(Same as memo dated 10 March 1944 signed "F.K.S." filed this case.)

3-19-44  
SUSPEND  
E. L. ...



Handwritten initials and numbers

B 23869 ✓

[REDACTED]

10 March 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD:

Subject: Parachute release equipment.

Reference: Memo for Secy, JNW, from Actg  
Secy, JCS, dated 9 March 1944.

Mr. Devenney advises memorandum sent direct by  
Admiral Leahy's office to J.N.W. Colonel McFarland ad-  
vised this directive be made out as a matter of record,  
but that the report from J.N.W. will be made ~~directly~~ to  
Admiral Leahy's office ~~and will not come~~ through the  
Secretariat.

F.R.S.

DECLASSIFIED

JCS memo, 1-4-74

By RMP, NLR, Date

APR 11 1974

[REDACTED]

NOTED AND RECORDED  
10 MAR 1944



[REDACTED]  
**THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF**  
JOINT COMMITTEE ON NEW WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

21 March 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

Subject: Parachute Release Equipment.

Enclosure: a. Memorandum for Admiral Leahy from the President, dated 7 March 1944.

b. Draft of reply to the President by Admiral Leahy transmitting memorandum from John Franklin Carter, dated 1 March 1944, with accompanying report on quick release parachute harness.

1. Enclosure a was referred to the Joint Committee on New Weapons and Equipment for preparation of a reply to the President by Admiral Leahy.

2. A proposed reply has been prepared (Enclosure b) based on information provided by the Commanding General, Army Air Forces and the Commanding General, Army Ground Forces.

For the Joint Committee on  
New Weapons and Equipment:

DECLASSIFIED

JCS memo, 1-4-74

By RMP, NLR, Date APR 11 1974

*Burton L. Lucas.*  
BURTON L. LUCAS  
Colonel, G.S.C.  
Secretary.

Enc: 2

[REDACTED]

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 7, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
ADMIRAL LEAHY:

What do you think we should  
do about this?

F.D.R.

Enclosure "A"

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Parachute Release Equipment.

Reference: Memorandum from John Franklin  
Carter dated 1 March 1944.

1. The following is submitted in reply to your memorandum of March 7, 1944.
2. There have been three principal objections to the quick-release type of parachute which have delayed its adoption by U. S. Forces. These were:
  - a. The need for some type of safety pin to prevent premature release,
  - b. The likelihood of slipping out of certain types of harness in the event of a headlong plunge from the plane,
  - c. The danger of fouling the release box with mud and dirt if dragged by the chute upon reaching the ground (this applied particularly to paratroopers).
3. These defects have been corrected and this type of parachute has been made standard for the Army Air Forces. 65,000 harnesses and release boxes have been ordered and contracts for additional 115,000 will be signed in the near future.
4. For the Air Forces, the quick-release is essentially a device to prevent drowning. But the "paratrooper" must accomplish two preliminary steps before the release can be operated. For him the device is a time-saver in going into action.
5. The following is a brief summary of the develop-

-1-

Enclosure "B"

DECLASSIFIED  
By Deputy Archivist of the J.S.  
By W. J. Stewart Date JAN 29 1973

[REDACTED]

ment of this project:

In 1937 and again in 1941, quick-release parachutes were tested by the Army Air Forces and were found to be unsatisfactory. In January 1943, the 8th Air Force under Reverse Lend-Lease, received some parachutes of this type from the British. The quick-attachable feature was found to be very effective and the R.A.F. quick-release harness was adopted for the heavy and medium bombardment crews of the 8th Air Force Bomber Command. The Army Air Forces began experiments in March 1943, to develop a safe, fool-proof quick-release for parachute harness.

On the 26th of September 1943, procurement of 2500 of an improved type from the Irving Airchute Company was authorized. It is believed this is the order to which Mr. Carter refers. Further improvements were incorporated in the design on the recommendations of the 8th Air Force.

On 13 December 1943, the Army Ground Forces recommended in favor of the quick-release parachute with a safety pin modification.

Contracts have been let for 65,000 harnesses and release boxes for installation on parachutes already in use, including 25,000 for Army Ground Forces. Contracts are in process for additional 115,000 harnesses and safety boxes for use with parachutes already under contract.

6. The situation, which Mr. Carter describes in his memorandum, does not exist. It is believed that no action is needed.

WILLIAM D. LEAHY  
Admiral, USN

-2

Enclosure "B"

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Deputy Archivist of the U.S.

Stewart Date JAN 29 1973

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER

(Jay Franklin)

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

Metropolitan 4112  
Metropolitan 4113

March 1, 1944.

REPORT ON AIR FORCE RELUCTANCE TO MODERNIZE PARACHUTE RELEASE EQUIPMENT.

The attached report indicates that the Army Air Force is reluctant to equip our parachutes with the standard release device that can be operated with one hand. This device has been in existence since 1928 and is standard with all air forces but our own. It is an American invention. Lives are being lost, particularly in forced landings over water, as a result of our clinging to the ancient device which must be operated by two hands.

After months of pressure, the Army Air Forces have ordered 2,500 of the single-point release parachutes for purposes of further "experimentation".

In this connection, I strongly urge that a complete administrative overhaul be given to all Emergency Rescue Equipment devices, and their treatment under present methods. This may be desirable to prevent an ugly situation from developing in current appropriations hearings (beginning next Friday), where the alleged scandal in the metal life-baft procurement of the Coast Guard is due to come out into the open and hard.

  
J.F.C.

T-242

*J.F. Carter folder 3-54*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 7, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
ADMIRAL LEAHY:

What do you think we should  
do about this?

F.D.R.

Report on Army Air Force Reluctance to  
Modernize parachute release equipment, sent  
to the President by John Franklin Carter, 3-1-44.

