

PF 604,584/V9

PHILBY, HAROLD ADRIAN RUSSELL

PF 604,584/V9

SEE ALSO LIST INSIDE COVER

Serial No	Star Designation	Date	Serial No	Star Designation	Date	Serial No	Star Designation	Date
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KV2/4731

S. 960 Edn2

PF 604,584/V9

MINUTE SHEET

424

2.54.

Note for the file re PHILBY's vetting.

424a

428.

3.3.54.

Copy of T.C. on HONEY mentioning PEACH.

428a.

6.3.54.

Copy of T.C. on HONEY mentioning PEACH.

428b

429.

COPY OF MINUTE

103.

INF. PF 604643/HONEY.

D.G. (through D.D.G.).

1. I have discussed minute 100 with D.I. and am in broad agreement with his view that, if you see HONEY, it would be best to confine questions to the subject of Majorca. At 101a is a brief note on the personalities who might form the subject of your discussion.

2. At the same time I am not sure that it would be advisable, or even that it will be possible, to draw a clear-cut distinction between talking to HONEY about Majorca and talking to HONEY about the MACLEAN/BURGESS/PHILBY complex. It seems to me that HONEY may himself raise the case of PHILBY and take the opportunity of saying something about his security status. You should see 96c in this file (which is an extract from 423a in PF 604584, volume 8, attached) and the action taken as a result of it (424a in PF 604584, volume 9). Captain Liddell has in fact had no approach.

3. My views then are as follows:-

- (1) I am grateful for the proposal "volunteered at minute 99 and hope you will have time to

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act upon it. HONEY is believed to intend to remain in the U.K. until April.

(2) Any direct questions put to him should be on the Majorca characters and the discussion should range beyond this only on HONEY's initiative.

(3) If HONEY himself starts talking about "the case", or about PHILBY's security standing in particular, you should listen sympathetically and let him say anything that is on his mind. If he makes mention of a possible job for PHILBY in the B.B.C. News Division, you should say that you do not even know whether such a post would be "vettable"; that nothing has yet come to us from the B.B.C. about it; that it sounds innocuous enough; and that you can hardly believe that security objection need be taken to PHILBY's having it.

cm
G.R. Mitchell.

D.
8.3.54.

430.

8.3.54. T.C. on PEACH.

430a

13.3.54. T.C. on PEACH.

430b.

431.

10.3.54. Copy of DEGC's minute in reply to minute 429.

431a.

16.3.54. T.C. on PEACH.

431b.

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MINUTE SHEET

Reference PF 604584.
VOLUME 9.
Page 2.

432.

COPY OF MINUTE 106. IN PF 604643, VOL.2.

D.1.

D.G. explained to me today the reasons for his decision not to see HONEY. The question whether HONEY should be interviewed by an officer of this branch instead was left for my consideration. You and I discussed this today and agreed that the balance of advantage seemed to lie in our not arranging an interview with HONEY. Of the characters mentioned at 101a, who would be the subject of discussion if an interview were held, much the most interesting was D. J. BOSWELL, and it was open to D.1.A. to pursue by other means enquiries into his case and into his relations with Melinda MACLEAN.

G.R. Mitchell.

D.
17.3.54.

COPY IN: PF 604859, Volume 9, at minute 432.

433.

L.A. (430b and 431b refer)

You will recall my mentioning PEACH's projected autobiography at D.G.'s meeting yesterday and your asking whether he would be likely to seek clearance for publication of matter connected with his official service. The later of the two attached transcripts reached me this morning. Both may interest you.

G.R. Mitchell

D
17.3.54

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434.

over
18.3
D.A.

(430b and 431b refer)

I was interested to read this material. Is there any objection to my mentioning the fact that PEACH is considering writing a book to

From what I know of the firm of Andre DEUTSCH I think it is quite possible they may persevere with this proposition. I could perhaps make arrangements through Admiral Thomson that any manuscript which may be submitted to Andre DEUTSCH was in fact submitted to the War Office for clearance.

L.A.
17.3.54.

B. A. Hill
B.A. Hill. ✓

435.

L.A.

Many thanks. I should be inclined not to say anything to [redacted] until the contemplated book has proceeded a bit further. PEACH is the sort of man who not infrequently entertains projects which he fails to carry out. It would also, I think, be premature to say anything to Admiral Thomson.

If you agree, would you kindly send these papers on to DIA/ETC/B.

D
18.3.54

G.R. Mitchell

(6343) A.O.St.

REGIMITE
Code 5-35-0

436.

20/3

D.A. (Miss McBarnet) (430b and 431b refer)

Please see these Minutes. Will you please let me know if PEACH's negotiations with regard to publication of his memoirs look like maturing? If he is going to publish his story

and that the manuscript is looked at prior to publication.

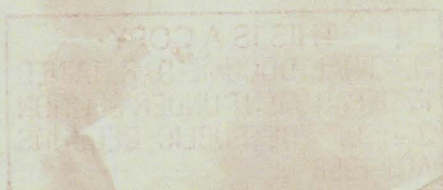
L.A.
19.3.54.

B. A. Hill
B.A. Hill.

437.

22.3.54.

Copy of T.C. on HONEY.



CODE 5-35-0

MINUTE SHEET

438.

29.3.54.

T.C. on PEACH.

438a.

Please see at 438a latest information about PHILBY's autobiography.

With reference to L.A's minute 436. do you think that the time has come for longer? or should we wait a little

E. McBarnet
E. McBarnet.

D.1.A.
29.3.54.

440.

29.3.54

T.C. on PEACH.

440a

441.

L.A.

You will see from 440a that PEACH expects to receive a contract for his autobiography from Andre Deutsch shortly. His morale is high and he seems determined to write the book, though it remains of course to be written. If you feel that this is the stage at which

I shall be happy to do so.

G.R. Mitchell

G.R. Mitchell.

D.
30.3.54.

442.

30.3.54.

T.C. on PEACH.

442a.

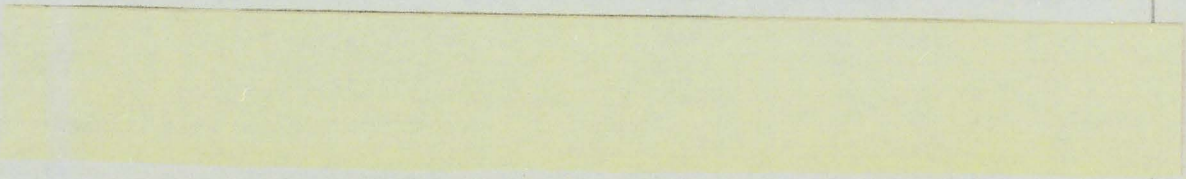
443

With reference to Min.441, that PEACH is now about to write his memoirs. I think the position is a little disturbing. While I think it is fairly clear from this file that PEACH will not deliberately do anything which would render him liable

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to prosecution, if the book appears in the form of a skeleton draft it will not in my view be worth publishing. Andre DEUTSCH are a very pushing firm of publishers, not of the highest calibre, and I feel that what will happen is that PEACH will be pressed to make his story more sensational, and great pressure will be brought to try and persuade the authorities to sanction a more sensational manuscript.



It is clear, I think, that the parties concerned are taking some care not to talk about the project, and I think it is difficult at this stage for me to take any action through Admiral Thomson with the publishers.

L.A.
31.3.54.

B.A. Hill
B.A. Hill.

444.

.4.54. T.C. on HONEY mentioning contract for book by PEACH to be published by Andre DEUTSCH. 444a.

445.

.4.54. T.C. on PEACH mentioning matters concerning book by PEACH. 445a.

446.

.4.54. D. note [redacted] about book to be written by PEACH. 446a.

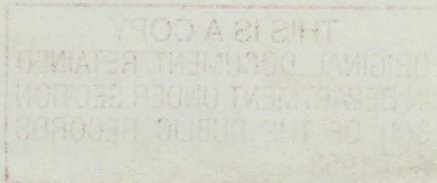
447.

Handwritten:
J.A. Full 10/4
D.I.
D.I.A./EMCB.
12/4

Please see note at 446a.

Handwritten: G.R. Mitchell.
G.R. Mitchell.

D.
8.4.54.



MINUTE SHEET

448.

12.4.54.

D.I. note on arrangements with A.4. for observations on PHILBY.

448a.

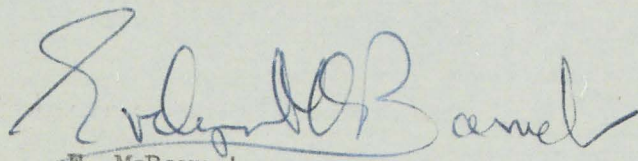
449.

