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TRAVELOGUE:

Washington, August 14. The last talk with President Truman. The last shopping. The last chores and good-byes at the office and off with Mrs. Pepper to New York.

New York, August 15. Finished review of Henry Wallace's book "60 Million Jobs" for the New York Times. Arranged to write some articles for North American Newspaper Alliance to help pay my expenses which I am paying myself. Luncheon with American Motion Picture producers. Talked about removal of obstructions in European countries to the showing of American films. The Japs have accepted our terms of surrender. President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee speak on the radio at 7 p.m. A million people surge into Times Square and spend the night in hilarious celebration. The war is over. Peace, peace atain. For how long? And what kind of a Peace?

August 16. Up early and off to the great ship Queen Elizabeth. Interviews and photographs. Good-byes to Mrs. Pepper and friends who could not go on the ship. A quick look over the ship with Pat and Mike Kinney stevedoring. The last letters and then the sun deck and the receding dock and finally the vanishing skyline of New York and the U.S.A.

MY MISSION:

As Chairman of the subcommittee on Foreign Business of the Senate Foreign Business Committee and by special designation of able Small Business Chairman Senator James E. Murray of Montana, to continue a study our Committee is making in the Senate, of how the backbone of American business--small business--might have a larger part in world trade. For this task I was accompanied by Mr. Herbert Ebelsberg, special counsel to my Senate Committee, sent by the Foreign Economic Administration. As one of the senior members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to learn all I could in the countries I should visit, about people, conditions, and trends.

OBJECT: To be a better citizen and Senator and better to help the government and the country to shape a foreign policy which would promote the welfare and preserve the peace of the United States and the world.

At sea: Sun shine, salt air, American business men hurrying to Europe. Army men and women, Red Cross girls. Hurring to Europe too - for our armies of occupation. The able Committee on post war Economic Planning of the House of Representatives, headed by Chairman of Mississippi, and we had joint discussions on our respective missions. Our Captain Ford who had raced the Queen Elizabeth without escort
, crammed

with urgently needed soldiers, across wide ocean to every major battle front in the war. A charming old salt.

Southampton, August 20: The English ship, Queen Elizabeth, for the first time docks at her home berth in England, home from the wars. A drive about Southampton and the first sight of the debris and the vacant lots where houses, homes, once stood until the German bombs came.

London: We crowd to the windows as the train flies by block after block of tenement houses, the castles of the poor, before the bombs fell. Waterloo station and more bomb damage. I tried to imagine the flocks of children who had passed through this station during the war for the country-side and strange homes, or for Canada or the United States, some to drown in the cold Atlantic cheerfully singing "Roll Out the Barrel" as they went down and a German submarine commander pleased his masters in Berlin. More bomb damage on the drive to the Dorchester, but the ruin is less conspicuous for it has been neatly cleaned up. A long walk in Hyde Park.

London, August 21-31. The Press. One old newspaper man tried to explain to me how the British people love the crown and the Royal Family and how in every grave moment the people turn to the King and to

Buckingham Palace whether it be to consecrate themselves before him to a great and stern task, or to rejoice with him in a great victory. Lunch with Ambassador Winant and the Congressional group and until mid-afternoon the Ambassador tried to tell us what the British people had been through during the war and how things were then. Winant a remarkable man--able, uniquely eloquent and a man of the spirit. Later he told me of his long work with President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill. He revealed that there was a private telegraph wire installed in his room at the Embassy used exclusively by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill. For a year after it was installed even Secretary Hull did not know about it. Dinner and a walk in Hyde Park with Ben Gehrig in London representing the U.S.A. on the United Nations preparatory council preparing for the first meeting of the UNO in January. We strolled from speaker to speaker, each with his little group of supporters and hecklers. Subject--everything from Communism to the Gold Standard. Yet it was Democracy not Nazism or Fascism which survived the war. Heard from our Commercial Attache at the United States Embassy how slowly British industry and business are reviving. Lunch in the House Of Commons dining room with Sir Howard de Egville, a long time worker for better relations

among all English speaking peoples, and lunch with members of the House, in the small House Gallery (It is really the House of Lords chamber because the House of Commons chamber was completely destroyed by Hitler bombs) heard Prime Minister Attlee and former Foreign Secretary, Mr. Anthony Eden, discuss the San Francisco Conference and the United Nations Organization, which both helped to fashion. It is clear that Britain must and will join the UNO. Tea with First Lord of the Admiralty Alexander, who ran Britain's Navy during the war and worked twenty hours a day to do it, meanwhile catching what sleep he got at the Admiralty and Mr. Herbert Morrison leader of the House of Commons. Alexander is strong, vigorous, and solid, yet they say he plays the piano well and he sings good songs at a party. while he insisted he spoke only his private views, he said he regretted that it had been necessary to use the atomic bomb. He didn't seem so disturbed about the use of the atomic bomb by nations in the future, pointing out that gas had reached such terrible deadliness that no nation had dared to begin its use in this war.

Morrison is smart, quick, said to be the best administrator in the government and a master in politics as well. His one partially closed eye seemed to enhance his clever wit and shrewd philosophy. Sir Howard

presented me, in a House of Commons corridor, to Mr. Winston Churchill.

I told the ex-Prime Minister that he would carry Florida any time and his face brightened into a Churchillian grin. This was the first time I had seen Mr. Churchill in person, as I had missed him upon his public appearance in Washington. Visit with Sir Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Britain's Secretary of the Treasury. He is able, dynamic, but still something of the showman as well as of the university professor he used to be. Again talked about Britain's financial problems and the tasks confronting her economically. Dalton frankly admitted (and strangely enough he was one of the few to do so) that Britain had to have a loan from the United States whether she wanted it or not. Half an hour with Ernest Bevin, Foreign Secretary--a solid, strong, earnest, great man who came up the hard way. He constantly reminds me of our Dan Tobin. Mr. Bevin explained the Labor victory, but admitted he was as much surprised as anyone. He made clear his opinion that Mr. Churchill had helped to lose the elections by his tactics of the denunciation of the Labor Party, his vitriolic campaign speeches, his special train up into Scotland, and his open-car ride over London. I heard from others that Mr. Churchill lost every constituency, at least in London, in which he spoke. The people

seemed to have felt that they had discharged their duty when they cheered him and loved him as a great war leader and then voted against him. And even when Mr. Churchill held up his fingers in the famous -V- sign, a moving symbol of victory in the war, wags were soon saying, "The -V- was for Vic Oliver" Mr. Churchill's estranged son-in-law. Mr. Bevin didn't think Mr. Churchill had changed the tactics he had used in Manchester in 1906. The Foreign Secretary was strong in his conviction that the United States and Britain must work together to save the system of private enterprise in the world. He was aware that Britain had any up hill fight to revive her world trade and to weather the many storms ahead. But somehow you left with a feeling that Ernie Bevin was not afraid of the future and his hands and his heart were strong.

The Colmer Committee and we met with our Assistant Secretary of State, able Will Clayton (A man who has constantly grown more progressive). Had a long talk with him about the future of UNNRA and our policy respecting financial assistance to Great Britain. His duties in London had made him thoroughly aware of both subjects. Russia had wanted very large UNNRA aid. Clayton felt that Russia was better able to take care of herself than other needy nations, and with limited UNNRA funds available and the commitments made previously, the funds for Russia had to be limited.

It was clear that Clayton would agree to \$250,000,000 for White Russia and the Ukraine. Clayton also disclosed that he had felt it his duty to make it clear to the British that the Congress would insist that as a condition of any financial assistance to be extended to the British they should remove Empire preferences and eliminate the Sterling block both of which operate against American Business.

Interview with Prime Minister Attlee, calm, able, pipe-smoking leader of the Labor Party. Well educated, he would have been an eminent lawyer had he not settled by chance in a poverty-stricken district of London and turned social worker. His head is as clear as his conscience. The Prime Minister explained the way the Labor Party is made up. While in the country probably seven and a half million out of the Party's eleven million voters are members of labor unions, yet in the House of Commons not more than one-third of the Party's members belong to labor unions. In the House of Commons the Labor Party is essentially the liberal party of the nation with its leaders lawyers, college professors, journalists, and even some of them small business men. Later heard Mr. Churchill demand to know in the House of Commons whether the Prime Minister and his government had made arrangements to secure the surrender of Hong Kong and

whether they were going to give away British colonies. Level headed Mr. Attlee, in responding, made it equally clear both that his government was not lightly discharging its obligations to the Empire and that he was not a Tory Imperialist. Talked business and economics with British business men at Sir John MacTaggart's. Dinner with distinguished American, Herbert Agar, who has been ably serving Ambassador Winant in London and his gracious English wife, and with much talk about the shape of things to come. Back to the House of Commons and heard Prime Minister Attlee announce the termination of Lend-Lease by President Truman.

The British were really shocked by the sudden ending of Lend-Lease by us without consultation with their government. Reason: Before we came into the war, the British, in order to get money with which to buy war material from us, kept up a brisk war trade. But this policy made the hard-pressed country devote many facilities which it needed for war production to ordinary commerce. When we made Lend-Lease funds available for purchase of war materials in the United States, Britain let her world trade drop off almost to nothing and devoted nearly the whole of her productive facilities to the war effort. Lend-Lease therefore was the prop, indeed the foundation, of the British economy. When this support was suddenly pulled out, regardless of our right to do it, the British living

level sank, and food and clothes became suddenly scarcer months after the German war was over, and even after the end of the Jap war, than they had been in the worst days of the war.

Moreover, ten thousand British industrial plants had been destroyed during the war. Industries formerly efficiently centralized, had been scattered all over the United Kingdom, to avoid the bombs. So the British plants were not in working order yet. Furthermore, Britain was a processor of raw materials and a producer of finished goods for most parts of the world. But without money they would take, she could not buy the raw materials from abroad needed to make her finished goods. The machines she had ready to process the peace-time volume of raw materials from the United States couldn't move because she had not been able to get dollars from the United States either by the sale of goods or by a loan.