*PST J. F. Carter folder 3-44*

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER  
(Jay Franklin)  
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"We, the People"  
"The Week in Washington"

*Grace The P might be interested*

*J.F.C.*

Metropolitan 4112  
Metropolitan 4113

March 23, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. EARLY: WALKER REPORT ON RUMORED "BIG THREE" MEETING.

Dear Steve:

According to Walker's Report No. 73, herewith enclosed, Wall Street has not taken too kindly to rumors of an impending meeting of the "Big Three".

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

Big Three Meeting

Walker #73

March 22, 1944.

Word that arrangements might be made for another meeting of Stalin-Roosevelt and Churchill have not been too well received in our contact circles in New York. The feeling seems to be that word of the possibility of such a meeting was allowed to circulate as an offset to the growing feeling that the Teheran and Cairo meetings were not all milk and honey and far from being the complete agreement that they were reported to have been.

An executive for a large corporation said:

"Damn it all I have no faith in that report. It could be a too easy way to attempt to offset the increasing belief here that the American public was not wholly informed about the Teheran - Cairo agreements.

"Stalin's various moves and statements since then have caused many Americans to suspect that tacit promises about the opening of a second front were made which have not been kept and that Stalin is laying the groundwork for the domination of Europe when the war is over by recognizing weak regimes which he can control easily or displace with minimum effort.

"Why in the world doesn't the State Dept adopt a public relations policy that at least will prevent the public from building up negative interpretations on these world questions?"

A banker who has supported FDR's foreign policies said:

"These Russian moves make for a disunity of thinking throughout this country that is just the reverse of what the Administration wants.

"I find myself thinking that the long delay in the Western invasion of continental Europe may be due to reluctance of the British top men to have it start until Russia is more exhausted by her military efforts than now is apparent.

"Obviously the greater the Russian exhaustion the greater the ease with which the British can influence post war plans with regard to Europe.

"That may be a wrong premise but something certainly is holding up the invasion and I believe it would be wise if our leaders explained what it is."

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PSP J.F. Carter folder 3-44  
file

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(Jay Franklin)  
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March 27, 1944.

REPORT ON THE DIES-WINCHELL DEBATE.

This afternoon Tom Corcoran told me that, in his opinion, the controversy between Martin Dies and Walter Winchell was only a curtain-raiser for a general attack by Dies and Eugene Garey against a much wider group--designed to show a sinister White House plot to "smear" patriots, etc. Tom thought that this would be timed to break in the near future, preferably while Sam Rayburn is out of town and when Congress is in recess. He said that Garey had once intimated that he, Garey, was behind the triple-attack on the Administration via Howard Smith's Committee, the Dies Committee and the Cox Committee investigating the F.O.O. Tom's impression was that Dies had the better of the radio debate with Winchell and that Dies' remarks were a tip-off on what might be coming.

J.F.C.

PSF: J. F. Carter *per* 3-44

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER  
(Jay Franklin)  
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*JFC*

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Metropolitan 4113

~~SECRET~~

March 28, 1944.

REPORT ON PUTZI'S COMMENT CONCERNING HENRY FORD.

This morning Putzi called attention to a statement attributed to Henry Ford, to the effect that the war would be over in two months. Putzi suggested a close check on Ford contacts and information sources, as he believes this to be significant. He points out that Ford employs a Hohenzollern Prince and that he (Putzi) was present at an interview when Hitler and Ford discussed plans for modernizing the German automobile industry. Putzi also thinks that through Ontario and Ford's British concerns, Ford is in touch with the Beaverbrook and associated British business groups which might consider an appeasement of Hitler in order to combat the Soviet Union.

*JFC*  
J.F.C.

DECLASSIFIED  
By Deputy Archivist of the U.S.  
By E. J. Stewart Date MAY 1 1972

March 30, 1944.

The President suggested that I call  
Mr. Carter and Henry Fields to take this  
up with Adm'ral Schurman's office.

GGT

[6-30-44]

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER  
(Jay Franklin)  
1210 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING  
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"We, the People"  
"The Week in Washington"

Page

**POLISH INTELLIGENCE REPORTS.**

. 2-5  
. 5-6  
. 6  
. 6-7  
. 7-8  
. 8

Quite a while ago, you may remember that Henry F  
on a plan to get reports from the Polish Secret Intell,  
three Polish intelligence services, all more or less a  
other, and in this case much of the difficulty has bee  
of the Drohojowski group to deal with O.S.S., which de

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9

The attached five Polish Intelligence reports  
from the Near and Middle East, and include a Secret Br  
Polish Underground, as well as Drohojowski's somewhat  
developments in England. Naturally, all of this mater  
evaluation.

9-10  
10-11  
12-14

However, to the best of our knowledge, this rep  
not otherwise available to our Government and not subj  
and control. We believe that we can obtain much more  
provided that some reliable means can be found to bring  
passing through O.S.S. or the State Department. Just  
Loy Henderson and Jan Drohojowski are mutually hostile  
Field and I believe that the best channel would be thro  
Schurmann's Office. If authorized, Field will see the  
system set up.

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

## POLISH-SOVIET RELATIONS

Difficulties began in November, 1941 and became acute in January, 1942. Because the Russians refused to recognize Polish passports given by Polish authorities to Polish citizens of non-Polish extraction, i.e., Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians and Jews.

The Russians wanted to prove that the number of Polish citizens on territories east of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Line were populated by Soviet citizens. These people were given the following choices:

1. Returning to prison and labor camps.
2. Accepting Soviet passports.

Among Polish deportees<sup>1</sup>, 20 to 30 per cent were Jews. This deportation was significant primarily because it deprived cities and towns in Poland's eastern Provinces of their Middle Class. The Ukrainians received the worst treatment from the Soviets because it fell in line with their pre-War steadfast policy of de-Ukrainization of the western borderlands of the U.S.S.R.