Proof 12/4
copy 12.4
M 12.4
~~D.D.G. through D. and D.I.~~

I am applying for a Home Office Warrant for a Letter Check on Harold Adrian Russell PHILBY at 4/20 Northwood Hall, Hornsey Lane, London, N.6., and at The Sunbox, Heronsgate, Rickmansworth. H.A.R. PHILBY is, as you know, under suspicion of engaging in espionage.

It is not proposed to operate the incoming Letter Check at the present time, but the Warrant is required in order that [redacted] may be imposed.

The necessary forms are attached.



E. McBarnet.

D.I.A.
12.4.54.

450.

12.4.54.

Copy of personal particulars of PEACH handed personally to Commander Burt by D. today.

450a.

451.

12.4.54.

D. note re informing Commander S.B., re current developments affecting PEACH, and notification to ports.

451a.

452.

12.4.54.

H.O.W. No. 11757 on PEACH. (Letter check)

452a.

453.

12.4.54.

To Mr. Harlow imposing H.O.W. [redacted] on PEACH.

453a.

454.

13.4.54.

A.4. report on PEACH & ASHLEY-JONES.

454a.

455.
15.4.54. Int. letter from PEACH to Gerald TOOTH. [redacted] 455a.

456.
15.4.54. A.4. Report on PEACH. 456a.

457.
15.4.54. A.4. Report on PEACH. 457a.

458.
19.4.54. N.D.O. Report on PEACH. 458a.

459.
21.4.54. A.4. report on motor car registration. 459a.

460.
21.4.54. A.4. report on PEACH. 460a.

461.
22.4.54. A.4. report on PEACH. 461a.

462.
22.4.54. To G.P.O. adding Athenaeum Club to H.O.W. on PEACH. 462a.

463.
23.4.54. A.4. report on PEACH. 463a.

464.
23.4.54. I/C letter from PEACH to Connie ASHLEY-JONES. [redacted] 464a.

465.
26.4.54. A.4. Report on PEACH. 465a.

[redacted]

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MINUTE SHEET

	468.	
27.4.54.	A.4. observation report on PEACH.	468a.
	469.	
28.4.54.	A.4. Observation Report on PEACH.	469a.
	470.	
29.4.54.	A.4. Observation Report on PEACH.	470a.
	471.	
29.4.54.	A.4. report re 14 Bourdon Street, W.1.	471a.
	472.	
29.4.54.	Int. letter from PEACH to J.R. ACKERLEY.	472a.
	473.	
29.4.54.	Int. letter to PEACH - "News from Turkey".	473a.
	474.	
30.4.54.	A.4. Observation Report on PEACH.	474a.
	475.	
1.5.54.	A.4. Observation Report on PEACH.	475a
	476.	
3.5.54.	A.4. Observation Report on PEACH. (1.5.54 and 2.5.54.)	476a
	477.	
3.5.54.	A.4. Report on PEACH's contacts referred to in 475a.	477a

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478.

4.4.54. A.4. Observation Report on PEACH.

478a.

479.

4.5.54. Note on subscriber of 19 Bramerton Street, S.W.3.

479a.

480.

4.5.54. Note on Paul DEHN and James BARNARD.

480a.

481.

5.5.54. Note on Voters' List for 19 Bramerton Street, S.W.3.

481a.

482.

5.5.54. A.4. Observation Report on PEACH.

482a.

483.

5.5.54. Int. letter from PEACH to plumber.

483a.

484.

5.5.54. Int. letter from PEACH paying school fees.

484a.

485.

5.5.54. Int. letter from PEACH paying school fees.

485a.

486.

5.5.54. Int. letter from PEACH to Westminster Bank re stock.

486a.

487.

6.5.54. A.4. Observation Report on PEACH.

487a.

488.

6.5.54. Voters' List for 19 Bramerton Street, S.W.3.

488a.

489.

10.5.54. I/C postcard to PEACH.

489a.

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490.

12.5.54. Copy of Minute by D. on ELLIS.

490a.

491.

17.5.54. Int. postcard from FLANAGAN to PEACH.

491b.

18.5.54. Int. letter to PEACH from Dick BROOMAN-WHITE.

492a.

494.

19.5.54. D.I.A. note on Paul DEHN.

494a.

495.

20.5.54. I/C letter to PEACH from Patrick MAITLAND.

495a.

"FILE CLOSED"

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The Whitehall Letter

10, Ovington Square,
London, - S.W.3.

No. 819

April 23, 1954.

This Week's Contents:

Anti-Americanism; Bevan's
3-Point Platform; Trade Union
Rifts; Reynolds News Campaign;
Another 13 months of this Parliament;
Agenda for Geneva; Mr. Eden Keeps
Free Hand.

CLOAK AND DAGGER

Spies in Canberra

M. Petrov's defection and choice of political asylum in Australia was impelled by the Beria affair in Moscow. Since the fall of the former Chief of State Security his proteges in every capital have been liquidated or recalled. M. Petrov learned that his time was at hand. He took the precaution of making sure that his asylum would be secure.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST USA

Mr. and Mrs. Bevan

Many factors composed the Bevan clash with Mr. Attlee before the House of Commons rose for Easter. A few minutes before Mr. Eden made his statement about discussions with Mr. Dulles which Mr. Bevan challenged so abruptly, the Prime Minister had referred to Dr. Malan's freshly-stated claim to the High Commission Territories engulfed by or adjacent to the frontiers of South Africa.

Sir Winston had made it clear that the Parliament of Westminster could not be expected to surrender responsibility for these areas without consulting the inhabitants. It was Miss Jennie Lee who, with the unanimous sentiment of the House had been expressed in support of the Prime Minister, sought to divide and destroy. She demanded a pledge that 'consult' meant to obtain the consent of the Africans in question.

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Her effort was not a Parliamentary success, because she lacked her husband's brusque offrontery to press the point. Nor did she carry any considerable section of the Parliamentary Labour Party with her.

Premeditated Intervention

But in retrospect it is now clear that she, as well as her husband, had determined that day to strike an independent line. The fact that she failed, when her husband later scored by stirring up angry animosities about the danger of an involvement in Indo-China, is irrelevant to an acute interpretation. In the light of her effort, Mr. Bevan's intervention cannot have been other than premeditated.

It followed, as clients will recall, the visit to London of the American Secretary of State with whom had been associated the desire to 'warn' China, in terms not unlike an ultimatum, before the Geneva Conference opened. Public reactions to his visit were prompt and widespread. Many reports reached this office, as they must have reached others, bearing witness to popular apprehensions lest the United States involve Britain in the Indo-China war.

These sentiments were being widely reported within a week of the House of Commons debate on the Hydrogen Bomb. Clients will recall that in that debate Mr. Attlee scored a Parliamentary success by resort to the elevation of platitude; Sir Winston Churchill was widely rebuked by the press, and often by people, for having failed to 'rise to the occasion'. In fact the United States was indirectly belaboured, in terms that echoed much public feeling up and down the country.

Three-Point Platform

That is the sentiment to which Mr. Bevan has now appealed. He chose to challenge his own official leader and, in effect, to seek to debunk him, at the height of his Parliamentary prestige. He chose to do this in a concerted assault upon the front bench leadership of the Party, seeking any issue that would lend itself.

To date, there are now three of these. There is Mrs. Bevan's claim that the Africans of the Protectorates must not only be consulted, but must 'consent' before the British Parliament is allowed to vote its responsibilities away. Here is the start of a colonial policy platform. There had already been a clash between the Bevanites and orthodox Labour about rearmament of Germany after the Berlin Conference. Finally, there was Mr. Bevan's assault on the generally anodyne statement presented by the Foreign Secretary about exploring the possibilities of a regional defence system in Southeast Asia and the Western Pacific.

Taken together, whether in regard to South Africa (where it could be related to and compared with the colour problem in the United States) or in regard to Germany and Indochina, this is a platform of open, defiant, anti-Americanism. And, by all private surveys and polls, the public is just ready for this kind of appeal.

TRADE UNION LINE-UP

Old Age Pensioners

One consequence of this choice of platform is that Mr. Bevan forces the orthodox Labour leadership to stand beside the Tory Government which it has been lambasting for sugaring the landlords, pleasing the brewers, thieving the nation's steel and transport assets, then producing another rich man's budget while the old age pensioners are left to themselves.

It is not likely to have been an accident that Mr. Butler, who consolidates his place as the brains and heart of the Tory Administration (even with the now certain prospect of Mr. Eden's succession), sensed the prevailing mood and the tactical position that was shaping up. He let drop a hint, at the close of the Budget Debate, that he still had the Old Age Pensioners in mind.