I tried to write an article for the North American Newspaper Alliance which would express the point of view of both of our countries on this subject, and the article received prominent play in the London Daily Telegraph.

Again saw two masters of the House of Commons perform when leader Herbert Morrison spoke in behalf of the government's proposal for a

select Committee to study improvement in House procedure, and Mr. Churchill spoke in opposition. Mr. Churchill again revealed the bulldog tenacity for the past which made him such a great war leader. The ex-Prime Minister's notes at which he glanced from time to time, were on thin cardboard paper, about four by six inches in size. The master orator speaks faster in the House of Commons than on the radio, and he uses both hands in frequent gestures. His stammer or lisp, is an intriguing part of his eloquence.

Learned from British over-seas trade representative how the government aided British foreign trade by extending to exporters insurance substantially protecting them to the extent of about eighty-five per cent of their sales. This is a plan we are considering as an aid to the export trade of small business in the United States. To a reception and a long talk with Lord Strabolgi about Palestine. It was his thought that Palestine should eventually become a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. I asked, "Why not an independent republic?"

Lord Astor, a fine man and gentleman, had me to dinner with Mr. Cobbold, young and active deputy governor of the Bank of England, and Mr. Brand, brother-in-law of Lord Astor and Chief of the British Supply Mission in Washington. We discussed, in the most frank way, the British

and American points of view about the proposed British loan in Washington in the negotiation of which Mr. Brand and, no doubt, the Bank of England in the background were to have a part. I tried to emphasize the sentiment I believed to exist in Washington that the British loan, like all other financial aid to be extended to other countries by the United States, would have to be tied in to a program designed to liberalize and to extend world trade. Lunch again in the House of Commons and a talk with Under-secretary of State, Hector McNeil, about the Palestine problem. I suggested that Russia should be brought in on the decisions which should eventually be made about that troubled area and troubling question.

A pleasant hour's drive through the beautiful English countryside, with Ambassador Winant, to the 1671 built home of Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Eden, for lunch. The Edens lost their oldest son in the RAF in the Far East just about the time Mr. Eden's Party lost the British election and Mr. Eden lost his job as Foreign Secretary. As we talked about British-American relations and the peace of the world, there was a touching understanding exhibited between these two men who had done so much to make the great British-American team in the war. The Edens, like many other members of the British House of Commons, do not live in the con-

stituency which they represent. This fact, however, is never emphasized by the Edens. And Mr. Eden, popular with his constituency, received from his people a vote far in excess of that Mr. Churchill received in his constituency.

Sunday service at Westminster Abbey. I paused as I walked through this historic edifice, at a plaque on the wall indicating the place where Major Andre, shot by the American Army under General Washington as a British spy for negotiating with General Benedict Arnold for the surrender of West Point in the Revolutionary War is buried.

A Sunday lunch with a British Intelligence officer whom I had known in Washington, in a small house with his one old servant quietly tucked away in a village. An author, a traveller, a soldier home from the wars, just waiting, like so many more, to find himself again in his gentle house and his quiet garden. The luncheon which my assistant, he, and I had, consumed his week's meat ration. A visit in the bright afternoon sun to Eton school where Wellington like so many more before and after him, set something which they carried to the great battle fields of the world for England and for something more than England. German bombs had wrecked the oldest wing of the building containing class rooms where

for centuries British boys had recited, and the stairway where many of the most famous names in British history had been carved by little boys in long trousers wearing Eton collars and top hats. Our host took me solemnly to the gaping ruin of an old house where an old teacher had taught music. Yet Eton and England go on and Hitler is dead, Goering, the head of the Luftwaffe which wrought those ruins, on trial for his life, and Germany debris.

To the apartment of Dr. Russell Reynolds and saw motion picture X-Rays perfected by Dr. Reynolds showing moving X-Rays of the joints, the spine, the heart, the lungs, and the stomach. Visited by Miss Kathleen Pepper of north London, who said her family, like mine on the paternal side, is of Irish origin, and that I have the Pepper eyes. Mr. Aneurin Bevan, Minister of Public Health and in charge of the national housing program, and Mr. Noel-Baker, Under-secretary in the Foreign Office, came and had dinner in our room with my assistant and me, and they convinced me that contrary to any reports that I had previously heard, the coming into power of the Labor government would really mean something different to Britain. Bevan, Welsh, came up the hard way, got his education through a Labor union program. Compact and strong, mentally and physically alert, very aggressive, the bane of Winston Churchill as Prime Minister, and

singularly eloquent in his Welsh way, he is a man who, if he continues to grow in the right direction, may be Prime Minister some day. Knowing I was going to Russia, Bevan said, "Tell Stalin to open up the country to the press." Bevan also made it clear that the government was going to build homes and would exercise whatever power was necessary to do that. Noel-Baker, intellectual, idealist, sensitive, long a stalwart of the League of Nations, will be a powerful support for the United Nations and as far as British interest and public opinion would allow, for a more liberal British foreign policy.

A long talk with England's once best , aid lawyer, now Socialist President of British Board of Trade, Sir Stafford Cripps, whom I had once before me in Washington. He is tall and thin, the intellectual. His job, ably done, during the war was organization of Britain's war production. One of his great accomplishments was the mobilization of the small business enterprises of Great Britain as well as the effective decentralization of British industry to keep it out of the way of the bombs. He told me that his smallest factory was one man. Sir Stafford emphasized Britain's inability to get going again economically. She had to get her factories together again into efficient plants, repair and organize machinery

and techniques, to get raw materials from many parts of the world, and to get labor back home and into peace time production. Yet, he said, Britain was going to do it and the government was going to make business do it when business did not do it voluntarily. He made it clear that under Britain's socialist government whatever needed to be done to give Britain an efficient, effectively functioning economic machine was going to be done. Hearing him you believed him. We were pleased that Sir Stafford was already familiar with the reports of our sub-committee on foreign trade for small business published in Washington.

To the Bank of England and a walk through its spacious rooms and strong vaults. In the Board Room of the bank your attention is called not to a clock high on the wall in one end of the room, but to a weather vane which in the old days of sailing ships told the directors of the bank, whether they should hurry away from their banking duties back to their docks to receive their ships as they came from the far corners of the world. Interesting talk with Governor Gato and Deputy Governor Cobbold about the nature and character of the bank and its long time, typically British working with the government, always taking as its last word the direction of the government, even before nationalization. The nationalization program of the government will for all practical purposes

simply legalize existing practical relationships between the bank and the government. Lunch with Sir Howard d'Egeville, Mr. Griffis, head of the national insurance fund, the under-secretary of State for India. The national insurance fund head told me of the comprehensive security program including provision for complete medical and hospital coverage for all the people essentially in line with the Beveridge Report to be put through parliament soon. The British are convinced that the only way adequate health care and protection against the disabilities of illness, unemployment, old age, and the like can be assured to the people is through a national compulsory insurance plan, and I agree. There was a distinctly hopeful note in what the Under-secretary for India said about the future of India. I ventured to emphasize that if we Americans would readily help Britain and other nations to get back on their feet economically because we knew that in the long run their recovery would give us good customers and help us too, we must all be willing to recognize the application of the same principle to backward industrial areas like India, and he agreed.

Dinner with the Herbert Agars, at which were present Ambassador Winant, author Nicholson, and much talk about our world now and to come. My en-

agement set to see Mr. Winston Churchill. To the airport for a flight over the Normandy beaches where we landed on D-day, but the weather was so bad we had to cancel flight. Sightseeing--Inns of Court, and other British institutions as unique as Britain's unwritten Constitution, where without any statutory authority a society of lawyers, or rather societies of lawyers--there are four Inns of Court--Middle Temple, Inner Temple, Grays' Inn, and Lincoln's Inn--determine who is admitted to the Bar and govern the practice of the law in England. The Scotch, of course, have their own system of law modelled more after the civil law of the Continent. England's most famous and highest paid barristers (Under the English system the solicitor prepares your case, the barrister only can present it to the court) have their offices in little rooms in old buildings which you reach often through semi-dark corridors at the end of narrow and little lighted stairways. Many of the historic Inns, almost all I should have said, had severe bomb damage not only to their buildings but to their books. But they, like England, will go on.

Westminster Abbey again, the Henry VII Chapel, and the burial places of England's famous dead.

At 5:30 p.m. to Westminster Garden to see Mr. Winston Churchill. Mr. Churchill had some visitors with him which gave me about ten minutes with his personal secretary and a chance to talk about the former Prime Minister's heavy mail, his struggle to answer it, his ability to look over his unopened mail, and generally tell from the envelopes which he wished to see personally, how he prepared his speeches, etc. I asked what was the significance of some two dozen canvasses leaning against

the wall. The secretary said, Mr. Churchill was about to go on a vacation and these canvasses would go with him for his painting. I asked if that was not a considerable number to be carrying. She said he would use that number up very quickly. Soon Mr. Churchill burst into the room and apologized for his tardiness. He led me to the small living room of the apartment--they call it flat--of the Churchill's daughter and son-in-law, Duncan Sandys, for they were not spared the house-hunting problems of many other people when the election took them out of Downing Street rather unexpectedly. The great war leader wore a grey suit with light stripe and a black bow tie. He is remarkably youthful for his seventy-one years. His face is round, ^{his} eyes a brilliant blue, his hair thin, especially on top, but to my surprise, rather red. Though rotund, Mr. Churchill is not as stout as I thought he was. My host first asked me to have a Scotch and Soda and to help myself. I did and Mr. Churchill had one, of course smoking his especially made in Cuba cigar. The conversation began with Mr. Churchill complimenting my article on Lend-Lease which I had written ~~from~~ for the North American Newspaper Alliance and which had appeared prominently that morning in the London Daily Telegraph. Then he launched to a dis-

discussion of Lend-Lease, what it had meant to Great Britain and how, of necessity, ^{its} this economy had been built around and fitted into Lend-Lease, emphasizing that the sudden removal of Lend-Lease by the United States was like pulling out roughly the foundation from under a house before you get a chance to stabilize it otherwise. Told the fact that I expected to see Generalissimo Stalin when I should reach Moscow, I ventured to ask, if the former Prime Minister thought that Generalissimo Stalin was as many believed, absolute ruler of the Soviet Union without having to share his responsibility with anyone. Quickly Mr. Churchill replied, "No man can be the absolute ruler of 200 million people." He then mentioned how at various national conferences Generalissimo Stalin would from one meeting to another indicate a change of view, due undoubtedly to the counsel and advice of his colleagues and aides during the interim. Mr. Churchill emphasized, however, that Generalissimo Stalin was a most pleasant and humane man, possessing as well a keen sense of humor. One one occasion at Teheran at a dinner when many toasts were being proposed, Churchill said he humerously proposed a toast "To the great proletariat." No sooner had this toast been drunk than Stalin immediately arose, pointed his glass at Churchill

and said, "I propose a toast to the Carlton Club of London."