At the beginning of December, 1941, the arrest of Ehrlich and Alter at the Grand Hotel in Kuibyshev was

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1. Even among these eight out of ten will say: "We don't hate the Russians, but they are different ..."

followed by their execution shortly thereafter. The basic reason was that they said that they were going in the near future to the United States to work for the Jewish Bund and to spread anti-Soviet doctrines in the United States.

The Polish Army did not leave the Soviet Union because of any wilful desire or because the Polish authorities wanted them to leave, but because the Soviet Military did not fulfill their agreements regarding food rations and armament. Soviet representatives took the initiative to force the Poles to leave the U.S.S.R.

In July, 1942, all Polish Delegates (about 30), who were acting as Consuls, were arrested. Some were released and asked to leave. At this time all Polish Relief work was also terminated.

Novokova, Director of European Affairs in Narkomindel, told Freyd, who was First Secretary of the Polish Embassy in Cairo during February, 1943, that it was utterly pointless for the Polish Embassy to remain in the Soviet Union because at this time all Poles on Soviet territory were already considered as Soviet citizens. This statement was made a few weeks before the Katyn Incident which broke in the Press during April, 1943. In October, 1942, Ambassador Romer arrived in the Soviet Union to replace Ambassador Kot who returned to London.

Romer kept the lid on the fact that Soviet-Polish relations were deteriorating rapidly. This is now considered by the Polish Government to have been a serious blunder.

Thus, when the request by the Polish Government in London for a representative of the International Red Cross to examine the data regarding perpetrators of the Katyn Massacre, this came as a shock to the outside world.

The Soviet Government continues to blame Ambassador Kot and General Kukiel and they are now considered the main targets for Soviet propaganda because they are believed to have sponsored the request sent to the International Red Cross. If the outside world had known that Soviet-Polish relations were deteriorating and that any incident might cause the rupture of diplomatic relations, the whole situation might have been changed by Anglo-American pressure on Moscow.

Ever since the Katyn Incident, the Polish Government has not argued with the Soviet statement that the Germans committed the crime nor against the findings of the All-Soviet Commission.

It is now believed by the Polish Government in London that this was used as a pretext for breaking up diplomatic relations, but if this had not been at hand, something else would have been found sooner or later--probably the former.

At the present time, despite the Katyn Incident and the rupture of relations, the Poles in Poland remember that Germany is still their greater enemy.

#### THE KATYN MASSACRE

From August, 1941 to March, 1942, many different localities within the Soviet Union were given for the 6,000 Polish Officers who were missing.

Different answers to this query were given by Stalin, Molotov and Vichiniski to Sikorski, Anders, Kot and Romer.

The following variations were offered:

1. These Polish Officers had escaped to Romania.
2. They had escaped to German-occupied Poland.
3. They had joined anti-Soviet activities in Poland.
4. They were scattered through the Soviet Union and would turn up in due course of time.  
This was stated categorically after all Polish Military Representatives were released according to the Polish-Soviet Agreement which had been signed in July, 1941.

Number 4 was the consistent answer given by the Soviet authorities.

It must be recorded that Ambassador Kot never had an interview with high-ranking Soviet officials without asking about these Polish Officers. At one point he asked for a Polish-Russian Commission to fly to Novaya Zembya, Franz Josef Land and Kola to look for these missing Polish Officers.

The Polish Government, on the basis of all evidence available, acknowledges with only 1.0 per cent reserve the fact that the Katyn Massacre was a Soviet crime.

It is stated that a Memorandum<sup>1</sup> to this effect was given to Anthony Eden about five weeks ago. This Memorandum is believed to contain the "proof" of Soviet guilt.

COMMITTEE OF POLISH PATRIOTS IN THE U.S.S.R.

Wanda VASSILEVSKAYA. Erotomaniac. Slightly more than forty years old. Her fourth husband is Korniejczuk, who is the Ukrainian Minister for Foreign Affairs. She hopes to be Prime Minister of Poland through the Committee of Polish Patriots which is composed mainly:

- (a) Communists expatriated before 1939.
- (b) Certain Polish deportees.

The main objective of this Committee is to take over the Government in Warsaw as soon as the Soviet Army reaches there.

Helena USIEJWICZ, daughter of Felix Kohn who was slated to be Prime Minister in Warsaw during 1920. She is far more intelligent and charming than Wanda Vassilevskaya, whom she calls "that filthy whore."

POLISH CORPS IN THE U.S.S.R.

Lieutenant Colonel Berling, now Lieutenant General, and ten other Polish Officers were very well treated by

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1. A copy of this Memorandum has been requested from London.

the Russians and groomed for jobs. As a direct result, Berling is now Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Corps in the U.S.S.R.

This group of eleven officers was used by General Anders as a go-between or liaison staff group with the Russians. Sikorski promoted him to Colonel during December, 1941. Berling deserted from the Polish Army, left the Soviet Union and formed a Polish Corps, which is now said to number three divisions (about 45,000 men).

At the present time there is no contact between the Polish Government in London and General Berling, although it is felt that the Polish Corps at some later date might cooperate with the Polish Government in London.

Berling has no political ambitions except those which further his military career in which he is vitally interested.

For example, a small group of Polish Officers who were working in a labor camp in the Semipalatinsk Oblast were visited by a Polish officer in uniform who told them that if they would join the Polish Corps they could return to fight the Germans. Without any hesitation all of the officers left the labor camp and joined the Polish Corps.

#### POLISH REFUGEES IN SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

Along Turksib there are many Polish refugees, whose condition is very bad. They are in rags and without shoes. One broken old man approached our informant near

Alma-Ata and stated that he hoped to return soon to Poland. Although he was only 41 years old, he looked about 70. He had a long white beard and was extremely emaciated.