After the disaster to Government hopes at two Scottish by-elections, East Edinburgh and Motherwell, the Old Age Pension issue is forward in the Administration's thinking. It will, from the viewpoint of the present Government, be vital to lift that issue from the grasp of either wing of the Opposition.

German Rearmament

Support for Mr. Bevan has so far been spontaneous; Mr. Attlee on the other hand will rally his forces with care. There has been the Easter Conference of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, the sixth largest union in the country. Its vote went against German rearmament. Another Labour front-bencher, Mr. Alfred Robens, emerged as a Bevanite aspirant.

The Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen, a small union of 'intellectuals', has voted the same way. Electron, the monthly organ of the Electrical Trades Union, Communist-managed, is subtle in its approach. A review of the House of Commons debate on Berlin is courteous to Mr. Morrison, but plays up the left-wingers.

On the other hand, the Foundry Workers Journal, organ of the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers, comes straight to the point: "The decision to rearm Germany and allow 12 German Divisions in the European Defence Community will make people fearful of what these German divisions could do if they were guided by evil forces. It is a well-known fact that ex-Nazi generals are going to lead these divisions.

Skipping Nine Years

"What happens if Germany is rearmed? Firstly, all chance of a peaceful reunification of Germany disappears. There will be only one way of securing unification, and that is by war. A country divided artificially with large forces built up on either side of the frontier and with pressure on the West German Government to liberate the Germans in the East makes the situation extremely dangerous.

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"Can anyone believe that the forces which brought Hitler to power are dead? In the make-up of the Bonn Government are men who were among Hitler's most enthusiastic supporters..." There is more in the same vein which ignores Russia's refusal of free unification at Berlin, overlooks the East German People's Police with its great tank formation, and skips the past nine years of Soviet diplomacy.

Responsible Voices

An altogether different facet of affairs is presented, however, by Mr. J.S. Campbell, General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaysmen, in the Railway Review. His subject is the Hydrogen Bomb. "I join with all those people", he writes, "who have demanded a cessation of these experiments...But let us be under no illusion as to what the new approach means. It does not mean that we have to select America for the target of our abuse, whilst at the same time ignoring the fact that another powerful country has probably the same knowledge, the same know-how, without having revealed it".

There speaks the voice of a more responsible trade union element which has in recent months found it more congenial to associate with advanced Tory practice than with the Left Wing Labour Opposition. And it is significant that the recommendations made to Mr. Butler by the TUC before he presented his budget came close to the Chancellor's own decisions.

The TUC suggested that exports must be encouraged at the expense of the home market; it wanted investment encouraged at the expense of increased consumption. On the other hand the TUC hoped that Mr. Butler would not introduce any wide changes of tax, nor alter the food subsidies. On both counts Transport House may well be satisfied.

REYNOLDS NEWS

Wage Claims

But here again is a cross-current. Every trade union journal despatched to a union member this month carries an insert provided by Reynolds News. This is the organ of the Cooperative Movement, which has declared for Mr. Bevan. The insert opens with this announcement:

"Millions of trade unionists have been involved in wages claims over the past few months. The great bulk of the national press has opposed these claims, either by misrepresenting them or under-reporting them".

Here is the appeal to wean trade unionists from their responsible leadership, in formation of a fresh, extremist working class movement. It is combined with the Bevanite appeal to popular feeling about the United States, the symbol of monopoly-capital, the chief centre of warmongering, and the assailant of Britain's national independence.

PRESTIGE OF PARLIAMENT

Eighteen Months Programme

Amid these stresses that harass and confuse the Labour Movement, the Prime Minister has laid a firm policy for the forthcoming eighteen

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months. Unless the Chancellor's judgment is revised a second time - he does not now expect that the country's full employment will be gravely hit by the United States slump this autumn - the Administration is resolved to keep office at least until the autumn of 1955.

During that period, Sir Winston's hope runs, there will have seeped still further into the consciousness of the public the elements of contented thinking that have already grown apparent in the past two years. With a sharp decline in industrial strife and a marked lowering of political tension, it is the calculation that given another eighteen or twenty months of stable, unsensational Tory Government, the smooth and crisis-free functioning of Parliamentary democracy may once again be the habit of the people.

Yet to this end, it is the Government's firm view, there must likewise be slackened tension at Westminster. As this Correspondence has revealed before, late nights and filibusters invariably reflect a fresh agitation on the Labour side to press for increased remuneration. This the Government would already have conceded gladly enough, but for united pressure from its own backbenches.

Averting Fanaticism

But even there conflicting emotions are in play. It is argued by some that the long-range concern must be to assure the stable endurance of Parliamentary institutions. At bottom this demands good men as much as good parties. To that end it should be financially attractive to sit at Westminster, and this should be sufficiently so to lure the up-and-coming trade union boss away from the high salary and high esteem that go with the top job in a strong union.

As it has been put by a Tory Member of long experience, the worry is to ensure that the Labour Party recruits the best men and does not sink into the clutches of a clique of haggard, hungry fanatics.

It has been the deliberate policy of this Administration to enhance the prestige of every cherished institution. The Coronation would have been organised on a less lavish scale by Labour, or so that Party's loyalists themselves aver. The Prime Minister has insisted on a substantial increment for the Judges. He is jealous of the high repute of the bench. Likewise, it is the aim eventually to bring about such a reform of Parliament as makes it a more efficient working machine; meantime, the Members must be rewarded.

Tactical Initiative

This project bristles with tactical difficulties. As a whole the Tory Party will have none of it for the present Parliament. It has forced the Administration to reject the Select Committee's proposals. A likely compromise, if the Opposition can be induced to take the initiative in seeking this, say by a motion for a Supply Day, will be a subsistence allowance for days spent away from home.

AGENDA FOR GENEVA

Mr. Dulles' Difficulties

When Mr. Dulles agreed at Berlin to a Conference with Red China and other nations at Geneva, the consequential difficulties which he must face in the

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United States were little comprehended. But his Government and its predecessor had steadfastly treated China as the aggressor seeking to shoot her way into the United Nations. And though the United States had already consented to meet China at a conference which was to conclude the Korean conflict, that undertaking had a strictly limited liability.

The United States had only, in fact, committed itself to meeting China to agree procedure for unifying Korea. At Berlin the agenda for a conference was extended to embrace Indo-China where the United States and North Atlantic Powers were in a far weaker position. For instead of having, on balance, actually gained a little territory, as in Korea, the French are harder pressed in Indo-China than ever; other nations have not yet involved themselves to the extent that they did this in Korea; there is no regional or United Nations defensive system within which the Indo-China struggle has so far been conducted and Mr. Dulles' proposal in that regard is under fire.

In agreeing, then, to discuss Indo-China at Geneva, Mr. Dulles was embarking on a risk far vaguer and more extended that would have been involved in the Korea Conference as first intended. Moreover he did it in defiance of a strong China lobby in the Republican Party.

Mr. Eden Keeps Free Hand

Since then Mr. Dulles has attempted three things. He has done his best to lever out of his own government enough extra material help to save the French being overrun at Dien-Bien Phu by the time the Geneva Conference meets on Monday. This has included the demonstrative presence of an aircraft carrier in the Gulf of Tongkin and now an airlift from Paris. Mr. Dulles is seeking to organize the other interested non-communist powers in a regional defensive system. And he has tried to limit the agenda for Geneva to the two issues, Korea and Indo-China.

Mr. Eden has played a more flexible hand. So far from agreeing to commit himself in advance of Geneva, he has kept wholly free. To the United States proposal that the Anzus Treaty (to which Britain has thrice upon the dictation of America been refused admission) should now be extended, the Foreign Secretary answers in effect that this can be studied. His spokesmen in Whitehall stress that there can be no hurry, least of all when the campaign season is close to its end. Whereas Mr. Dulles has wished to patch together a diplomatic association to confront the Chinese, Mr. Eden is unwilling to engage in any commitment that has little chance of being honoured. He has refused to try to bluff China.

Nor has he responded to suggestions, for instance in the House of Commons, that he should say now that he also means to discuss East-West trade at the conference. His answer to enquiries about that is that he prefers to keep himself free.

Widening the Talks

On the other hand he has not thrown down the suggestion made in Izvestia two weeks back that the conference, aside from Korea and Indo-China

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should also seek agreement between the Great Powers about 'universal security' in the Far East. This idea may be more to his taste than he has yet cared to admit. Officially he is wedded to the principle of settling individual problems in detail by patient negotiation. That does not mean that he has no general concept of the way he thinks it may be possible to establish a peaceful world.