In view of what many had said, that the Russians had come into the war against the Japanese only because we had dropped the atomic bomb, I asked Britain's war leader whether he thought that was so. "No", replied Mr. Churchill, "On the contrary I stated in the House of Commons that Stalin had promised that Russia would come into the war against Japan within three months after the end of the German war and he did exactly that, ^{coming in} in fact on the last day of the third month."

In the course of our conversation on President Roosevelt, I asked whether the President had exhibited at Yalta any physical failure.

The President's devoted friend, who, according to Ambassador Winant, had left the memorial service in ^{St Paul's?} Westminster Abbey tears streaming down his cheeks, replied solemnly that he had noticed at Yalta a far away look on the President's face which to him seemed to have a religious significance. Mr. Churchill emphasized that the President was in full possession of his remarkable mental powers at Yalta but he did notice that the burden of it all seemed to be pressing down on the President. Mr. Churchill could not fail to notice this serious, if not solemn, demeanour of the President in these last days as compared with

his incessant good humor and constant joking at Newfoundland when the Atlantic Charter was drafted and in their many subsequent meetings.

Again falling into a humorous vein, the now leader of His Majesty's loyal opposition, turning again to the subject of Russia, talked about the Russian custom of drinking many toasts at a dinner. He said, however, the glasses were usually very small glasses. Then he added with a twinkle in his live eyes, "I found, however, that I was quite able to keep up in this matter, but it is generally known that I am not without practice in such matters." I told him that I understood that that was one of his many virtues. He laughingly replied, "One of my many virtues, eh?" In the course of the talk Mr. Churchill asked me whether I thought it was or was not to his best interest that he had lost the election in Britain. I told him, with equal frankness, that, if, upon the termination of Lend-Lease it was going to be necessary for the British government to reduce the food and clothing and ration of the British people both after the end of the German war and sometime past the end of the Japanese war, the people would accept with less suspicion and no doubt less criticism such a policy from the Labor government than from his [?]preeminently Tory government. After Mr. Churchill

had given me some justification for venturing to speak earnestly and candidly with him, I asked if he were going to write pointing out how hopeful the world in general was that he would. He said flatly, no. Then the great warrior which is within him rose up and said he was going to continue as leader of the opposition in the House of Commons and to have a part in what would be going on. Perhaps I should not have done so, but I frankly indicated to Mr. Churchill that I truly hoped and thought I spoke for millions who like me were his devoted admirers, that he would not do so. I pointed out while, of course, his criticism of the Labor government and his constant scrutiny of the government's acts and policies would be helpful, nevertheless that the Labor government was firmly entrenched in power, that it represented the clearly dominant attitude of the country, and that whatever he might do, he could very little divert and less impede the course of that government in the immediate future, and I regretted to see him waste his great strength against an irresistible force. I went further and dared to say that not only his country, but the world felt a sense of possession of him, his great faculties, and his great voice. And that it was entirely possible that out of the chaos and the confusion of the

post war days there might develop again a crisis so dangerous and so acute that the world would turn again to his indomitable spirit and to his moving voice for leadership. For that contingency I hoped he would save himself. Mr. Churchill shook his head and said at once, "I shall never hold office again." I saw I had made no impression by my counsel of peace to the tempestuous spirit of this born warrior.

Gracious, beautifully grey, Mrs. Churchill came in to remind her husband that it was time to go to the theater, and he had to change his clothes. I got a chance to tell Mrs. Churchill that I was reading her interesting account of her own visit to Russia given me by Ambassador Winant. I told Mr. Churchill again that we would always love him in Florida, and taking a last comprehensive look at this little man who will tower with the largest of history I bade him goodbye. Nearly an hour had meanwhile slipped away before the ardor and the eloquence of Winston Churchill.

Paris, August 31--September 7. Staying at the Hotel Raphael where Goering used to stay during the German occupation, now run by the U.S. Army. To the Embassy and a talk with able Ambassador Jefferson Caffrey.

A round table discussion with the principal staff members of the Embassy on general economic and political conditions in France, a custom and course I followed in every capital I visited.

I usually made it my first order of business to request our highest diplomatic official, Ambassador, Minister, or whoever he might be, to convene such a staff meeting. Usually military and naval representatives would be included. To this group, individually, I would address three inquiries.

1--"In your individual opinion and from your knowledge, what is the condition of this country, economically and politically?"

2--"What is your opinion of the policy of the United States, economically and politically speaking with respect to this country?"

3--"What comment, out of your knowledge and experience, will you make to me, candidly and confidentially, about what our policy generally should be in the sphere of international affairs?"

Our representatives made clear to us that we must understand that France has suffered far more grievously in this war than from World War I. In World War I fighting in France was confined largely to eastern and northern France. This time combat was nearly all over the country. This time nearly all of France's great ports were destroyed.

Last time they were hardly hurt at all. In World War II France's transportation was almost completely wrecked by bombing and the removal of French rolling stock by the occupying Germans. Even now, therefore, many grave shortages of food and other commodities are due to the inability of France's transportation system to move them from where they are to where they are needed. France's industrial plant, not too modern at the beginning of the war, is not only broken down for lack of repair, but obsolete after five years of unbroken German occupation and exploitation. The Germans exacted from the French reparations payments, which for the length of time covered, exceeded any reparations paid for the same period by the Germans after the last war notwithstanding all of Hitler's ranting about the harshness of the Versailles Treaty. (It was later brought out at the Nuremberg trials that the Nazis had their own Reichbank make a survey of what France could pay in reparations. The Reichbank finally recommended that France pay 25,000,000,000 francs a year. Then the Nazis made France pay 50,000,000,000 francs annually--a sum in excess of the total French national income for the year.) Hence violent French inflation from which the French economy and people are still suffering.

The French government has just announced the policy of a grant of dollars per month to American GI's because of high cost in France of things bought by GIs paid off in francs not dollars. The black market flourishes everywhere and you can get anything if you have enough money. Don't see how the masses of the people live and their political instability as well as economic. General Charles deGaulle, able general, France's great leader and symbol of resistance, but inexperienced and inept at government and politics, heads the French provisional government, advised by a council composed of representatives of the principal political parties. No elections having been held, of course neither the General nor his council has been elected by the people. General deGaulle proposes a plan for holding the election and stirs up a tempest by refusing to give an audience to representatives of the political parties and the labor unions who come to protest to him that his plan does not give fair representation to the people. Conferences with the heads of the principal political parties. Found especially fascinating brilliant, gentle Leon Blum, former Premier and now head of the Socialist Party, one of France's strongest. With us, at the interview, sat lovely and

intelligent Mrs. Blum who had sought and gained permission of the SS to marry her husband while he was a German prisoner during the war and for years to share his imprisonment with him. My interpreter was able Douglas MacArthur jr., councillor of Embassy nephew of General MacArthur and son-in-law of Senator Alben Barkley, the ablest interpreter I met in my whole journey. He so perfectly interpreted not only the words but the spirit of the conversation that even in contact with a sparkling mind like that of Leon Blum there was hardly a noticeable interruption in the current. Among many other things, Mr. Blum repeated his oft-made charge that the Communists took their line from Moscow. (I was later to mention this to Stalin.)

The Socialists are liberal but not as far to the Left as the Communists.

Bidault, brilliant resistance leader during the war and now foreign minister, still in his thirties with Bluman share the leadership of the new party called M. R. P., the Catholic Liberal Party of the country. Instead of being anti-clerical as Frances' Liberal Parties are traditionally, it favors government aid to parochial schools. Newly formed, M. R. P. already has great strength and is rapidly growing. Foreign Minister Bidault made it clear to me

That France was the key to the stability and the strength of western Europe. Edward Herriot, long-time Mayor of Lyons ablest leader of the Radical Socialist Party, the Party in power when France went into the war in 1939, was not in Paris but I saw M. Bastide another leader. In his lovely apartment adorned by a bust of Anatole France and excellent paintings, this able lawyer and former teacher at Lyons, told me he thought that there was some chance that the liberal parties of France might get together into an effective government. With characteristic French wit and realism, M. Bastide, said "In France the Socialists think they will be supported by the Labor government of Great Britain. The Communists believe they will be backed up by Moscow. We Radical Socialists rely upon the United States. We may all be wrong." Contrary to what its name would imply, the Radical Socialist is one of the more conservative Parties of France. Interesting talk with Cashin, dean of the Communist Party and editor of the Communistic paper Humanity, in his office, both spacious and elegant. (They have a saying in France that nothing is too good for the Communists.) When I asked the question of Cashin as to whether the French Communist Party stood for all the things for which the Communist Party in Soviet Russia stood, he made it clear that it did not. It is

evident that the French Communists are following a flexible policy, adapting their doctrine so as to make an appeal to the moderately liberal in all walks of life including agriculture in France. Later a long talk with Duclos? one of the top men of the Communist Party. One gets a distinct impression that the Communists will not long get along with General deGaulle and they do not love Leon Blum. The Communists seem to have a full treasury, a large part of which comes from contributions or confiscations during the war, and the Party has gained many adherents from its great part, admitted by all, in the resistance movement during the war. I heard many times of instances of where a citizen, being given an argument against the Communists, would reply with an example of how the Communists during the war had rescued him or someone dear to him from German death or enslavement. Moreover, the Party is clearly well organized, industrious, and clever. These leaders, too, believe it possible for the liberal parties to work together for the restoration of France. One who sees the French political situation in perspective, is impressed that even to some greater degree than in England where the Labor government is in power admittedly Socialistic, the overwhelming sentiment in France

is decidedly liberal. (Of an eminent member of the U.S. government in Washington right after the British election bringing in the Labor Party, I asked the question how it was that while apparently political opinion in the major nations abroad was steadily growing more liberal, political sentiment in the United States appeared to be growing more conservative. This gentleman who once broke with Roosevelt, said, "Political sentiment in the United States is liberal too. What you see to the contrary is merely superficial." I wonder.)