#### POLISH RADIO TRANSMITTER IN KUIBYSHEV

In Kuibyshev the Poles operated a radio transmitter, whose supplies and replacements were obtained through the N.K.V.D.

#### POLISH-BRITISH RELATIONS IN BRITAIN

1. The Polish situation has improved slightly in Britain since the middle of January. In contrast, Biddle's recall has caused great resentment among the Governments-in-Exile to whom he was accredited, because it was believed that this was a direct slur to these Governments, particularly that of Poland.

2. Schoenfeld, who has replaced Biddle, is a good administrator but "hidebound with diplomatic traditions and covered with red tape."

#### U.S. TROOPS IN BRITAIN

1. They have developed a poor attitude with bad discipline and sloppy clothes.

2. They do not stand a heavy bombing in London at all well.

3. It is reported that whenever supplies do not arrive many of the soldiers feel that this inefficiency is directly attributable to the President.

#### INVASION RUMORS IN BRITAIN

There are many rumors in England at the present time, for example:

1. No transportation will be available for school children at Easter-time.
2. The BBC has begun to advise travelers that all transportation may be suddenly discontinued during April, May or June.

#### SOVIET MILITARY MISSION IN ITALY

This Mission, consisting of about 300 officers, is divided between Bari and Naples where Jugo-Slav recruits are now being trained for Tito's Army.

No Russians are fighting in Italy.

#### BRITISH-RUSSIAN RELATIONS IN ITALY

The large Soviet Military Mission and the British Staff are reported to be on increasingly bad terms.

#### LOSS OF U.S. PRESTIGE IN POLAND

1. The British are now ribbing the Poles that they had been counting too heavy on F.D.R. and the United States and that it is obvious that America has now washed her hands of Poland.

2. The cancellation of Mikolajczyk's trip to Washington had a very bad effect on the Polish Underground. Until this happened, United States prestige in Poland was much higher than that of the British.

3. Lack of effective U.S. help to the Polish Underground and resumption of assistance from Britain through Italian bases.

4. The British have given planes to the Polish Underground but the U.S. has not yet fulfilled promise of shipment of 12 planes, a promise made to Sikorski in Washington.

#### POLISH PROPAGANDA FROM O.W.I.

O.W.I. in Washington is reported to have taken under its wing the leading pro-Soviet and anti-Polish elements in the United States:

1. Irene Balinska, daughter of Dr. Ludwik Rajchman<sup>1</sup>, Adviser to T. V. Soong.

2. Arski (alias Salman) of Jewish extraction who is now pro-Communist and trying to create disunity between the Polish Government and the United States.

3. Madam Zlotovska, who is reported to have a romantic interest in Arski. She is the daughter or wife of Professor Zlotovski, A.D.C. to Professor Oskar Lange, head of the Kosciusko League.

O.W.I. broadcasts to Poland are extremely unfriendly to the Polish Government in London.

---

1. Mysterious power behind-the-scenes. Home 2300 Decatur Place, N.W. Telephone Michigan 1213.

Adam Hyppolit Kulikowski<sup>1</sup>, who is now advising the O.W.I., is described as a rich Chicagoan "sometimes of Polish, sometimes of Lithuanian extraction." He was formerly in the Czarist Army and a close friend of Oskar Lange.

In London questions are being asked why the corresponding factions in the U.S. to Wanda Vassilevskaya, leader of the Committee of Polish Patriots in Moscow, are being paid by O.W.I.

---

1. From "Who's Who in Chicago", 1936: "President, Food Display Machine Corporation. Born Vilno, Poland, August 22, 1890. Son of Klikst and Frances Chevalier Kulikowski. Graduated Gymnasium Vilno, 1908. A.B. Olivet Michigan College, 1913. Post-graduate work, University of Chicago, 1913-1914. Married Mary T. Sanders of Iowa City, Iowa, December 26, 1918. One son, Leon Kerril. Came to U.S. 1910. Naturalized 1927. With Wilson & Company, packers, Chicago, 1918-1922, last three years as European representative in London. Vice President and Treasurer, Tater Flake Company, Chicago, 1923-1924. With Food Display Machine Corporation of Chicago since 1924. Vice President and Treasurer until 1927. President and Treasurer since 1927. Also Vice President and Treasurer Fabriz, Inc. Served as Second Lieutenant Imperial Russian Guard Regiment, 1914-1915. With American Embassy at Petrograd, 1915-1916. Member Chicago Association of Commerce, Chicago Athletic Association. Army and Navy. Recreation, books and travel. Home, 1430 Lake Shore Drive. Office, 325 West Huron Street."

GENERAL SUMMARY

1. A great loss of United States and British prestige has developed recently on the Continent because of a lack of a clear-cut post-War policy.

2. The Anglo-American attitude regarding Polish territory has destroyed all faith in the Atlantic Charter.

As a direct result, there has been a notable stiffening of the internal Germ Home Front. There seems to be in Germany at the present time a clear division of War effort; the Home Front being left to the Party; and Military Operations being handled exclusively by professional soldiers.

3. There are now many less signs of a German collapse than there were four months ago. German soldiers on the Eastern Front are now reported to be fighting better than they were four months ago.

4. Recent arrivals from Germany after the beginnings of major bombings state that there is an absolute and a fatalistic faith that Germany is being purified through this great ordeal and that even if she loses the War, she still will be the strongest element in destroyed Europe.

5. There is far more chance of Germany surrendering to the Western Powers than to the Soviet Union.

According to British authorities in London the present bombing is designed to make Germany surrender to the West, although there is still a chance that she may surrender to the U.S.S.R.

6. Himmler and Goebbels say that England and the United States have no positive idea which can supplant the basic Nazi doctrine.