On the contrary, he knows that the key to a useful negotiation about world-wide problems is a series of firm agreements on particulars which, in effect, restrict the other side's space for manoeuvre. Here is classical diplomacy in the modern setting. On the one hand the Foreign Secretary continues to insist (as in his reply to M. Molotov's idea about joining NATO) that the universal forum of common commitments is the United Nations. On the other flank, as it were, he insists on piecemeal agreements to settle particular problems.

For if these settlements are workable, they constitute a cumulative restriction upon the expansiveness of the modern imperialism with which it might then become profitable to negotiate on wider issues like disarmament, security and atomic energy control.

Seeking "Showdown"

Such was Mr. Eden's mood when Mr. Dulles began his exchanges in London before Easter. On the one hand the United States Government had resolved that the Geneva Conference should, so far as Mr. Dulles could influence the course of events, be the diplomatic showdown toward which all President Truman's preparations were directed during his tenure of office. President Eisenhower is reputed to have given broad assent to the idea that the present is a more favourable moment in terms of the equation of fighting force between East and West than any that is likely to come later.

On the other hand many of the allies of the United States within NATO and others friendly to the West have been urging an accommodation between East and West with increasing fervour. For example Turkey, which has at no time been thought susceptible to fifth column infiltration, let alone of any weakness of will or doubt about the origin of danger, has been foremost in pressing for a detente. Since the March 1 hydrogen bomb test the appeals of Turkey and many of the smaller countries in NATO have grown to a clamour.

That appeal has been supported by pressure for an extensive relaxation of East-West trade restrictions which the recession in America prevents the Washington Government from being able effectively to resist.

Peking-Moscow Differences

Then there is the calculation, which is favoured in Whitehall and has some appeal to the British Foreign Secretary, that there are differences between Peking and Moscow as fundamental as anything that drove Tito and Stalin apart. Under such circumstances, with enormous bodies of manpower and resources of conventional armaments to drive asunder, it seemed unwise in London to be too categorical too soon, in the way Mr. Dulles had proposed.

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The American Secretary of State therefore faced an awkward tangle, which had not been made easier by the Juin affair. On the European front, that is to say, all is ready for the European Army except France; ratification in Paris remains wholly speculative and with that speculation is tied up a complex question about the future of the French Government, perhaps of Parliamentary Government as the Fourth Republic has known it.

In Southeast Asia, the quandary for United States policy is as hard. The Laniel Government had resolved on a sharp stiffening of policy. From the moment Chinese intervention became obvious enough to be demonstrable, it became less ready to talk peace with Ho Chih-minh. Indeed, the Laniel Government's hope was to force Viet Minh to break itself on the battlefield in time for the diplomatic showdown so that Peking should be forced to abandon Ho Chih-minh as Stalin dropped Markos in Greece.

Battlefield Choice

To that end was the battlefield at Dien Bien Phu chosen by the French. Here was a carefully picked site, well fortified, to which the Viet Minh were lured - or so the calculation ran - to the end that they could at least be made to expose themselves to disintegrating blows.

It has of course worked out the other way. But the French decision to fight it out and the Viet Minh readiness to accept a pitched battle created a chance for the United States which Mr. Dulles could not ignore. His Administration were forced to send more direct help at once. In doing so it was able to approach the other governments likely to be interested.

None, for example in Australia or New Zealand, is ready to despatch troops unless the United States does the same. Here is the endless dilemma which postwar American foreign policy can never wholly elude. It seeks to stop communist imperialism, whether in military or political form. But, like any country with a system of elected and representative government, it would prefer to furnish the material means while others provide the men.

Second Line in S.E. Asia

In this recurrent dilemma, American prestige has once more been engaged; but it has also encountered a surprise. The Viet Minh forces do not now seem to have been 'lured'; they have given an impressive account both of their own numbers and will to fight. All this has led to a fresh review in Washington of the several alternatives. Suppose the French are beaten? It has been suggested that a new defence line through Burma and Siam is the answer. The Siamese are, officially, willing; but they are not of great reliance.

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This Week's Contents

Viet-Nam Partition;
Colombo Conference; Kashmir
Clouds; Indian Ocean Tensions;
Panorama.

COBALT

Co-existence

Production of the cobalt bomb, with a destructive radius of 1,000 miles, has begun both in the United States and Russia. This is the essence of a report in the possession of the British Cabinet.

A preliminary conclusion in Whitehall is that co-existence of the two systems, their borders adjusted by the diplomacy of blackmail, is now inevitable rather than speculative, in that recourse to the ultimate weapon is almost automatically self-destructive. Twelve of these bombs, at appropriate intervals, would half circle the globe with ruin.

An historical analogy is recalled in the co-existence that for long periods was tolerably peaceful between Christendom and Islam, despite the vigorous interruption of the crusades, and of the Moors' advance upon Tours, then much later that of the Turks upon Vienna.

Geneva is in this context regarded as a forum for diplomatic adjustment by blackmail.

BEVAN AND THE BOMB

Chasing the Left.

Understatement is the weapon upon which the Prime Minister has seized for pitiless torture of the Opposition.

During the fortnight since Mr. Bevan broke with the Labour Shadow Cabinet both the Prime Minister and Mr. Eden have been to special lengths - including a Sunday Cabinet and a sensational return flight from Paris before

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hastening to Geneva - to make this plain: that the British Government have not consented, and will not consent while the Geneva negotiations proceed, to a programme of overt intervention in Indo-China.

This discomfits Mr. Bovan, whose faction the Tory Front Bench is already glad to see diminished by the calculating defection of Mr. Harold Watson. Mr. Bovan had charged that the Foreign Secretary's accord with Mr. Dulles to explore the possibilities of a regional defence system in S.E. Asia, was the immediate prelude to surrender to United States policy. He said it would start British involvement in war on behalf of a colonial power. It was an appeal to popular anti-Americanism.

Vandenberg Bomb

At the same time nobody in the Government has forgotten the painful episodes of the hydrogen bomb debate. And as calmness follows the stress and storm of that day, the critical fact is emerging now. There is no longer any doubt that Senator Vandenberg's charge was true. His papers claimed that in 1948 Britain surrendered her right of vote on use of the a-bomb as the condition for receiving Marshall Aid.

Sir Winston Churchill has offered, in response to many requests, to publish the 1948 Attlee-Truman Agreement provided the interested Governments, those of the United States and Canada, agree and the Leader of the Opposition assents.

At Question Time on Tuesday the Prime Minister was once again asked if Mr. Attlee yet acceded to this popular request. With an extra turn of the screw the Prime Minister blandly professed that he had done all he could. And when asked outright if Senator Vandenberg's charge were correct he pretended that this had nothing to do with the Order Paper.

"High Level" Again

This was the favoured "high level" of political controversy in which Mr. Attlee had indulged with such relish not many weeks back. Now it is coming home, and will be relentlessly driven home in the countryside as the months pass into Autumn, that today's peril from uninhibited United States toying with the atom derives from the Labour Government's sale of the country's freedom for a morsel of Marshall Aid.

On either count, opposing wings of the Labour Opposition face the converging fire of an Administration sharply stung by the by-elections at Motherwell and East Edinburgh. Those defeats have already plunged the Party machine into a mood of self-examination.

PARTITION OF VIET-NAM

Common Values

Nowhere was the fortune of battle at Dien Bien Phu being more closely followed during the past week than in Germany. Because the Christian Democratic Union, and its press, are sensitive about Franco and the peculiar need to handle French susceptibilities with the lightest touch, little or no public reference has been made in Bonn to the most significant feature of the struggle.

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Dion Bion Phu is being partly defended by the Foreign Legion, many of whose members are Germans. Pride of their achievement is welling inside Germany as a foretaste of the influence that that nation is bound to exert upon the European Army if it ever takes shape.

Although the requirements of domestic political theatre played their part in Mr. Eden's weekend travels, there was a new sense of urgency in this regard. In Paris M. Bidault had told him that unless substantial United States or British intervention took place shortly, the whole of north Viet-Nam would be lost, including Hanoi and the port of Haiphong. This region provides the rice for the whole country; so a French collapse in the north could mean the collapse of the rest.

Dumping Bao Dai?

France refuses to fight on alone indefinitely. Indeed M. Bidault would readily press for peace on the basis of partition. But the Emperor Bao Dai, for his part, declines to consent to this. If the West, then, wish to sustain the image of dominion status and bury the memories of a colonial regime by supporting Bao Dai they must be ready to intervene.