Random Diary notes: Sightseeing accompanied by M. Coquet, brilliant writer of Figaro. Paris strikes one as an old and beautiful city, but much run down, even shabby in places. A note of dejection I feel in the people. Critics say the French will not work. Yet I see them hurrying past the hotel in the early morning to their jobs. I wonder how many have had a proper diet. Night clubs and shows seem to be filled. Long talk with Justice Robert H. Jackson, our able prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials passing through on a quick trip to the United States. Justice Jackson extends me a warm invitation as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate to attend the Nuremberg trials soon to begin. Pleasant lunch with Mr. McChesney, principal

advisor of our Embassy and representatives of the Commerce section of the French government, and talked about future trade between the United States and France, how French currency could be stabilized, how France could get dollars with which to buy machinery and raw material from us. Mr. Winston Churchill emphasized to me in London that France had more gold and dollar exchange than Britain, and yet like the British, if the French are going to get their economy to functioning again any time soon, they are going to have to have help from us. A sound loan is neither extravagance nor charity but a good investment. Any good business house will help a hard pressed customer over a crisis, if he is fundamentally sound, in order to get his future business. Champagne in the lovely garden of Madame Schiaparelli and afterwards dinner in a little restaurant with Madame Schiaparelli and Dutch Berensen, brother of Florida friend Dick, and talked about Paris, dress-making, future styles and perfumes. Madame Schiaparelli explained why she thought Paris would continue to be the style capitol of the world for women. Drove to Montmartre and walked about in crowd of GIs and local people to see what they were saying and doing. Drove some GIs to where they were staying, some of whom were lost. To Notre Dame Cathedral for

Sunday morning services with Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas passing through Paris with a House delegation. Afterward we drove to Versailles and walked over the beautiful grounds and through the ancient elegance of the palace pausing in the Hall of Mirrors where the Treaty, World War I, was signed. To the beautiful racing club of Paris, open to Americans, and a good swim. I must say that the bathing suits of some of the French ladies are about the meagrest I have ever seen.

Pleasant reception and many interesting people, French and American, at the Douglas MacArthur's. Dinner atop the Eiffel Tower and a thrilling view of Paris. Dinner at our Embassy and more interesting talk with Leon Blum. Urged him and his wife to visit Florida.

To see the tomb of Napoleon to which Hitler rushed when in triumph he came to Paris. Here Napoleon lies with all that is mortal of him, in coffin after coffin added from time to time until there are now seven. - "The Paths of glory lead but to the grave." To Maison Lafitte, twenty miles outside of Paris, and lunch with and a talk to some 300 GIs about conditions in the United States. Their many questions revealed the depth and the variety of their interest in what is going on at home. Interesting talk with one of the boys, a son of

Senator Harry S. Byrd of Virginia. A drive in the lovely Bois de Boulogne to which Thomas Jefferson liked to come when he was our Ambassador in Paris. Had some Florida GIs to dinner. Among many who came to see me in my hotel was a doctor who was anxious to return home himself but who didn't wish to return if it would mean that his young son just being taken into the army would have to come over as a soldier, for he did not believe that such boys should be sent over-seas as a part of occupying forces. Moving talk of an hour and a half with Miss Carmalt of New York and Paris, who stayed here through the war and was three times imprisoned by the Germans. She told almost unbelievable stories of German cruelties and especially of the perverted character of the younger Germans, distorted and twisted by the teachings of Nazism--for example of the Germans putting a blow-torch to the abdomen of a pregnant woman, or burning off the nipples of a woman's breasts, or burning off her nose with cigarette butts, in one case doing all this to a lady while her mother in a cell just above had to listen to the anguish of her daughter's cries. Miss Carmalt explained, for example, how this bestial character had been put into Hitler youth by the Hitler training program. Little boys, for example, would first be

taught cruelty for the Fuehrer by being made to kill their dearest
pets. Dinner with able Brigadier General Paul W. Tuck head of the
information and education program, European theater, a Brigadier
General at 38 who was wounded on the Normandy beaches on D-Day. Lunch
with a number of GIs at their mess and a talk with them in their bar.
They unburdened themselves about Paris (where one American a week
either is killed or commits suicide, they say), about pampering German
prisoners of war, about going home, etc. They hate the Germans and
don't like the French. They want a hard peace for Germany. To a
dance, "France Welcome," something like our USO Clubs where girls of
approved character dance with service men. The hospitable people in
charge of this service club get together for me to see and talk to,
some typical French girls: one, rather large, dark brown hair, from
Lorraine; one, small, dark skinned and with dark hair, from Normandy;
and one vivacious peroxide blonde from Paris. Another early morning
drive through the Bois de Boulogne and many little blue racing cars
running in some race and many people out before nine a.m. An after-
noon in the Louvre and at the Sorbonne. The Louvre masterpieces of
art and sculpture are just being brought out again from their many

places of hiding from the Germans and their especially organized art looting agencies. To Orly Field and spoke to about 500 GIs and tried to answer their many questions. Long conference with our labor representative in the Embassy and later dinner in my room with him and the principal labor men of France about the position of labor and the ordinary working man and woman in France.

One can not fail to have some sympathy for France and the French people. With all her grandeur and greatness of the past, in the years before World War II due in large measure to the effects of the Napoleonic wars and of World War I, ^{France} had fallen into the role and status of a static nation. Her population was less than forty million and her birth rate constantly declining. Her economy was not expanding and was doing well to hold its own. The country was torn by economical and political conflict and the nation lived under the fear of another German assault. Neither physically nor mentally able to keep up with a dynamic Germany and unable to get the British and us, her allies in World War I, to guarantee her security against another German attack, or to agree to the dismemberment of Germany, France, like the Chinese of long ago, and with equal futility, tried to secure herself the only

way she could, behind a wall--this time the Maginot Line. Now that the Maginot Line, too, has failed, what is France to do in the future? The Potsdam agreement provides that Germany shall be considered and dealt with by the four occupying powers--Great Britain, Russia, the United States, and France--as a single economic unit. The French say that in the first place they were not at Potsdam, and are not bound by that agreement. In the second place, France contends that the first duty by the Potsdam agreement of the occupying powers, is to see to it that Germany is no longer capable of waging war against another nation, and until that objective is carried out, consideration of Germany's economic well-being will have to wait. France, therefore, declines to give her consent to measures dealing with Germany as a single economic unit and for all practical purposes the work of the four powers at Potsdam is at a standstill. What France really has in mind, and in my opinion not without much justification, is something which goes far deeper, and of that more later. It is clear that France is not economically of comparable strength to Russia, Britain, or the United States, and that she can not exert in world affairs the power which either of those stronger nations can assert. France for her economic and spiritual

restoration needs all her resources and she really can not afford to keep herself impoverished in an effort to build another great army, navy, and air force. General deGaulle, mistakenly I venture to say, seems to think that the military prestige of France is more important than her economic respiration and many think that his government is spending in the creation of a great army, the money and the men sorely needed to start again the wheels of French industry and to give jobs and a higher standard of living to the French people. It is probable that French policy of the future will follow two lines:

1. Not to attach herself too directly to either but to try to keep herself on good terms with both the east and the west, and,
2. To try to keep the United Nations Organization as a permanent and strong agency to prevent aggression, and especially aggression against France.

Such policies would lead France to have only modest and moderate, although efficient and up-to-date armed forces, and would leave available her full strength for her recovery and the perpetuation of French culture which has meant so much to the world. (It is doubtful if General deGaulle will ever be able to embrace such a policy. Those, therefore, who love France, will watch

with more than interest France's characteristically realistic re-orientation of herself into a new great place in civilization.

Germany. September 7-11. Left Paris about 10 a.m. in small plane and flew over the bombed cities of the Rhineland and the Ruhr. Cologne, Essen, Dusseldorf, all are nothing but debris. We circled low over Cologne and I could not see a single building except the Cathedral which was only slightly injured, which was habitable. Only once, I believe, over what was once that great industrial area, did I see smoke coming out of an industrial smokestack. At Hamburg all the docks in the harbor were destroyed except that of the United States Lines. In a four hour raid the RAF is said to have killed two or three hundred thousand and made nearly half a million homeless in Hamburg. A part of the city is called the dead city where not a single house stands and the population lives wholly in cellars. Although the workmen at the docks I thought looked shabby, I was surprised to see the rather good appearance of the people on the streets of Hamburg. Life does go on.

To Frankfurt and stayed at the beautiful victory guest house now operated by the U.S. Army. The Nazis murdered the Jewish owner and

took the lovely house and grounds soon after completion. Learned that some returning German soldiers nearby had stripped and driven down the streets German girls whom they had found fraternizing with U.S. soldiers.