7. The leaders of the Polish Government-in-Exile on January 14, 1944, declared that they were ready to discuss any outstanding problems between Poland and the U.S.S.R.

This offer was refused by the Soviet Government.

Churchill, on his own behalf, has made further appeals to Stalin. According to recent Press dispatches in London, this appeal has also been refused by Moscow.

8. In accordance with the present trends, Wanda Vassilevskaya and her Committee of Polish Patriots, should reach Warsaw first, but the British will not recognize her authority. This will undoubtedly cause considerable international confusion because at least two, possibly three, of the Big Four will not recognize the authority of the Committee of Polish Patriots.

9. The main thesis of the Polish Government is that the Poland of the future should not come out of this War "diminished or belittled."

There appears now to be little chance of finding any Polish Government, (except this Soviet Committee of Polish Patriots) who would be willing to relinquish Vilna and Lwow.

10. The Russians state that they do not want any of Poland but claim that the Republics of Lithuania, eastern

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Ukraine and White Ruthenia already belong to the Soviet Union since the Plebiscite of 1939.

December 30, 1943

POLITICAL WARFARE EXECUTIVE

CENTRAL DIRECTIVE

ANNEXE II

POLAND--THE UNDERGROUND STATE

This paper is for background information only. Any use made of it in output must be strictly in accordance with this week's and future Directives.

I. THE UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT

The Underground Movement in Poland is not merely a manifestation of national resistance. It is the Polish State gone underground, reproducing clandestinely the machinery of State administration under "remote control" of its Government in exile.

From the beginning the Poles adopted a consistently uncompromising attitude towards the occupying power. Despite all attempts by the German authorities to stabilise relations with them and to develop some form of quisling administration cooperating with them, there has been no Polish collaboration with the German occupying authorities in any political sphere. As a result of this total non-coöperation, the German administration in Poland has never secured even the pretence of legal authority for the Polish people.

Once the attitude had been adopted that no German prescription, regulation, or order was binding on the

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Polish nation, the underground became not only a resistance movement but a secret national and legal authority. This principle, which was decided immediately after the fall of Warsaw on September 27th, 1939, means that the Polish State has existed and functioned through all of the most important authorities, departments and institutions of a constitutional State. This provides the fundamental difference between the Polish Underground Movement and resistance movements in other occupied countries of Europe where there are administrative, local Government, economic, educational authorities and a pseudo-legal Government cooperating with the German authorities. The fact that there is no cooperation with the occupying power in any sector of political life means that the Polish Underground Movement has been the sole national authority. Such an achievement has been made possible because the attitude of total resistance to the German occupation has had the consent and support of the united people behind it.

Structure.- The Underground Movement is headed by the "Plenipotentiary of the Government." He is the Government's representative in Poland and has the rank of member of the Polish Cabinet in London. He possesses general administrative and executive powers and serves as

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a link between the Government, which functions abroad in conditions of security and freedom, and the State, which operates clandestinely in Poland. The Government Plenipotentiary has in turn his representatives in the various parts of Poland with the task of maintaining the secret Polish State administration.

The Commander-in-Chief is the head not only of the Polish armies outside Poland but the secret army inside-- a highly organized branch of the Underground Movement. The Commander of this "Third Army" possesses all the powers and authority of an army commander during the performance of military operations. The operations of this army consist of: diversionary activity directed against the German military machine; sabotage directed against the German industrial and civil machines; and, thirdly, the activities of the fighting guerrilla groups. The army is organized for national revolt when the word is given by the Allied Chiefs of Staff through the Polish Government.

On the civil side, the Underground Movement is based upon a collaboration of the four main political parties (the Socialist and the Peasant Movements, the Christian Democratic Labor Party, and the National Movement). While these four parties maintain their separate identities in

underground work, a body has been formed from representatives of all four parties known as the Home Political Representation. While the authorities represented by the Government Plenipotentiary and those represented by the Commander of the Home Army derive from the Polish Government and Commander-in-Chief, Great Britain, the four political parties represented in the Home Political Representation have their representatives in London, who contribute to the formation of the Government by means of the Government coalition. It is the organization in Poland which appoints or recognizes representatives in the Polish Government in London, and not the Government which gives to the representatives in Poland their mandate.

The Directorate of Civil Resistance within the Underground Movement is a special organization to watch over the national morale and maintain the spirit of resistance and struggle. The Directorate of Civil Resistance is responsible for maintaining moral discipline and national solidarity under the occupation. It has organized a counter-terror in reply to the German terror and has instigated and directed the resistance of the whole people to Germanisation, German labor conscription, etc.

Recently, the Civil and Military Underground organizations have amalgamated and formed a combined Directorate of Underground Warfare.

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Resistance.- The policy of the Underground Movement, in conjunction with the Polish Government in London, has been to achieve the maximum present damage to the German war machine, and the maximum present damage to the German administration and exploitation of the country, while reserving the maximum strength for decisive action at the appropriate time. It has discouraged spasmodic and unorganized resistance and held the people in check against provocation to premature action, while maintaining organized opposition always at the maximum effective level.

This resistance programme has been in accordance with the policy recommended by H.M.G. Our propaganda to Poland has always discouraged premature military revolt and its theme has been "Keep your powder dry." The result has been the most effective resistance to the most ruthless oppression in Europe.

## II. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT

(a) H.M.G. recognizes the Polish Government in London as the legally constituted Government of Poland.

General Sikorski, who combined the functions of Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, died on July 4th, 1943. The President of the Polish Republic, in accordance with the constitution, appointed General Sosnkowski to be

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Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and invited M. Mikołajczyk, who was Deputy Prime Minister and a leading member of the Peasant Party, to form a Government.

(b) "THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY, AT THE HEAD OF WHICH I STAND, IS SINCERELY DEMOCRATIC" (from a declaration by M. Mikołajczyk, the Peasant Premier of Poland, on taking up office).