What Mr. Eden required to examine with the Cabinet and Chiefs of Staff last Sunday was a double question. On the one hand, is intervention politically impossible, having regard to the state of public opinion? On the other hand, if the French position crumbles and with it all north Viet-Nam, will that be disastrous for the rest of Southeast Asia, and for British interests?

In regard to the first it was plain that intervention is politically out of the question now. As to the second, there is everything to be said for partition in the north, with or without the Emperor. He can be dumped, and never provided an altogether convincing facade.

DIPLOMATIC OPPORTUNITIES

Recognition of Ho Chih-minh

But whether the French and Viet-Nam collapse in the north, leaving Hanoi and Haiphong to the Vietminh (Communist) elements, or make a peace by partition, it will be natural for Peking and Moscow to give formal recognition to Ho Chih-minh's administration afterward.

Such public courtesy, following the presentation of important quantities of military supplies and the introduction of Chinese artillerymen, would perhaps be more significant than the military help itself. For until physical action has been sufficiently successful it is usual for Communist motherlands to hold back from the overt political step. But once the second phase has been reached, it would be natural for China to conclude an open military alliance for joint help with the puppet regime thus acknowledged.

On present form partition is clearly the best that the West can hope for given both the Cabinet's verdict on Sunday and reluctance in the United States to intervene also. That reluctance has fed on realisation that formal United States intervention would hasten complications for which none of the NATO countries is psychologically ready.

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Asian Opinion

Nor, and this is a determinant in the Western estimate, is Asian opinion ready for overt European action. Indeed, the French effort has been roundly condemned not for being militarily unsuccessful (the French have done as well as Greece did against her Communist invasion) but for failing as a colonial power. It has become common talk from the House of Assembly in New Delhi, and from the Pakistan Assembly, all the way to Westminster that French rule is reactionary, unprogressive, a tyranny, and the very sort of 'colonialism' which can only affront the people.

Evidence for these assertions has been lacking. But it is perhaps a pointer to the way thought might yet turn that quite opposite opinions were expressed at the recent conference in Lahore of unofficial, but distinguished, representatives of Commonwealth countries conferring under the aegis of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. There was an attendance from India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, Britain, West Indies, Malaya.

Much time was consumed by the Asians condemning 'colonialism' while giving Britain a clean bill of health in her own colonial record. France was condemned unheard and without evidence. But those who condemned the French most harshly were those furthest removed from the scene.

Realism in E. Pakistan

On the other hand a delegate from East Pakistan, living as it were within a relatively close distance of the conflict, expressed the contrary view; he feared not that the French would stay too long, but that they would leave too soon. That expression of view alone is a sign of the way even Asian opinion may be on the turn.

COLONIAL CONFERENCE

Indian Ocean Division

Some of it will have been crystallised officially at the conference of Asian Prime Ministers which opened in Colombo on Wednesday. The countries attending are India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia. The trend of this meeting is hotly 'anti-imperialist'. Indonesia's Premier, Mr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, has proposals to create an anti-American, anti-SEATO front embracing Africa (excluding South Africa). Pandit Nehru supports him.

But Mr. Mohammed Ali, as Pakistani Prime Minister will back nothing so extreme now that he has been driven, by Indian imperialism in Kashmir, to accept United States help and to develop a policy tied to defence of the Middle East and association with Turkey. More practical proposals relate to studies about stabilisation of raw materials prices and endeavours to obtain a bigger share of Indian Ocean shipping for the Indian Ocean countries themselves.

So the knowledge that Pakistan and perhaps Ceylon, are cautious about the anti-SEATO front suggests again that opinion in Asia may be turning more favourably toward the French part in Viet-Nam's struggle. In other words, there is an inevitable psychological time-lag in regard to any overt step which the Western Powers are likely to be able to agree to take in Indo-China to avert the collapse of northern Viet-Nam.

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Advantages of Partition

That, in turn, points to partition, which it has hitherto been Mr. Dulles' object to avert. His argument suggests that no frontier with Viet-minh Communists can be held for long. On the other hand Burma has a long border with Communist China. This has been held so effectively that the Burmese Government, in no way robust itself, has been able to hold the Red Chinese at bay though refugee Chinese nationalist forces have hung on in Burma as a standing provocation to Peking. Burma has virtually overcome indigenous Communist insurrection. It could well be, therefore, that given partition in Indo-China the situation might be held.

Moreover, this would amount to a partial defeat for Ho Chih-minh. For his campaign has been to gain the whole territory. Partition would imply failure to achieve that and, sooner or later, a formal commitment by China to respect the new situation. In turn that would imply formal recognition that even if the rest of Indo-China is subject to French 'colonialism', the sovereignty of the Associated States of the French Union must be respected.

Were such undertakings to be obtained their subsequent violation, should that occur, would perhaps provide a more convincing diplomatic basis for organising international help of the kind that Mr. Dulles wants in SEATO and for which M. Bidault has asked already.

The Generals Speak

But there is a powerful strategic consideration impelling Mr. Dulles. If Hanoi and Haiphong go, the next objective would, in his view, necessarily be Saigon, whereafter the Kra Isthmus at the tail of Burma and Siam must be the next. Siam's own record is not one of vigorous resistance to outside power and threat of aggression. Mr. Dulles, in effect, is arguing that unless outside help goes to north Viet-Nam now, the situation will disintegrate all the way down to the Malayan border. That is the tale he uses to curdle the British.

Mr. Eden's view is different. Premature Western intervention would anticipate the crystallisation of Asian opinion and add up to a political blunder in a problem where the political argument is quite as powerful as the military.

Flora to Nehru

But he will go to considerable lengths to bring SEATO into being eventually and is convinced that everything should be done to win India. He has even given thought to flying from Geneva to New Delhi to discuss the matter. Such a gesture would be flattery for the Pandit, but the Indian Prime Minister is adamant.

Mr. Nehru insists, and repeated in New Delhi only this week, that the Indo-China war is not a communist but a colonial struggle and that France must withdraw her troops. He does not admit that this would be surrender to sheer Chinese imperialism.

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Kashmir Clouds

While in Colombo Mr. Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan, was hoping this week to trap Mr. Nehru into a private talk about Kashmir though the first contact was a cobalt flare-up.

April, the deadline for appointment of a plebiscite administrator as agreed by the two Prime Ministers last August, ends today. India purports to regard that agreement as void because Pakistan has since signed a defence pact with Turkey and is receiving American arms.

Here lies now danger. For if no move toward a plebiscite is made, Pakistan's Muslim League government, weakened by electoral defeat, may be unable to restrain the Azad Kashmir tribesmen from renewing the war.

INDIAN OCEAN BALANCE

Commonwealth's Inland Sea

All this threatens to disturb the Indian Ocean balance of power afresh. Outward pressure by the Eurasian landpower has already, for the second time within five years, drawn the United States into the mainland of the Asian continent. For the airlift last week from Paris to Indo-China could be taken to be the start of an involvement, just as the entry of Chinese artillerymen into Indo-China is a direct involvement likewise.

But in Mr. Eden's eyes the issues in Southeast Asia are less simple than in Korea. Here is a danger, in effect, that the indeterminate military conflict of Great Powers shall affect an area where the contagion could spread fast, but which holds in it, perhaps, the future of the British Commonwealth system.

Certainly the vast majority of Her Majesty's Dominions, whether these are measured in the number of selfgoverning territories, or by the number of their inhabitants, lie about the Indian Ocean.

From the Union of South Africa, up through the Central African Federation which can almost be called an Indian Ocean power, through East Africa to Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Mauritius and the Cocos Islands, Malaya and Australia, there ranges the application of British culture and political science to alien countries and foreign or emigrated peoples, mainly united by the English tongue.

Criss-Cross of Conflict

Within this region, giving access to enormous and still undeveloped mineral wealth upon which the Sterling Area rests its hope of Commonwealth economic independence, there live multitudes of peoples and fierce tensions prevail.

In the African Continent there is the clash between European and Indian. In South Africa there is a near war between African and White, so also in Kenya. In East Africa the spread of an Indian expansionism is sensed.

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Between Pakistan and the Republic of India there lies Kashmir. To the southeast Australia continues to exclude all but a few Asian immigrants while with all speed building up an European population.

Amid this complex of tensions it cannot be to the British Commonwealth interest that yet another should obtrude itself, least of all the ideological war between East and West when in the Indian Ocean the Commonwealth strives to wed and mingle Asian and European culture. Still worse, in a Commonwealth view, would be the obtrusion upon this of the East-West conflict fought out as a Great Power war with all the horrifying panoply of modern slaughter.