An hour with General Eisenhower in his trophy-filled office in the great I.G. Farben building, U.S. Headquarters. I had only seen General Eisenhower when he addressed the joint session of the Congress. In private conversation he struck me as very able, keenly alert, forthright, thoroughly democratic and most engaging. The General speaks easily and eloquently. He told me that he seldom uses notes in making a speech and always dislikes to use them. Not only did General Eisenhower exhibit great genius in the way he molded and maintained the most effective unity in the fighting forces under his command and in his military leadership, but he was undoubtedly our greatest symbol and interpreter of American democracy abroad. I told him that Mr. Winston Churchill had described him to me as the most selfless man he had ever known.

The General made no comment. General Eisenhower talked at length about the Russians, his experiences with them and our steadily improving relations with them. The General emphasized that the attitude of the

Russians toward a man or a nation depends to a considerable extent upon whether they have confidence in that man or nation. And such confidence must be built upon experience generally. He mentioned the matter of his having had some difficulty in getting access for American officers into Russian occupied zones. Generally a high Russian General in a frank discussion of the matter said to General Eisenhower, "You must remember that ours is a revolutionary government. For a long time at home and abroad we were surrounded by enemies and our people naturally grew suspicious. If a group of American officers were suddenly to appear in a Russian zone without any previous notice being given it is possible that they might encounter violence. But if you will give me eight hours notice so that I can inform our people to expect your officers wherever they wish to go, you may visit wherever you will." I was later to learn of how, at international conferences, Marshall Zukhov when doubtful about a military suggestion, would instinctively turn to General Eisenhower and if Eisenhower gave him the nod, or an approving wink, it was all right with Zukhov because Zukhov trusted General Ike. The General said the only trouble his occupation forces were having with the Germans was with German boys between fourteen and twenty-one-- Hitler youth. Twelve or fourteen of such boys had recently assaulted

six or eight American soldiers but our boys came out all right. With pride, but with engaging modesty, the General showed us his many gifts from grateful nations and people. At my suggestion he promised to get all doctors not needed with the occupying forces, home at once, and in his characteristically, energetic, and prompt way, ~~though~~ he had no sooner made the promise than he picked up the telephone and started things to moving. The next hour with General Bedell Smith, General Eisenhower's great Chief-of-Staff during the war. General Smith told me the whole story of the war in Africa and in Europe, how it was planned, organized, and executed. As he told the great story he revealed, as only he could have told the story, the big decisions made by General Eisenhower time and again. General Smith emphasized the great contribution the late General George S. Patton had made to our victory. One decision of General Eisenhower, as General Smith described it, I shall never forget. That was the decision as to when to launch the D-Day invasion into Normandy. For the invasion to succeed it had to strike the coast of France shortly before dawn when the moon was darkest and the tide highest so the oncoming ships could get over the obstructions the Germans had embedded in the beaches. The necessary conditions did not exist but for a very short time--one each month. So

if an attack set for this period did not go for any reason, it would have to be delayed for a month. The invasion date had been set after consultation of course with every sort of weather information for June fifth, and countless ships had been loaded all around the southern coast of England with their precious cargoes of men and equipment, ready for the attack. But as the time for the jump-off approached the weather became foul. General Eisenhower, in his headquarters in an English village, after prolonged consultation with his staff, decided to postpone the assault for twelve hours. Meanwhile ships and men stood poised for the leap like runners crouched on the line, ready for the starter's pistol. Yet bad weather would not only grievously interfere with the landing, but might make impossible the mooring and the maintenance of the great artificial docks which the British and we counted upon using to get our supplies in. The Germans were holding the ports in the belief that an army large enough to break into France and to maintain itself could not be supplied except through one great port on the French coast. We were gambling everything on proving the Germans wrong by landing and supplying necessary forces from these special artificial docks and by landing equipment and supplies from amphibious craft upon the sands of the beaches themselves. A storm would make

both impossible. If things went wrong there would be not only the set-back to the war and the incalculable encouragement to the Germans, but immeasurable slaughter of the men in the attacking forces. The meteorologists told General Eisenhower in this tense moment that a month later about the fifth and sixth of July there would be several days of good weather following the time when the moon and the tides would be favorable for the invasion. Yet the invasion had already been delayed twelve hours, the men tense on their ships were obviously showing the strain of the wait and the uncertainty. Everything was ready when General Eisenhower said go. One could not be sure what conditions would be either in the war or in the weather a month hence. The world and our allies particularly, were waiting for this invasion so long and so carefully planned. Only General Eisenhower could give the order. In this solemn moment, when not a member of his staff cared to take the responsibility of urging a decision, General Smith said General Eisenhower was the loneliest man in the world. His own fate as the war leader, the lives of hundreds of thousands of men, and maybe the issue of the war itself hung on his decision. General Eisenhower gave the word go. Then as the men around him hurried to their appointed tasks, General Eisenhower lay down to take a nap and

no doubt to pray. As it turned out, the days in July which the meteorologists said would be good weather, had one of the worst storms of recent times, and in spite of some bad weather in the early days of the invasion, that period was on the whole the best weather at the necessary moon and tide time, which occurred in months. Another Christian soldier had been rightly inspired.

Learned that our military authorities, with the approval of President Roosevelt, were prepared to make an assault upon the French coast in 1942 if that became absolutely necessary to keep the Russians from collapsing before overwhelming Nazi strength. Also got it from reliable sources that the British never were really enthusiastic about an attack across the Channel and the first chosen Commander-in-Chief of Allied Western European forces, a British General, did little to advance preparation for such an assault. Great credit, however, must go to the British and especially to General Morgan of the British staff, for the actual plans of the invasion which did occur on D-Day.

Flew to Berlin in General Bedell Smith's plane.

Berlin, September 8 continued. Dinner with our Ambassador Murphy, political adviser to General Eisenhower and to his deputy, General Clay. Stayed late after other guests had left and talked to the Ambassador

who had been in on the political arrangements preceding the invasion of North Africa and had remained with General Eisenhower since. A big, slow-moving, but astute counsellor.

My birthday--45 now.

Another "Berlin Diary." At 9:30 met another group of Florida boys in famous 82nd Airborne Division, photographs and pleasant talks. Most had Purple Hearts. Grand boys. 10:30 conference with General Harper heading Air Forces here and Colonel S.P. Robineau? from Florida. At 11:30 talk with General Luther Smith and his Staff handling division of civil administration and talked about the economy of and political conditions in Germany. 12:30 lunch with General Lucius Clay, Deputy Commander U.S. group Allied Patrol Commission and the Colmer Committee. Later an hour with General Clag at his office and went over our whole occupation policy in Germany. Talked with General Hester and Colonel Kimmel who, under General Eisenhower and General Clay his deputy, head the division of our staff dealing with the agricultural situation in Germany. They say thousands will starve unless we get wheat to Germany this winter. To buy wheat must be made available ~~some~~ to the American ~~zone~~ zone some of the funds derived from the export of coal from the British zone. If carried out, this all provided for in recent Potsdam

agreement. General Clay's view is that all Allied powers will, before long, give up military zones and let civil authority run Germany with token military forces only for enforcing its decisions. Germans to be kept to living standards of 1932 for them or to the level of Europe and allowed no heavy industry with which to make war. Visited house where Florida officers live. Rather surprised to see German woman whose husband lost his life in the Battle of the Bulge serving our occupying American officers apparently so agreeably. Understand much fraternization between U. S. Army men and German women and girls. General Clay has good understanding of democracy and his great task here, difficult as it is. Met young Florida officer who has supervisory charge over German ,thatrical and cultural activities. Tells me that several theaters have opened again in Berlin, the Berlin Opera has reopened and there is a Philharmonic orchestra and several publishing houses are seeking permits.

September 10. Breakfast officers' mess. Guard of honor for the Congressmen and me at 9:30 furnished by the 82nd Airborne Division. Found Captain of the Guard was a magnificent man from Florida. Sent birthday greetings to my wife in Washington. Drove over this ruined city. Mile

after mile of wreckage and ruin in the old Berlin area, in the heart of the city, there is not a building not destroyed. The Tiergarten, looking like a cyclone had gone through it. Ruins everywhere. The Brandenburg Gate was still standing, however, at the entrance to Unter der Linden and so was the Victory Column commemorating the German victory in the Franco-Prussian War but atop it now is the French Flag. Long time in the Reich's Chancellory, Hitler's official residence. Some of the floors and the great halls were intact. The building is a shambles with gaping holes, crumble roofs, and wreckage and debris everywhere. Hitler's famous private office is littered and covered with wreckage and only his war map table and a few chairs remain of the room's furnishings. What was once his private latrine next to his own office, now stinks. Only the imposing fireplace and the grandeur of the architecture of the room remained to remind one of what it once was. By digging around in the debris which littered the floor in certain wrecked parts of the Chancellory, I found some medals which Hitler had had struck off from time to time. Some were war medals to commemorate the expected victories of Stalingrad and Leningrad. Others were motherhood medals, that is medals awarded the German women who had more than five children. Also got a book from Hitler's private

library in his living quarters nearby the Chancellery. from Hitler's living quarters went into the nearby air raid shelters housing Hitler's private apartment shared by Eva Braun, Hitler's doctor, his headquarters staff, etc. And more souvenirs including a Christmas Card bearing Hitler's signature sent out by Hitler the Christmas of 1941. These apartments had been stripped of practically everything including the bedding from Eva Braun's bed and from Hitler's apartment adjacent to hers. But the sofa upon which Hitler and Eva Braun are supposed to have committed suicide still remains. On it there is a small splotch which might be blood, and at the right end of the sofa and on the outside the cloth is broken and ^{the} stuffing protrudes--a spot about as large as your hand. A bullet entering this end of the sofa from the inside might possibly have caused this. But I doubt very seriously whether Hitler and Eva Braun committed suicide by shooting themselves in these apartments. It is more likely if they committed suicide at all, they they did it by taking potassium cyanide as did Himmler when caught. I saw Hitler 1938 as he was strutting at the great Nazi Congress in Nuernburg and again just after the adjournment of this Congress and he had in a moving speech denounced President Benes of Czechoslovakia sitting

smiling with self-satisfaction at tea upon the terrace of the House of German Art, Munich. How things have changed. More talk with our people about conditions in Germany and all insist the German people must have more food for the winter or countless numbers will starve. GIs with whom I talked about the subject said that if the Germans didn't get enough to eat and got desperate it would simply mean some American GIs would get killed. They wanted the people at home to remember that too.