The Sikorski Government represented a balance between Socialist and Middle-class opinion, with the scale weighted in favor of the latter. The Mikołajczyk Government of National Unity is a four-Party Government, rather more "Left" than its predecessor. The new Cabinet contains 3 Peasants and 3 Socialists instead of 2 from each of these Parties.

The Polish Cabinet is constituted as follows:

M. Stanislaw Mikołajczyk (Peasant Party), Prime Minister.

M. Mikołajczyk was the son of a peasant family in Poland; was a manual laborer in early years, who later inherited and farmed his father's small-holding. He is a self-educated man.

M. Jan Kwapinski (Socialist Party), Deputy Premier and Minister of Industry, Commerce and Shipping.

Was a metal worker. His parents were laboring people in Warsaw.

M. Tadeusz Romer (non-party), Minister for Foreign Affairs.

His family were small landed gentry in Lithuania; diplomat.

General Marian Kukiel (non-party), Minister of National Defense.

Son of very small landowner; legionary; University lecturer in military history.

M. Wladyslaw Banaczyk (Peasant Party), Minister of the Interior.

Comes of a peasant family and is a lawyer.

Professor Stanislaw Kot (Peasant Party), Minister of Information and Documentation.

Son of a peasant and was a Professor of History at the University of Cracow.

Dr. Ludwig Grosfeld (Socialist Party), Minister of Finance.

Jewish family.

M. Jan Stanczyk (Socialist Party), Minister of Labor and Public Welfare.

Son of a peasant; was apprenticed in youth to a locksmith and worked as a miner.

Professor Wacław Komarnicki (National Party), Minister of Justice.

His family were small gentlemen farmers in Galicia. He owns no land and always lived on a modest scale. Is a lawyer.

M. Marian Seyda (National Party), Minister of Preparatory Work for the Peace Conference.

Comes from a middle-class family of lawyers and doctors in Poznan.

M. Karol Popiel (National Work Party), Minister of Administrative Reconstruction.

Comes from the small landed gentry.

Father Zygmunt Kaczynski (National Work Party), Minister of Cults and Public Instruction.

Of humble origin.

M. Henryk Strasburger (non-party), Minister of State, Eastern Affairs.

Well-to-do Warsaw bourgeois family.

General Sosnkowski, Commander-in-Chief, is the son of a provincial physician with no landed connections.

None of the members of the leading families of Poland, (Radziwill, Czartoryski, Zamojski, Tyszkiewicz, etc.) occupy Governmental positions in which they can influence policy. The majority are serving in minor positions in the armed forces.

(c) From the beginning the Polish Underground Movement, through the cooperation of Parties in the Home Political Representation, has instituted a political truce among the four Parties and expressed its unconditional loyalty to the

Government-in-Exile. The Communist Party is the only organized group in Poland which has recognized neither the political truce nor the Government. After the appointment of the present Polish Government a further step of great consequence was taken. In August of this year the four Parties issued a joint declaration in which they pledged themselves to receive the present Government back into Poland and to continue their political truce after the cessation of hostilities until the first free democratic elections were held in Poland.

Both the Polist Government-in-Exile and the union of political parties in Poland exclude Communists and extremists of the Right.

Constant communication has been maintained between the Government-in-Exile and the Underground Movement in Poland, and no important steps have been taken by the Government without the cooperation and approval of the leaders of the Underground Movement.

Union of Polish Patriots.- "The Union of Polish Patriots" is a group of Russophil Polish Communists organized in Moscow, who repudiate the Polish Government and the Polish Underground Movement, attack their resistance policy as pro-German, accept the Soviet territorial claims on Poland, and claim to represent the true opinion of the

masses of the population in Poland. This claim is not borne out by the evidence available to us.

This group has been associated with the formation of Polish armed divisions in Russia, which do not accept the leadership of the Polish Commander-in-Chief or the authority of the Polish Government.

Recognition of the Polish leaders in Russia is incompatible with continued recognition of the Polish Government-in-Exile and the Polish Underground Movement.

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## MOLOTOV ON THE UNITED STATES, ENGLAND AND GERMANY

The following excerpts from the Official reports<sup>1</sup> of the Sessions of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. have been selected:

In May, 1939, the Soviet Ambassador, Umansky, was taken by surprise with the news from Moscow that Litvinov had been dismissed. This news was a portent of further changes in the Peoples Commissariat of which Litvinov's friends would be the unavoidable victims. No wonder Umansky had good cause for worry.

However, the reasons for this change in Moscow went deeper than a mere change of favor. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union was to undergo a profound change. It had been decided in the Kremlin to refuse to cooperate with the future Allies and make a deal with Germany at any price. Litvinov's head was a part of that price.

It was difficult to find a successor. Indeed, he was to pass the sponge over all the principles of Soviet

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1. The texts of the passages have been taken from the book Soviet Peace Policy by V. Molotov, published for the Anglo-Russian News Bulletin by Lawrence & Wishart Ltd., London--in so far as they are identical with the stenographic reports of the Sessions of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., published by the Supreme Council. Only the fifth passage of Molotov's speech of March 29, 1940, (p. 5) has been taken directly from the above-mentioned reports as the London publication omits to mention there the names of Attlee and Blum.

foreign policy during the past twenty years and his job was to justify coöperation with Nazi Germany before the Communists of the whole world. Another difficulty was due to the fact that in order to please Hitler it was decided to appoint a 100 per cent Russian to the post of Foreign Commissar. After some hesitation it was decided to entrust the Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars, Molotov, with the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. (Molotov's real name is Skriabin and he was born into a well-known family of the Russian nobility.)