United States Influence

Yet that is the shadow that stands in the wings and with it another facet of Indian Ocean affairs. It was to the United States that Pakistan turned for backing against India which Great Britain could not provide while being true to the accepted platitudes and evasions inherent in Commonwealth relationships. It is to the United States, on the Eastern side of the Indian Ocean, that France has necessarily turned for supplies of war materials and for transport. For though the Indian Ocean is the inland Sea of the British Commonwealth, redressment of the balance of power within that area falls to the role of an emancipated British Colony of a former, and now departed, British Empire.

Some of the unspoken implications of Mr. Eden's Easter Eve statement about SEATO reveal the complexity of his own diplomatic purpose. He sees in Mr. Dulles' project the chance to broaden the ANZUS Treaty from which Britain has been repeatedly shut out and therewith to tie the United States into support of British burdens in Malaya.

"Warning" to China

More than once, too, Mr. Eden stressed that the arrangement in mind would cover the Western Pacific. He did not say as much; but if this has particular importance to Britain it must cover Hong Kong.

If so, would it cover Formosa likewise? It would not be impossible for the United States to press strongly for Formosa's inclusion if, for example, the Geneva Conference breaks down and Red China's recognition as a member of the UN is further withheld. Mr. Chou En-lai implied as much on Wednesday.

Mr. Eden's statement of course left it to be inferred by China that unless her diplomacy at Geneva justifies for her the recognition of the UN, the most obvious obstacle to Formosa's inclusion in the pact project would be removed.

This is one of the senses in which Mr. Eden's words conveyed something of the 'warning' for which Mr. Dulles had asked, without associating it with an ultimatum of the sort that Chinese pride would be likely to reject.

PANORAMA

RED ARMY ROLE: A combined intelligence survey of the Communist world, studied by the NATO Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris last Friday, stressed

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the Red Army's growing influence on Soviet politics which may impel a new assessment of long-term policy.

The danger of a Soviet Military as opposed to Party dictatorship is no longer imaginary. Senior Red Army officers have taken top posts in both Party and Government. They hold many seats in the Praesidium. They gained 60 representatives in the Supreme Soviet on March 14.

The NATO survey suggested that the Army resents Mr. Malenkov's appeasement of the public and is readying for an attempt to reverse this policy. The Red Army may be using Mr. Molotov and Mr. Khrushchev to wrest control of the Party from them.

ANOTHER SPY: Yuri Rastvorov, Second Secretary of the Soviet Mission in Tokyo on January 24 sought sanctuary with the American authorities, who have since been checking his story. Rastvorov is 34.

Like Petrov in Canberra, Rastvorov was appointed by Beria. As after the defection of Petrov in Australia, so also in Tokyo: there was an immediate purge of the Soviet mission; seven members left for Moscow.

SUDAN AGAIN: Sir Robert Howo, Governor-General of the Sudan, flies to London next week on leave, and for consultations about the virtual breakdown of the British-Egyptian Agreement.

The Sudanese Parliament has now ousted the Umma (Independence Party member of the Commission and appointed a pro-Egyptian Ashigga (National Unionist Party) member.

The two NUP members and the Egyptian can out-vote the British and Pakistani members.

The Governor General might use his reserve powers to declare that the Sudan Agreement is imperilled, for the right of the Sudanese to move toward self-determination without outside pressure is being impaired. But that would be a grave step.

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This Week's Contents:

Left Wing Fascism; American
Alliance; Sir Walter Monckton's
Appeal; Corporate State Trend;
Reformist Union Leaders; Candidates
for Office; Partnerships at Geneva.

ANOTHER MOSLEY?

Left Wing Critics

That Mr. Bevan would make of himself another Oswald Mosley is the comment of a leftwing Labour Member of Parliament who has been active as a strike leader in the Scottish coalfield since the earliest days of this century.

Such a suggestion is going the rounds of the Labour Party with the comment that despite his undoubted brilliance as speaker, Parliamentary tactician and leader of men, Aneurin Bevan is animated by personal ambition.

It is a charge which is common in politics, and common of rising men in both the main parties. But when it is repeated by those of the Labour Left, who are often in precise ideological sympathy with the hero, it carries a significance of its own. Sometimes that is expressed in this way:

Trade Union Test

'No man who has not grown up in the working class movement as a ground-level trade union organiser can be safely trusted when he comes to the House of Commons'. The inference is that in some degree Mr. Bevan's contact with trends of opinion among handworkers derives more from his uncanny intuition than from disciplined training in working class association. It is implied that he is too much of a politician and too little of a working man.

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Nor is it untypical that that comment was followed by another: honest Labour men could respect honest Tories and at many points they would find their interest in social democracy to be identical.

REFORMIST OR REVOLUTIONARY

Abe Moffat

Strange cross-currents are involved here. As this Correspondence has recorded often, there is a cleavage on the Left. To the one side stand those, like responsible leaders of the TUC, who know that unless the British economy prospers working folk will suffer pitifully.

To the other side stand the likes of Mr. Abe Moffat, President of the Scottish Union of Mineworkers, who believe that the capitalist system must be driven pitilessly to that ruin from which communism alone can emerge. His is the steady drive for higher wages without greater output, so that the coal industry collapse, and the nation's economy with it.

Between those extremes, the political face of the Labour Party is contorted. The past two and a half years of Parliamentary exchange have seen Mr. Bevan nimbly manoeuvring for leadership of the Left, Mr. Attlee and Mr. Morrison skilfully and at times strongly asserting themselves in the name of the Right.

American Alliance

Most often, the issues chosen for combat have little direct relation to the economic struggle and the basic clash of ideology. Mr. Bevan's departure from the Labour Front Bench has been related to the American alliance. Except inasmuch as that matches in closely with the line set out in directives to the Communist Party discernible in the weekly Journal of the Cominform, the ground of conflict has only an indirect association with the ideological dialectic between latter-day marxism and social democracy.

But with the American affair, on which Mr. Bevan can excite prejudice and win strength in the uninformed constituency parties, are adroitly linked popular fears of a new Korean war over Indo-China, and the people's fury and fear about the hydrogen bomb.

Bomb Incident

This was seized upon by the Bevanites as the latest test of strength. During the Commons debate on the Committee Stage of the Atomic Energy Authority Bill a group of moderate Labour men put an independent proposal forward: Britain should not make the Hydrogen Bomb without Parliamentary approval. This was presented so cogently by Mr. Frank Beswick (Uxbridge) that the Bevanites passed word around to back it.

Some 63 did so, only to find that three Labour Whips had joined them in the enthusiasm of the minute, and furthermore that all sixtythree were next day pilloried or praised as Bevanites in the national press.

In fact they were persons who had done what, during the debate, Mr. Bevan's coterie suddenly resolved was worth trying. A number of unwary and moderate fish were caught in the net and, when the Labour Chief Whip demanded explanations and, in the Whips' cases, resignation also, quickly promoted by the old hands to the role of martyrs for the people.

But while these issues have little direct relation to the traditional divergence between revolutionary and reformist socialism which has afflicted the Labour Movement for a century, they do relate to the crystallisation of constituency opinion which, if it can thrust enough Bevanite candidates forward upon Parliament could, as a result, impose them upon the Trade Union Movement which in fact provides most of the political fighting fund.

CORPORATE STATE TREND

Objective Facts

Against this the official leadership has now set its face. For Mr. Attlee and Mr. Morrison and their fellows the loyalists, whether of the right or the left, must be rallied against one portrayed as a selfseeker, and against a group of persons variously described as exhibitionists (R.H. Crossman) or dilottantes (A.J. Irvine).

For the political economy of the nation, in the view of this middle element, is moving into a new phase subtly and clearly apprehended by the Minister of Labour, Sir Walter Monckton. He recently seized on the fact that two Courts of Inquiry into industrial disputes had recommended that an independent body should be created to investigate impartially the wages and other economic factors governing any industrial situation, including the industry's need, for example, of capital re-equipment.

It was thought that if a body of this kind could come into being, authoritative and acceptable pronouncements could be made determining whether, in fact, a given industry was as incapable as it claimed of accepting this or that wage demand owing to the danger, for example, of raising export prices.

Capital Needs

The Minister of Labour put this project to the National Joint Advisory Council on Industry on April 28. Here is a body representing the union and employer elements, alongside the Government.

A critical component in the proposal, as it had come from the Courts of Inquiry, was this. The body would consider "the extent to which undistributed profits are needed for replacement and expansion and are therefore not available for wages; and the question of how far finance for replacement and expansion should come out of profits or out of new capital".

Here is the crux of the economic argument between the reformists and revolutionaries. The latter will demand that capital be obtained, first by tax of the rich, then by levy, and at last by expropriation. The revolutionary will press his demands without mercy to force Government and employer into this position.