Our policy here:

1--Demilitarization.

2--De-Nazification.

3--To destroy Germany's capacity to make war again and to that end to take away or eliminate German heavy industry and lower Germany's standard of living to about the level of the rest of Europe--that is about the level of 1932 in Germany.

4--The re-education of the German People toward democracy and peace.

My present tendency:

1-- Give France the Saar.

2--Put the Ruhr under an international authority as nearly like

our Port Authority or TVA as possible.

3--Open Germany to immigration unrestricted so as to dilute the German strain.

4--Keep a close watch over Germany through, first, the present Big Four, and then through the United Nations.

More interviews with our people:

1--Winant (brother of Ambassador, John, London) and staff re commerce and trade.

2--Fahy and staff re the administration of justice in Germany.

3--With General Mickelson concerning displaced persons in our occupation zone.

Ended a full day at the Press Club. Pleasant talks and a little singing. Taught the German orchestra to play Swanee River.

Here and there on a street corner you will see a sign marking the spot where a Russian soldier was killed in the fighting and is buried. The Russians made it the rule to bury their men where they fell.

And so this is proud Berlin. "He who lives by the sword, dies by it."

*note - From here on manuscript has not been
seen or corrected by Senator Pepper
C.E.M.*

Off early and to Moscow by Russian plane. All passengers were Russian and spoke little English except the U.S. Colonel, my assistant and me. The plane was crowded. We sat on what is called "bucket seats." These are little metal seats, close together running along either side of the plane, and facing the aisle. There were no cushions, no backs to the seats except the uncomfortable sides of the plane and no seat belts. Needless to say, there was no luncheon served during the eight hour and one thousand mile long flight which was non-stop. We had fortified ourselves with a cold lunch which we offered to share with our Russian fellow passengers but they graciously refused to accept, Although later they did share with us some chocolate bars. The plane was an American plane like the ones generally used on our own air lines. Russian pilots flew at what we call tree top level--that is generally around one thousand feet and they fly not by instrument but by land mark, and I am told that in bad weather when they can not see the ground, they just don't fly. Frankly we were not too comfortable either physically or mentally. The pilots really were skilled and we were glad to have had the exciting experience of the flight with the Russians rather than having come with the Congressional delegation, The Committee, arrived

about the same time in General Eisenhower's plane. All went right to Spasso house, our Embassy, a great house belonging in pre-revolutionary days to a rich Moscow merchant, for a talk and buffet supper with our able Ambassador, Mr. Averill Harriman, and his keen and attractive daughter, Kathleen, hostess. The Ambassador, naturally, was trying in a short time to sum up for us, his knowledge of Russia and the Russians. Right away the proposed Russian loan from the United States came up and the suggestion was made that we should use the leverage of the loan to influence Russian policy more to our own standards and our liking. Mr. Harriman told us very forthrightly that if we intended to condition such a loan upon any substantial change in the Russian political system, we might as well not consider it because the Russians would not accept the loan upon such terms. Yet Mr. Harriman revealed at once that he, although like his distinguished predecessor, Mr. Joseph E. Davies, is a wealthy man, vigorous exponent of capitalism and our way of life, has great respect for Generalissimo Stalin and the Soviet people, great admiration for their accomplishment, in peace and in war, and deep and sympathetic understanding of their problems and of their aspirations.

At 9 p.m. Ambassador Harriman conducted us to see ^{Mikoyan} Mikoyan,

Commissar of Trade and Commerce and for over an hour we discussed future trade between the Soviet Union and the United States. Mikoyan^{yan} made it clear to us that the Soviet Union was anxious to expand its foreign trade and especially its trade with the United States. He spoke of the raw materials, many of them like Chrome, strategic war materials, pulp, furs, some manufactured goods which the Russians had to sell. And of course he mentioned the extreme need for the Russians to acquire from us the heavy machinery required for the restoration of their war torn industry, rolling stock for their destroyed railroads, farm machinery for their farms. Mikoyan^{yan} revealed very clearly that what the Russians want is not primarily consumer goods, for however dire the need of the Soviet people for them, but the things which will really get the Soviet economic machine turning again. At the suggestion of the Ambassador we did not go into the question of the proposed Russian loan from the United States, but the Commissar for Trade and Commerce made it clear to us that the Russians did not expect a gift from the United States, but only credit and they were not only expecting to repay for what we let them have but they were able to repay.

Mr. Edelsberg and I are staying at the Embassy.

September 12. Moscow. Ambassador Harriman, accompanied by his daughter, off early to see General Eisenhower then to go off to the London conference, but he had made arrangements for us to see Generalissimo Stalin and to be well looked after by his able staff. Three hour conference with House group and top men of the Embassy, Spasso House. Every discussion of Russia reveals how difficult it is for the ordinary person to be dispassionate and impartial on the subject and especially to give consideration in forming conclusions to Russia's past experience. Our Embassy staff, headed by able career diplomat, George F. Kennan, tried hard to give us the facts without revealing a prejudice.

In the afternoon conducted by representatives of Boks, the government agency which serves visitors, the men well informed and courteous, the young women not so well dressed by our standards but keenly intelligent and all speaking English very well--to see the subway of which the Soviets are so very proud. Immediately we entered the subway through the broad entrance beside the Lenin museum, we saw not only a most modern and efficient transportation system underground, but truly a work of art. Trains themselves operated by women, are in appearance like our best trains. They run fast and on time. What distinguishes the Moscow subway from ours, however, is the fact that while our subways

are built only for utility, the Moscow subway was built for both use and beauty. Each of the very spacious loading platforms serve trains on either side. Between each loading platform and the entrance to the outside there was a long and spacious corridor on either side of which were large excellently sculptured figures depicting the Soviet people. Some of the statuary was in marble, some now only in temporary form, will later be cast in bronze. Each of these great halls was flooded by indirect lighting, the design of which was a thing of beauty in itself. On each ceiling there was artistic decoration, some in oils, others temporarily done in water colors, but later to be in mosaics. Every one of these beautiful places in its sculpture, its lighting design, and arrangement and ceiling decorations differed from the other. The pattern of the system is like the spokes of a wheel running out from the hub, square. The total mileage is now about miles. Interestingly enough a considerable part of the system was completed during the war, something we would have never thought of doing over here. Why the Soviet government should have spent so much money, manpower, and materials, some of it when they were so severely pressed in the way, in making this subway system a thing of such striking beauty to be enjoyed only by masses of

people hurrying through and from underground trains, is difficult for us to understand. It illustrates the different sets of values and a different way of thinking between the Soviet people and ourselves which we must always keep in mind in judging these people and what they do.

It was interesting to me that every time we got on other subway trains to go from station to station, we were ushered into an empty car although the trains generally were crowded. As there never seemed to be any special schedule, we were supposed to keep in moving from underground station to underground station, it is entirely possible that every train passing the station at which we were carried an empty car for us--both courtesy and efficiency arrangements. Finally at the end of our inspection, we were ushered into a spacious room where the table was laden with food and with vodka and with wines and we had the most delightful refreshment, meanwhile drinking many toasts.

Returning late in the evening from a dinner my associate, a lady, and I, decided to stop at a night club of which we had heard. The chauffeur of the Embassy car went in and told the management that we wished a table. We went behind an attendant to the second floor of what might once have been a large private house. The waitress who served us could

speaking English well enough to take our order. A young Russian officer sitting alone at the adjoining table, immediately offered us a cigarette and edging toward our table in a most agreeable way, began to practice upon us his few English words. When we entered the orchestra we noticed it was playing American jazz tunes. Shortly afterwards the young orchestra leader with one or two of his players, stopped at our table and in his broken English, asked if we knew any new American tunes. We asked him where he got the ones he was playing. He said he listened every night at midnight to a broadcast of American popular music; that he committed them to memory and then taught them to his orchestra. We told him we would like to hear some Russian songs, but he said the Russian people preferred American popular music.

Later we went to the Moscow Hotel which had a large and popular dining room and dancing. This time without any assistance we checked our coats, got a table and were served. Ebelsburg seeing a rather attractive young lady officer in the Soviet Army sitting at a near-by table with another lady and two Russian officers, said he believed he would ask the lady to dance. I doubted the wisdom of his suggestion. He approached the lady, however, and with a word or two of Russian and appropriate gestures, asked her to dance with him. She blushed and hesitated a little.

But her two officer friends obviously encouraged her to accept. She did and she and my bold companion did a fast waltz to a good orchestra after which he escorted her back to her table. There are many modern buildings in the city built by the Soviet government in recent years, yet the city often looks dreary. There are cobble stones on many of the streets. You don't see private residences anywhere--only office buildings, business structures, and block after block of flats. The streets are crowded but the people are generally poorly dressed. There are few automobiles on the street and these for doctors, factory managers, eminent artists, or technicians, government people of rank, or Red Army officers who brought their cars back from Germany, none for the ordinary citizen. Red Square, one side of which is the Kremlin Wall just outside of which is Lenin's immense marble sepulcher^{re} with St Basil's Cathedral sitting out in the street making another side as it were, most impressive.