Molotov is one of Stalin's "yes-men" and, although he seemed to be somewhat hesitant at times and to show sympathies for the so-called Leftist heresies in the Communist Party, his hesitation did not last long. In spite of his faithfulness even Molotov had a few worries during the last purge. His wife Madame Zhemchuryna was first Peoples Commissar for the perfume industry and later for the fish industry and was arrested under charges of sabotage. However, Molotov disclaimed his wife. After a short interval the Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars was restored to favor and, ever since, like every other Commissar, he was just a mouthpiece of his boss and obediently carried out his orders.

Molotov is no orator; he stumbles and stammers. He prepares his speeches painfully and slowly. In accordance with the established tradition of the Soviet Union every statement of his is submitted to the Politbureau which is the supreme authority of the Party and has nine to thirteen members. Occasionally his speeches and statements are simply read to Stalin by Molotov and this is considered as sufficient.

Thus all Molotov's statements should be treated as his and Stalin's work, although the style and wording of some passages may be his own. This may be particularly true of those passages in his statements which express his hatred of the future Allies, his contempt for the United States and his despising of all democratic institutions.

Of all his speeches the most significant are those between the outbreak of World War II and Hitler's attack upon Russia.

On October 31, 1939, Molotov addressed the Supreme Council in his capacity as Foreign Commissar and said:

"Today, as far as the European Great Powers are concerned, Germany is in the position of a State which is striving for the earliest termination of war and for peace while Britain and France, which but yesterday were declaiming against aggression are in favor of

continuing the war and are opposed to the conclusion of the peace. The rôles as you see are changing.

"The ruling circles of Britain and France have been lately attempting to depict themselves as champions of the democratic rights of nations against Hitlerism and the British Government has announced that its aim in the war with Germany is nothing more nor less than the 'Destruction of Hitlerism.' It amounts to this, that the British and with them the French supporters of the war have declared something in the nature of an 'Ideological' war on Germany, reminiscent of the religious wars of olden times.

"In fact religious wars against heretics and religious dissenters were once the fashion. As we know they led to dire results for the masses, to economic ruin and the cultural deterioration of nations. These wars could have no other outcome. But they were the wars of the Middle Ages. Is it back to the Middle Ages, to the days of religious wars, superstition and cultural deterioration that the ruling classes of Britain and France want to drag us? In any case under the 'ideological' flag there has now been started a war of even greater dimensions and fraught with even greater danger for the peoples of Europe and of the whole world. But

there is absolutely no justification for a war of this kind. One may accept or reject the ideology of Hitlerism as well as any other ideological system, that is a matter of political views, but everybody should understand that an ideology cannot be destroyed by force, that it cannot be eliminated by war. It is, therefore, not only senseless but criminal to wage such a war as a war for the 'destruction of Hitlerism' camouflaged as a fight for 'democracy.'

"Is it not clear that the aim of the present war in Europe is not what it is proclaimed to be in official statements which are intended for the broad public in France and Britain? That is, it is not a fight for democracy but something else of which these gentlemen do not speak openly. The real cause of the Anglo-French war with Germany was not that Britain and France have vowed to restore the old Poland and not, of course, that they decided to undertake a fight for democracy. The ruling circles of Britain and France have of course other and more actual motives for going to war with Germany. These motives do not lie in any ideology but in their profoundly material interests as mighty colonial Powers. Great Britain with a population of 47 millions possesses Colonies with a population of 480 millions.... The

possession of these Colonies, which makes possible the exploitation of hundreds of millions of people is the foundation of the world supremacy of Great Britain and France. It is the fear of Germany's claims to these colonial possessions that is at the bottom of the present war of Britain and France with Germany, a fear that has become substantially stronger lately as the result of the collapse of the Versailles Treaty.

"It is the fear of losing world supremacy that dictates to the ruling circles of Great Britain and France a policy of fomenting war with Germany. Thus the imperialist character of this war is obvious to anyone who wants to face realities and does not close his eyes to facts. One can see from all this who is interested in this war that is being waged for world supremacy.

"I must, however, inform you that even the President of the United States of America considered it proper to intervene in these matters which one finds it hard to reconcile with America's policy of neutrality. In a message to Comrade Kalinin, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, dated October 12, Roosevelt expressed the hope that the friendly and peaceful relations between the USSR and Finland would be preserved and developed. One might think that matters are in a better

shape between the United States, and let us say, the Philippines or Cuba, who have long been demanding freedom and independence from the United States and cannot get them, than between the Soviet Union and Finland who has long ago obtained both freedom and state independence from the Soviet Union."

After quoting Kalinin's reply to Roosevelt, Molotov discussed the U.S. Government's repeal of the embargo on arms for the belligerents. He denounced this move of the U.S.A. and said:

"It can scarcely be doubted that the effect of this decision will not be to weaken the war and hasten its termination but on the contrary to intensify, aggravate and project it. Of course this decision may ensure big profits for American war industries, but one asks, can this serve as any justification for lifting the embargo on the export of arms from America? Clearly it cannot."<sup>1</sup>

On March 29, 1940, Molotov again addressed the Supreme Council and said inter alia:

"Our relations with Britain and France have taken a somewhat different course inasmuch as the Soviet Union did not wish to become the tool of British and French

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1. Stenographic report of the extraordinary Fifth Session of the Supreme Council of the USSR, published by the Supreme Council.

imperialists in their struggle for world hegemony against Germany, we have encountered at every step the profound hostility of their policy towards our country. This has gone farthest of all in connection with the Finnish question on which I shall dwell later. But in the past few months there has been quite a number of other instances of hostility toward the USSR on the part of French and British policy.

"Hence the hostile acts of France and Britain toward the Soviet Union are to be explained not by the fact that the USSR is trading with Germany, but by the fact that the plans of the British and French ruling circles to utilize our country in the war against Germany have been frustrated, and as a result they are pursuing a policy of revenge toward the Soviet Union.