Independent Guarantees

To the responsible reformist, any such process is known to be futile for the improved living standard of the bulk of the people. It follows, then, in the Monckton argument, that the TUC might welcome creation of such an impartial body as would ascertain the facts with the same independence of judgment as the Ministry of Labour at present displays in keeping the cost of living index.

For in the advanced Tory view the time has come not to outlaw the right of collective bargaining, but to attune it to the needs of a postwar island economy - in other words to ensure that, the collective power of labour being recognised, it shall not be used in an irresponsible way incompatible with the wellbeing of the State. In terms of such thinking, then, the Monckton project reads like the argument for collective security. It can be to nobody's advantage to engage in war, therefore organise a peace system.

But when that is proposed for labour relations the constituent unions express an instinctive fear. They behold in all this a progressive advance away from the unrestricted right of free assembly and organisation, enhanced by the right to strike, toward a system little removed from Mussolini's guild-socialist Fascism. They see the Corporate State around the corner.

Educating Workers

Naturally, then, the TUC felt bound, for the record, to refuse Sir Walter Monckton's proposal. But they were careful in doing so to make it clear that they meant to continue playing their part in education of the handworker to comprehension of his responsibility. "The General Council believe that whatever needs to be said to the (Trade Union) Movement on the present economic situation, is best said by themselves...The Council will continue to take steps to promote within the Trade Union Movement the fullest understanding of Britain's economic position".

In this context the TUC leaders are seeking, without closing the door to the Monckton proposals, to safeguard their revolutionary rear and to protect, of course, the individual rights of the unions they represent. It is parallel to this fundamental association of common interests in the State that on the political front Mr. Morrison and Mr. Attlee have together recovered the initiative.

Foreign Affairs

As to foreign affairs the Prime Minister's refusal to agree to embroilment in Indo-China swept Mr. Bevan from his chosen platform; in home affairs the Labour Executive has struck out at a demonstration about the hydrogen bomb which could assist Mr. Bevan and, if pressed, would give the Prime Minister's friends another chance to rake up Mr. Attlee's secret accord with Mr. Truman in 1945.

NUM & AEU

But while this proceeds the mood of moderation and realism is already seeping down into unexpected quarters. On the one hand the new President of the National Union of Mineworkers has, for example, been visiting Scotland. Here is the territory of his Communist rival for this supreme position, Mr. Abe Moffat,

who has without scruple associated the Union there with communist activities. He has arranged delegations to Russia and China to study mineworking. Fares have been paid and lavish reports issued afterwards which threw no light on new mining techniques unknown to the British industry, but which served to suggest that both Russian and Chinese techniques were far advanced.

Observers watching Mr. Jones' appearances in Scotland suggest that it has been at his own request that miners have asked questions about these free trips, the finance of the attendant publicity and, more than anything else, the way men are chosen to go on these jaunts in the first place. Mr. Jones has used his elected authority to allow it to be inferred that there is material for enquiry here.

Floating Voter

On the other hand the new President of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, Mr. R. Openshaw, called at the opening session in Blackpool last Sunday of the Union's policy-making body, for a new approach. He said there was no reason why employers, through the FBI should not jointly with the TUC approach the Government with proposals to "keep down or even reduce" prices as an alternative to another round of wage claims. What workers wanted was not necessarily more money but the power to purchase more goods and amenities with what they had.

With such a mood abroad, the possible political context of another general election closely interests Mr. Morrison, who has this week renewed his appeal to the floating votes of a middle class that is constantly recruited into the ranks of respectability from among the handworkers.

This week, for example, the Minister of Housing was able at last to announce a house-financing proposition of irresistible public appeal. For not more than £3 a week, which is in many cases not more than twice the present rent, a working man with £10 to £15 a week and several children schooled by the State but easing his tax burden, may purchase his house for 5% of the capital down.

Fascist Answer?

It means, and the Labour Party leadership are acutely aware of this, that as the standard Both of living and of property rises, so the margin of 'workingclass' militancy is reduced. It remains for labour to appeal to this widening middle element, and to be sure that Mr. Bevan never again contrives to frighten it.

National Socialism, designed simultaneously to protect both the handworker and the new graduate to property ownership, could indeed be Mr. Bevan's answer, as some of his acquaintances suggest when they liken him to Oswald Mosley.

ROYAL PREROGATIVE

Cabinet Reshuffle

Between now and the Conservative Party Conference in October the Sovereign will evidently be called upon to perform what Mr. Morrison's book calls her most important duty. On the assumption that Sir Winston will retire, she must call another to his place. She would naturally listen to his advice. She would

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naturally hearken to others. It is difficult to imagine the voice of the Mountbatten dynasty being wholly silent.

But by one means and another two facts seem to be settling down, from the Party viewpoint. Mr. Eden holds himself as if he were sure of the succession (while being careful to avoid creating further antagonisms in his Party). Mr. Butler holds himself as the figure with the purse-strings now and certain to have the dominant voice in public affairs at home, and in trade and economic relations abroad, for the foreseeable future.

Doubts are circulating whether, in fact, he will stay at the Treasury; some cast him for the Foreign Office although Mr. Macmillan has long cast himself for that responsibility also. Sir Walter Monckton has many inducements to desert, not least the chance of returning to the Bar if the highest office is not made available to him. Mr. Dorok Heathcoat-Amory, now Minister of State at the Board of Trade in charge of the export drive, would do well, the Lobby gossip has it, at the Ministry of Labour. In Scotland, Mr. James Stuart holds office as the Prime Minister's direct confidant. Many believe he would gladly relinquish an exacting office if given the opportunity.

Demotion for Some

All this spells some promotion for a few younger men, and with the circumstances of a reshuffle the chance of the scrapheap for others now in office. The greatest query of all hangs about the impressive but likewise confident head of Mr. Lloyd George. Farming, nobody denies, looks for one to replace Sir Thomas Dugdale.

Miss Horsbrugh wears the air, these days, of one close to the end of her battle. The Cabinet considered only a few days back whether to proceed with the Teachers' Superannuation Bill despite some grave warnings. Possibly four backbenchers will vote against it in its present form on Second Reading. Another half dozen have promised to abstain.

Rebellions

How firmly they will hold is a matter of opinion, especially if the Minister can offer, on Second Reading, to introduce sufficient amendments on the Committee Stage. No official word has yet fallen to say if the Bill shall proceed. The matter came to a vote in the Cabinet; now the Party has begun preparations to drive it through.

For the present the tide of events has carried the Suez rebels to victory in round one, while Mr. Peter Thorneycroft has dropped his Industrial Reorganisation Bill without demur. There will shortly face the House a Food and Drugs Bill from the Lords which has already provoked the demand that the Commons reject it altogether. But that might provoke constitutional arguments which the Prime Minister would rather postpone.

Salaries

His last farewell, if he can make it, is to bequeath to a grateful Parliament an increased emolument for its Members in some acceptable form.

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So far the Government have been outmanoeuvred about this. Their hope is to lure the Opposition into a formal statement of their position. That can only be done by inducing them to put down a motion for a Supply Day. Mr. Attlee has used all his Parliamentary art to plead that the Government's duty is to furnish a day to discuss a Select Committee Report - that is, on a Government motion. Sir Winston was driven last week into the promise to look at this again through the 'usual channels'.

This week's filibuster about the Television Bill would have been likely in any event. Labour meant to press the Government into using the guillotine; but there was an edge of bitterness to it all in which the rasping note of a wage claim could be heard.

WARNING TO PEKING

Moving Toward Partition

Discreet diplomatic warnings were this week passed to Peking by the British Government. It would be wiser if the Viet-minh did not press on in Indo-China after Dien Bien Phu to conquest of Hanoi and Haiphong in the Delta.

Such action, Peking is told, might cement the Western world's divisions and nerve it to answer M. Bidault's cry for intervention, to say nothing of Mr. Dullos' plea for SEATO.

The Laniel government are still feeling their way toward terms for a negotiated settlement. For though they have taken a public stand in the past two days against partition as a basis for settlement, this is read in Whitehall as a tactical move. M. Bidault looks like leaving it to the British Government to put settlement proposals forward. If these included partition, the French task in persuading Vietnam to accept them would be easier, for it could be said that France had little choice - in view of the British attitude.

SINO-SOVIET PARTNERS

Asia Linked to Europe

When at Geneva M. Molotov proposed immediate talks between France and Viet-minh about a truce to bring the wounded from Dien Bien Phu, three conclusions were drawn. Some thought that he hoped to start levering the Viet-minh into the conference and that this would be the thin end of the wedge. Alternatively, this was the start of a subtle diplomacy designed chiefly to checkmate the Chinese at each point while nonetheless seeming to mediate and to be their friends. Thirdly, it was concluded that this was one more Soviet manoeuvre to curry favour in Paris to the advantage of Russian policy in Europe.