September 13. The Congressional delegation and we were taken on a sightseeing tour inside the Kremlin Wall. The walls of the Kremlin embrace an area equivalent to many square blocks, in which are now located the former grand palace of the Czars, many vast government buildings, and historic churches. I was later to learn that it embraces also the office

and the private living quarters of Generalissimo Stalin and no doubt of all the principal government and Party officers including the powerful Polit Buro of fourteen which next to Stalin are the most powerful men in the country in the direction of the Party and the state. The palace revealed, of course, the ancient splendor in which the Czars formerly lived. The Museum of ancient arms was full of interest containing many relics especially of the church running back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Among the many prize relics is a statue of Napoleon which Napoleon himself brought to Moscow but did not take away with him. Of especial interest were three churches built in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Ascension, the Annunciation, and the Archangel. The gold gilded cupolas of these churches which had been painted black during the war to make them less conspicuous bomb targets, were being cleaned by many workmen and restored to their old lustre and beauty and to their old character as the most characteristic and famous land marks of Moscow. The American press with the Congressional delegation at Spasso House and afterwards I asked several members of the press to remain for lunch with me. We visited a factory formerly used for the manufacture of automobiles but used during the war, and still being used, for making trucks. About

twenty thousand men and women, including some young boys, and girls, were employed in this factory. We first had a conference with the stocky, keenly intelligent, factory manager in his comfortable office. He sat behind a large desk on which stood a battery of telephones. He wore the typical Russian uniform, a blouse with a collar fitting tightly around the neck, trousers in boots nearly knee high, and black. The manager gets compensation about equal to what a factory manager would get in the United States. The average pay of the factory worker is about 650 rubles a month, the pay scale ranging from 400 rubles a month for the less skilled workers to 1350 rubles a month for the workers of highest skill. The cars made in this factory ordinarily sell for about 15,000 rubles in peace time. There are labor unions and these unions agitate for more pay and better conditions for workers, although since the factory is owned by the state, the unions would never strike. Four per cent of the profit of the enterprise is set aside into what is called the Director's Fund for the welfare of the workers. All other profits go to the state and the state of course, furnishes any needed capital for expansion. This factory, however, like all other state enterprises of commercial character, is required to stand on its own bottom, that is, it is run for all practical

Plants

as an independent economic unit. The factory manager is not only expected to turn out his product but to run his factory efficiently and to sell his commodity at a figure which will not only provide fair pay for the workers and lay aside some funds for their care, but yield a profit to the state.

To see the Ballet "Crimson Sails" at the small theatre, a branch of Bolshoi, the large theatre. Scenery and dancing excellent. In the intermissions we were feasted by refreshments provided by Mr. Mikoyan, Commissar of Trade and Commerce.

September 14. Conducted by representatives of BOKS. Left at ten o'clock with the Congressional group to see a collective farm a few miles in the rolling countryside. After first going to the wrong ^{one}, we found the one we were to see. It is called Gork-Lenin, for Lenin once lived in a big country house not far away. Seventy-one families live on this farm. Each family has a separate house and the houses all rather close together make up a little settlement. Near by is the school, well conducted I learned, to which all the children of the collective farm go. The farm's livestock are kept in a common barn which we visited and found very well kept. The livestock were of good quality. Upon arrival all of us

gathered into the home of the farm manager to learn about the farm. Although the manager was an intelligent man and trained in agriculture, the house, as I recall, had about four rooms and they were furnished about like the homes of a small independent farmer or a better class tenant farmer in the south. Since the men of the farm have been away to war, the women had had to do most of the farm work, but the men were just returned. The labor of the farm is divided among the farmers. The unit of work on the farm is the manpower, I should have said man-day, and different kinds of work, according to the difficulty and the skill involved, may have a different value in terms of man days. When the harvest comes a part is first set aside for the state as a sort of a tax. Then each farmer is required to sell at a price fixed by the state, a portion of what he has made from his man days of work to the state to be made available by the state to the people generally. Whatever the farmer has left, he may sell not to a middle man, because they don't have middle men, but to those who will sell it directly to the public. This farm, like all collective farms, rents the farm machinery it uses including tractors, from a government agency, the function of which is to provide necessary farm machinery at all times to a certain number of collective farms in this area. We walked across some of the fields and

the crops seemed to be good. Most of the agriculture of the Soviet Union falls into this pattern of the collective farm. It encountered the most severe resistance from the small farmers of the country when it was put into effect. Indeed countless of these stalwart defenders of their individual property rights lost their lives by their fight. Yet it must be said that it was the almost complete mobilization of Soviet agriculture through the collective farm which along with the Red Army and the mobilized factories of the country, made it possible for Russia to survive the Nazi assault and win the war.

Back to Spasso House and lunch with some of the diplomats whose countries were having their troubles and differences with Russia. A conference with our Embassy press section and with our economic experts about the fundamental economic situation in Russia.

At 8:30 to the Kremlin Wall. After a slight delay in being cleared by the guard, we drove maybe a quarter of a mile escorted by a Kremlin car, to a long yellow building. A guard stood on either side of the few steps leading to the door and another on either side of the door inside. After checking our hats and coats, I should say after leaving our hats and coats, we turned up a flight of stairs and followed along a corridor in which stood guards at intervals of a few paces until

we turned into the large room where we were seated. I noticed table linen and silver on a table beside one wall of the room. After about five minutes we were ushered through an adjoining room where there were two Russian Generals and then into a third spacious room at the other end of which four eyes suddenly fell upon Generalissimo Josef Stalin standing with quiet dignity and self-possession to receive us.

The interview was not transcribed and I made no notes. Mr. Kennan made only the most sketchy notes and they for the purpose of aiding him in his translation for me. The following is the account of the interview which I later put down in writing with Mr. Kennan's assistance.

The Russian interpreter sat at the end of a large table. Stalin the first on his right and Vyshinski on the right of Stalin. I sat immediately opposite Stalin and Mr. Kennan to my left. After being seated I said that I first wished to express to the Generalissimo my gratitude for the hospitality which I had enjoyed in his country and for the great privilege of seeing him for this interview, knowing how busy he was.

The interpreter said, "he wishes to thank you."

I said then the Generalissimo can best understand what kind of a man I am if I tell him that I was a friend of President Roosevelt. As I recall it he made no specific reply.

I then said I did not come in any official capacity representing my government, but I am forty-five years old and a member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate of the United States which has a very large part in the formulation of our foreign policy.

As soon as Stalin heard the interpretation of that part of my remarks in which I said I was forty-five years old he smiled and then when the translation was finished he said, "I envy you."

I said there are a great many who envy you, too.

I then said would the Generalissimo tell me what are the objectives of the Soviet Union in the next few years in domestic and in foreign policy.

Stalin spoke then for some little time. The gist of his reply was that the Soviet Union wished to repair the damages of war and to build up the industrial strength of the country and to raise the standard of living of the people. He said, for example the Soviet Union has sustained a terrific war damage to its transportation system, to industry and to its production facilities. The output of petroleum, which before the war had been over thirty million tons, was now only about eighteen million tons. The output of pig iron was now only eight to nine million tons. Their industry had been very severely damaged. To repair this destruction and to build up Soviet industry and production the Soviet Union had applied

to the United States six months ago for a six billion dollar loan but that they had had no answer to their request, indicating that he felt some chagrin that they had not had such an answer. This all related to domestic policy. As for foreign policy the objective of the Soviet Union was to collaborate with the other nations of the world in keeping peace.

I then said what answer can we give to the critics who say that the Soviet Union will use these funds if they are obtained not for repairing war damage and building up peace time production but to continue heavy war production. That is, that the Soviet Union has not converted its war industries to peace production as we are doing but expects to continue to maintain a vast war production.

Stalin smiled and said that is ridiculous. It would be suicide for us to try to keep up such war production. On the contrary, he said, we have already demobilized three, indeed almost four, million men of the Red Army and will soon be demobilizing that much again. We are going to reduce the Red Army to one-third of its war time strength. He said that he had told the Congressmen whom he had seen just ahead of me, more in detail as to the uses to which the Soviet Union expected to put the loan if it were obtained. (I have in my possession a copy of the memorandum of the interview between the Generalissimo and the House Delegation headed

by Congressman Calmer of Mississippi, this being the Post-War Economic Planning Committee of the House of Representatives, on this subject.)

I said did the Generalissimo feel that the United States was collaborating with the Soviet Union in a satisfactory way in international collaboration. He said that the common interest of the United States and the Soviet Union in the war had brought the two nations very close together and the Soviet Union was very greatly indebted to the United States for the help which the Soviet Union had received from the United States. However, he said that tie which has held us together no longer exists and we shall have to find a new basis for our close relations in the future. That will not always be easy he said. He continued, "Christ said seek and ye shall find."

I asked whether he considered satisfactory the efforts which the United States Government was making to find such collaboration. His only reply was, "They are trying."

I then said would the Generalissimo say as to whether the new Labor Government in Great Britain will collaborate more effectively with the Soviet Union in international affairs than the Conservative Government of Churchill. Stalin said it was too soon to say for sure. That is seemed

very much as if the Labor Government were following the same line that Churchill followed and that the Labor Government was just as keen to protect the British national interests as was the Churchill Government. I then said that I was in London when Foreign Minister Bevin had made his address on foreign policy and I wondered if the Generalissimo, in corroboration of the opinion he had about the continuity of British foreign policy, had heard the remark attributed to Churchill in the House of Commons when Bevin had finished his address. "How fat Anthony Eden has grown." This gave Stalin a hearty laugh. He seemed not to have heard the remark and to enjoy it very much. (Incidentally he laughs in a sort of deep mellow note, as it were.)

I then said there is much to support the conclusion the Generalissimo has reached about the attitude of the present Labor Government, yet I talked personally to the Prime Minister and practically all the prominent members of the Labor Government in England and also to a good many of the younger members of the Labor Party and the Government who were just coming into real weight in the Party, such as Aneurin Bevan and Noel Baker and it was my conclusion that the Labor Government would follow a more liberal foreign policy than the old Churchill Government, as soon as they feel able to do so. Stalin then said definitely that he, too,

believed that. He added that he had gained the impression at the Potsdam Conference that the Labor leaders were very anxious that no one should think them less zealous in the defense of British imperial interests than the Conservatives had been.