"What is more, their nerves do not seem to be quite in order, (laughter) they want to force us to adopt a different policy--a policy of enmity and war against Germany, a policy which would afford them an opportunity of utilizing the USSR for their imperialist aims. It is time these gentry understood that the Soviet Union never has been and never will be the tool of the policy of others, that the USSR has always pursued its own policy and always will pursue it, irrespective of whether

these gentry of other countries like it or not (loud and long cheers).

"Finland also received military aid from such a devotee of 'peace' as the United States of America (general laughter).

"In step with these leading bourgeois newspapers, and even a little ahead of them, are speeches from the servants' hall that has now been instituted in every 'respectable' bourgeois State for 'Socialists,' like Attlee in England and Blum in France, who are doing their utmost to fan and spread the flames of war.

"As regards our relations with the USA, they have not grown any better lately, nor, for that matter, have they grown any worse if we disregard the so-called 'moral embargo' against the USSR which is perfectly meaningless especially after the conclusion of peace between the USSR and Finland."<sup>1</sup>

At the meeting of the Supreme Council on August 1, 1940, Molotov made yet another speech in which he said:

"On July 19, the Reich's Chancellor of Germany again addressed Britain with an appeal to come to terms with regard to peace but the British Government, as we know, rejected this proposal.... This means that the Government of Great Britain does not wish to give

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1. Sixth Session of the Supreme Council of the USSR. Published by the Supreme Council.

up Colonies which Britain possesses in all parts of the globe and declares that she is prepared to continue the war for world supremacy despite the fact that after the defeat of France and Italy's entry into the war on the side of Germany this struggle involves considerable greater difficulties for Britain.

"Lately foreign and particularly the British and Anglophile press has been frequently speculating on the possibility of disagreement between the Soviet Union and Germany and has been attempting to intimidate us by the prospect of the growth of Germany's might. These attempts have been exposed more than once by ourselves as well as by Germany and have been swept aside as worthless.

"As regards Soviet-British relations, no essential changes have lately occurred. It should be recognized that after all the hostile acts committed by Britain against the USSR of which we have had occasion to speak more than once at the Supreme Soviet, it was difficult to expect that Soviet-British relations would develop favorably, although the appointment of Sir Stafford Cripps as Ambassador to the USSR does, possibly, reflect a desire on the part of Britain to improve relations with the Soviet Union.

"I will not dwell on our relations with the U.S.A. if only for the reason that there is nothing good that can be said about them (laughter). We have learned that there are certain people in the United States who are not pleased with the successes of Soviet foreign policy in the Baltic countries. But we must confess we are little concerned over this fact inasmuch as we are coping with our tasks without the assistance of these disgruntled gentlemen (laughter and cheers). However, the fact that the authorities in the United States unlawfully placed an embargo on the gold which our State Bank recently purchased from the Banks of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, meets with the most energetic protests on our part. In this case we can only remind both the Government of the United States and the Government of Great Britain which adopted the same procedure, of their responsibility for these illegal acts.

"Imperialist appetites are growing not only in distant Japan but also in the United States where there are not a few people who like to conceal their imperialist designs behind their well-advertised 'concern' for the interests of the entire 'Western Hemisphere,' which these gentlemen are prepared to turn into their property with all its numerous Republics and with the colonial possessions of other countries on islands in the neighborhood of the

American Continent. All this harbors the danger of a further extension and fanning of the war and of its transformation into a world imperialist war."<sup>1</sup>

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Such are some of the excerpts of Molotov's speeches on the imperialist plans of England and America on the peaceful intentions of Germany and on the struggles against Nazism.

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1. Seventh Session of the Supreme Council of the USSR, August 1, 1940. Published by the Supreme Council of the USSR.

THE ARRIVAL OF MR. TADEUSZ ROMER, AMBASSADOR  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND TO THE USSR<sup>1</sup>

On October 12 the new Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to the USSR, Mr. Tadeusz Romer, arrived in Kuybyshev. His work in the Soviet Union will be interesting and worth while. It will aim at tightening of the friendly relations between Poland and Soviet Russia, those relations that were established by the Polish-Soviet pact of July 30, 1941.

This work will not be easy. He will be often handicapped by the stubbornness and lack of coöperation on the part of those of our countrymen, who learned nothing by the September defeat or by the heroic events of the recent years.

Ambassador Professor Kot who had to face the same difficulties, made all possible efforts to establish friendly Polish-Soviet relations. At the end of his work in the USSR, he thus spoke to those who remained behind.

"... We must also realize that the war which is being waged on the territory of the USSR is also our

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1. Excerpt from the magazine "Nowe Widnokregi" (New Horizons), No. 12, October 20, 1942.

war, is the continuation of that war which began on our soil in September, 1939. Those millions of German soldiers who eat the Russian soil are not only the revenge for the burning of Minsk, for the ruins of Smolensk, for the massacres in Kerch and the disgracing of Jasna Polana, but also for our bombed cities, for the murderous concentration camps of Oswiecim and Dachau, for executions at Palmiry, for Prussian deportations for massacres of Poles and Jews, for Polish and Jewish ghettos, for the destruction of the monuments of Mickiewicz and Chopin.

"Each day of effective resistance of the Soviet armies, brings nearer the moment of our return to free Poland."

Professor Kot continued by pointing out to the Poles, dispersed all over the USSR, the road that will lead them most directly to an independent Poland and to victory:

"... Those who are able to do so will contribute to it (the victory) by fighting in the ranks of the Polish Armed Forces. Others must contribute by working hard...."

There is no doubt that the new Ambassador of the Republic of Poland will continue the work started by Professor Kot and will succeed to strengthen the relations with the USSR, consistently with the interests of the Polish State and with the anticipation of all Poles of good will in Poland and abroad.