I said that I was in Paris before coming here and Leon Blum is saying there that the Communist Party follows the lead of Moscow in its course. Did the Generalissimo have any comment on that. Stalin smiled and said Leon Blum wishes that that were true. (I am not clear just what the Generalissimo meant by this statement but my belief is that he meant to say "Leon Blum wishes he could prove that.")

Then I said I was in Germany also before coming here. I am troubled about what we should do with Germany. I wish there were some way we could reduce the population of Germany to about the size of France, Great Britain, or Poland. I am afraid they will be a danger to future peace if they are allowed to remain a nation of their present population. I thought perhaps if France might have the Saar and we could internationalize the Ruhr, that might keep Germany from making war again.

Stalin said the Ruhr was the important thing; that Germany got 85% of its war strength from the Ruhr and if that were taken away from her,

and for example internationalized, Germany could no longer make war.

I then asked would it also be necessary to take Silesia away from Germany to keep her from being able to make war again. Stalin quickly said she no longer had Silesia, that it had already been given to Poland.

I then asked what our policy should be with respect to Germany and Japan in the future. Stalin struck the table with his clenched fist and said that we must be severe with them. We must keep our hands closely upon them. Then he described how we had made too soft a peace with Germany last time and had allowed Germany to grow strong again when we shouldn't have. Now, he said, we were doing the same thing with Japan which we did with Germany after the last war. That is, being too easy with her. He said we should deal with Japan now as we are dealing with Germany now, and not as we dealt with Germany after the last war.

I then asked should we not keep other nations from building up war machines again in other parts of the world. Stalin asked what I meant by that. I said for example, France. That I had gained the impression in France recently that France was beginning again to build up military strength and that I felt she was not in a position to afford that. Stalin then said he supposed that France, having lost her army and then later her navy would naturally like to rebuild it. I said yes, but now we have

something we have never had before. We have the United Nations with its power to keep world peace, and Germany and Japan no longer exist as threats to the peace of the world, and did he not believe that the United States and the Soviet Union to a very large degree under these circumstances could keep the peace of the world.

Stalin said possibly we could. He said we must not let these aggressor nations rearm and get ready for war again, that fortunately the Red Army had been able to stop the Germans this time but it was a very difficult task and we all experienced a great danger.

I said the whole world is indebted and grateful to the Generalissimo and to the Red Army for what they did in stopping and crushing the Nazis.

(I gained the distinct impression that Stalin in respect to future peace is as much a realist as he is in everything else. He does not seem to have any optimism about it but he seems to feel that it lies within our power to keep the future peace if we will follow the right course and not do as we did after the last war. He seems willing to cooperate in the United Nations effort in good faith but to recognize that that institution alone is no guarantee of world peace.)

I then handed across the table to the Generalissimo a copy of Henry Wallace's recent book "Sixty Million Jobs" and told the Generalissimo that I should like to present that to him together with a copy of a review of that book which I had recently written for the New York Times which was attached to it. I explained that that represented what might be called the Roosevelt point of view about our future economic policy at home, that it was the best statement which could be found of the policy of the liberal element in our country. Stalin took the book, which has a magazine format, with the title "Sixty Million Jobs" in large red letters. He looked at it with great interest and turned a page or two, and, I believe, making some remark to Vyshinske. He thanked me for bringing the book to him and Vyshinski seemed to be glad to have it.

I said, "Would the Generalissimo now send me away with some message or suggestion which I may long remember as coming out of his great wisdom and experience."

Stalin hesitated and then said, "Just judge the Soviet Union objectively. Do not either praise us or scold us. Just know us and judge us as we are and base your estimate of us upon facts and not rumors."

Mr. Kennan and I then arose, the Generalissimo came around the end of the table to me, shook hands with me and said goodbye. (He does

not shake hands with what we call a firm handclasp. In some respects it is like the handshake Henry Ward Beecher described when he said certain people hand you their hand, you shake it and hand it back to them.)

I thanked the Generalissimo for the privilege and walked away.

The Generalissimo then spoke to Mr. Kennan, congratulating him upon the excellence of his translation. I believe Vyshinski interpolated "Yes, damn good."

September 15 (Not seen or corrected by Senator Pepper)
Lunch with the British Charge d'Affaires where there were many

guests including the British writer, J. B. Priestly, to whom I talked at some length, and a number of eminent Russian writers. Priestly is very sympathetic to Russia, yet says the Russians have never told him how many of his books or plays are published in Russia. Walked along the streets and visited shops. There are two kinds of shops. One is the shop where one buys rationed articles with ration coupons. In these shops the people find at reasonable prices in terms of their income, things they need for their ordinary subsistence. The other kind of shop is what is called the commercial shop where the people who have money can buy at enormously high prices, things which either in quality or quantity they can not find in the ordinary shops. Some prices I noticed

in the commercial shops (in terms of the number of American dollars it would take to buy the rubles these things would cost): an English suit of clothes--\$1000, a chocolate bar--\$8.00, a quarter of a pound of butter--\$7.00, a cake of soap--\$10.00, a small ham and cheese sandwich--\$1.00. The commercial shop seems also to be a way by which the government by operating something like its own black market, can drain off the excess rubles of the people. Of course, the shops like all enterprises of business in the Soviet Union are owned by the state.

Another long conference and animated discussion with the Congressional group and our Embassy officials at Spasso House. The Congressmen are very unhappy, and naturally critical, because the Soviet government has not cleared their plane which our army converted to send in to fly them to Teheran. The Russians are furnishing a Russian plane for them but they are having to pay the regular fare. Movies to which many of the American colony and occasionally Russians, come. Vox ? gave us a most delightful party at 6:30 p.m. having present many of their distinguished artists and scientists including the distinguished Russian explorer, Papinia, who was forced down in the arctic on his way across the north pole to the United States and was rescued only after

months of exposure in the arctic waste. Food and wines excellent and plentiful and there was the ever present vodka. After one of the singers had sung beautifully a negro spiritual, gave them the best we could "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot", "Kentucky Home," and "Goodnight Ladies" to which the Russians generously, and I believe sincerely, responded for somehow our getting together and singing some of our folk songs for them revealed the qualities of good humor and friendliness which they like in America.

Sunday, September 16. At noon with Miss White of the Embassy, to the Bolshoi Theater and saw the lovely ballet "The Fountain". The performance lasted from twelve to three. The scenery was marvellous, excellent dancing and acting, a grand spectacle. No doubt Russian ballet is the best in the world. Reception given by some of the young ladies in our Embassy--people who are due the thanks of the country for the patriotic service they render abroad, often under uncomfortable and unpleasant circumstances. To the opera Eugene Onegen, also at the Bolshoi Theater, based upon the beautiful poem of Pushkin. The staging and the scenery were very good as was the singing. I shall never the forget the duel in the snow or the song of the sad poet just before the duel which was to cost him his life began. This duelling scene was not

only brilliant but prophetic for it was in just such a duel and scene that the great Pushkin himself lost his life at 37. The Bolshoi Theater is beautiful and spacious. In the form of a huge horseshoe six tiers of seats or balconies rise above the main floor. The decorations are gold and red velvet. The stage itself is immense. Zhuhov, the great Red Marshall, conqueror of Berlin, sat in a box to the right of the stage. The audience began to applaud when it recognized the Marshall. Generally the Russian military men are not played up as ours are in the press, but Zhuhov is the exception.

The House group got off for Teheran today. September 17. To our Chancellery and a conference with our economic experts getting the best information they had about the natural resources, the industrial capacity, the scientific skill, and agricultural production in Russia. Russia has great need, but she also has great strength. Went to meet and to have a pleasant informal talk with the officers of our military and naval mission, after which I had the heads of the missions for lunch at Spasso House. Our officers accustomed generally to going to another officer with whom they wished to discuss a matter, naturally have chafed under the restraint here, which until recently at least forbade them

ever to go directly to a Russian officer dealing with a particular subject and requiring them always to make their contacts through a government bureau dealing with foreign affairs. It was explained that if an American officer wished to confer with a Russian officer having direct authority over a particular subject, the American first would reduce to writing just what he wanted to communicate to or receive from the Russian officer. It would be arranged, then, for the American officer to deliver his communication to the Russian officer in the foreign bureau. The Russian officer would read the communication at once and if he were not clear about something the American officer had said, he might ask questions about what the American officer really meant. Once satisfied about the content of the American officer's statement, the Russian would go away and in due course prepare his answer. When he was ready to present his reply to the American officer, the two would meet again at the foreign bureau. This time the American could ask questions, if he were not clear about what the Russian had written down. It took not only time but patience to carry on important and detailed military negotiations between two great powers in a modern war. The real reason for this slow and unsatisfactory procedure, seems to have been that until the

German war was over, all the important decisions about military matters affecting the Red Army were made by Generalissimo Stalin himself or by his most responsible staff people around him. Consequently the opposite number of an American officer could have had the authority to make a decision even if he could have met and talked freely with the American officer. It happened however, that immediately upon their coming into the Japanese war the Russians did de-centralize authority and invest in the commanders in the field the powers to make decisions. This made possible liason in an effective way directly between Russian and other Allied officers in the field.

To a showing of some excellent Russian motion pictures. One was "The Conquest of Berlin" and the other "Victory Parade" showing the magnificent victory parade through Red Square and before Generalissimo Stalin and the highest men of the state and the army reviewing it from Lenin's tomb. The people themselves never see a parade within Red Square. Only the officials high up on Lenin's tomb see them from there. The people mass in other streets. A third picture was a feature showing music instruction in a Soviet academy to boys and girls. An evening of talk with the head of the American Red Cross in Russia and American

experts. I find that most instances of Americans not liking the Russians are traceable to two kinds of experience. they have had with the Russians. One an unsatisfactory personal experience with Soviet bureaucracy, or two, some case or cases they know of where Russian bureaucracy, maybe the Russian secret police, has been unkind or maybe cruel to someone who is a Soviet citizen or the Soviet claims he is a Soviet citizen. Russia is so huge and the Soviet experiment and experience so colossal that it is hard to see them in prospective.