There is nothing yet to disprove any one of these theories. Moscow of course wanted the Viet-minh delegation at the Council table and this is agreed. This advances China's cause while bringing into the open a new entity which, because made public and exposed to world-wide scrutiny, can perhaps be invested with nominal independence and so be used as a new element in the complex weaving of fresh manoeuvres. In any event, if Russia wishes to prevent China overreaching herself and involving the world in a war with Indo-China, M. Molotov needed the Viet-minh element at the table so that a truce could be spread into a peace.

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In itself, that would be welcome to every shade of French opinion. But its welcome would be valuable to the Soviet Union in another regard. It cannot be overlooked that Russia is just now mounting a powerful cultural approach to France. There was the French Opera in Moscow which received an unexampled ovation. The Russians have a ballet in Paris that is up to their topmost choreographic standard. Few Frenchmen can wholly resist the aesthetic approach when Russians care to lay it on.

"Indivisibility" of Peace

If that constitutes a campaign and if it is right to read this alongside the Russian programme at Geneva, it is difficult to resist the impression that there is a strong ground for Russia's addresses.

It may be discerned, perhaps, in Mr. Chou En-lai's opening gambit. For his first public appearance in Europe brought him to the rostrum to say that Asian and European peace were indivisible. In other words, whether there is real or simulated tension at certain points between Moscow and Peking, they have combined either to say that Germany and Indo-China are linked, or to say that if France will put her trust in Moscow her burden in Indo-China and her amour propre can surely be relieved.

This looks like the first tentative hint at a package proposal intended not to produce a simple East-West settlement, but to create conditions wherein a settlement favourable to the Communist axis could be secured.

EDC

For the net effect of gracious dealing by the Communists is to make more speculative the French Parliament's ratification of EDC. Even before Geneva its prospects were never good. Now they are so bad that even if ratification did scrape through it could not have the moral authority and enjoy the respect among Frenchmen accorded to the Pleven Pact at its birth. This means either that EDC will take shape as a sickly child, or that it will not take shape at all. Certainly, that is one of M. Molotov's hopes; he has never hidden it.

But the alternative is more curious. Mr. Dulles has threatened that the sole alternative is a West German national army, directed by a West German General Staff, joining the NAT forces once West Germany has herself joined NATO.

German Fears

Many in Germany fear this. There is the belief that once Germany allows herself or is forced to have a national army this will be such a temptation to the people that it must end by dominating the scene. In the Social Democratic Party two points are made. EDC will be an affront to Russia, making accord on German reunification and conclusion of a peace treaty impossible. So that must be avoided. The alternative, then, must be that 'neutralism' which by every kind of device Russia has tried to awaken and encourage for nine years. At Geneva Chou En-lai has suggested, in effect, that for a German evolution after M. Molotov's heart he might modify unstated but obvious pretensions in Asia. What Geneva is waiting for is M. Molotov's hand. There must be a quid pro quo.

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May 14, 1954

This Week's Contents:

South East Asian War; Mr.
Edon at Geneva; H-bomb Parley?
Contacts with Colombo Powers.

TIDE OF WAR

Elan of Viet-minh

Outstanding factors in the Indo-China campaign area are these. The French Commander chose to garrison Dien Bien Phu "to bring the Vietminh to a pitched battle". Regular and irregular Vietminh forces number about 300,000 men - and are steadily gaining recruits, including deserters from the French and their associates.

These forces, including Vietnam (described as 'feeble'), North African levies, Foreign Legion, and French Regular Army, number more than 425,000 - all regulars. These have superiority of equipment and enjoy undisputed command of the air.

Such is the elan of the Vietminh that in the assaults upon Dien Bien Phu newly-trained recruits, equipped only with grenades, were invariably sent in as the first wave. Steadier, more valuable troops, followed.

Strategic Objectives

Vietminh losses, heavy as they have been, are matched by recruitment. It is likely that Vietminh, instead of being drawn into pitched battle, will now seek to lure out the French and their associates. But their artillery may be bogged down at Dien Bien Phu till after the monsoon.

Two desirable strategic targets present themselves to Vietminh. Of the 27,000,000 population of all Indo China, some 7-8,000,000 dwell in the Red River Delta of Tongking around Hanoi and Haiphong, while a like number live in the far south in Cochinchina. Though Vietminh irregulars exist here, they cannot

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readily be supplied from the Chinese stores in the north unless and until Vietminh forces have fully mastered the Red River Delta, and intervening communications.

Consequently, the narrow "waist" of mid-Indo China offers certain geographical attractions as a defence line. But there are Catholic populations to the north who cannot decently be abandoned, and Vietminh forces to the south.

BLAME FOR DIEN BIEN PHU

French Analysis

Bitter charges are being made by members of the French delegation at Geneva and by the relics of the Government in Paris. Humbled by the fall of Dien Bien Phu, they charge that Mr. Eden, by refusing to support aerial intervention by the United States, had made it impossible for President Eisenhower to ask such help of Congress; wherefore a battle for the free world was lost.

Those who thus analyse the course of events liken the Vietminh to a battleship ploughing an easy way through a gentle sea of bickering and dispirited Western allies. Such an analysis assumes that aerial intervention, at the place and time proposed, would have stalled the Red advance as it signally failed to do in the opening phase of the Korea campaign.

Such an analysis would also make this assumption. Just as the Red Chinese, in driving apart the tattered and unreliable forces of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, were again and again thought to have overreached themselves after every pitched battle, yet sped on with the spur of each new victory, so the Vietminh forces will feed on and be inspired by their triumph.

"On to Singapore"

If that is the hypothesis, there would be no reason to suppose that the guerrilla war that has harrassed Laos and Cambodia will not once more flare into an open war of manoeuvre and even pitched battle, again to the discomfiture of French arms and Western prestige.

In any belief of that sort, of course, there can be no room for the complaisant thought that this movement would halt at the borders of Siam, or even of Malaya. To the contrary, on this reading of events the end must either be Singapore, or a firm Allied front first.

PRESSING FOR SETTLEMENT

British Theory

Mr. Eden's preliminary analysis has been of an opposite character, and is not so far discredited by the process unfolding at Geneva. He holds that the Chinese finally held their hand in Korea for two reasons. They were fast losing good troops. To proceed indefinitely might well be to set off a world war to the possible disadvantage of the Red Bloc.

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To the French, of course, it is now a propaganda interest to play up stories of Vietminh advance. There are operational reports of isolated forays creeping into print which would have been discouraged in the past. These have already started to build up the picture of movements of men both to the Delta of Hanoi and Haiphong, and into Cambodia, starting already.

Reports of that kind, out of their familiar perspective, might indeed stimulate a sense in the West that fullscale and overt military intervention, with troops on the ground, is the only means of preventing the ultimate loss, at any rate of Malaya, if not of Singapore itself.

Observing at Geneva

But the hint which Mr. Eden picked up at Berlin has not yet been contradicted. If anything it has secured a little confirmation. He learned from M. Molotov of a natural Russian fear lest the boastful Chinese overreach themselves and embroil first China, then Russia, in a world war.

In that context Mr. Eden thought, it seems, that the Geneva conference would be useful in several ways. It would show M. Molotov and Mr. Chou En-Lai together, for public scrutiny and observation; and it might furnish a chance for M. Molotov to use his good offices with the Western Powers as an indirect check on the Chinamen.

In Geneva nothing has happened yet to damp that hope. M. Molotov is affable; Mr. Chou En-lai is inscrutable and not often seen. As the major curiosity he is of course bombarded with social invitations which he never accepts and rarely acknowledges. He sits behind a screen of servants and minions, like an Oriental Emperor, while M. Molotov moves confidently about with the air of a diplomatist of experience, a kind of modern Metternich.

Mr. EDEN'S DIPLOMACY

Exchanges about SEATO

Such a role on the Russian part is not without its appeal to the British Foreign Secretary, the more so as Chou En-lai's counterpart, Mr. Dulles, has forsaken the scene altogether. From Washington he has issued a series of contradictory pronouncements through the familiar press conference medium that have tended to embarrass the British Government in London.

Leftwingers in the House of Commons have sought to elucidate whether or not exchanges, discussions, negotiations or conversations have in fact been proceeding about the projected SEATO (South East Asia Defence Organisation). The point is relevant only for dividing the United States from Britain. Mr. Dulles says such conversations are proceeding. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd has said they were not. All depends on definition.

What would be relevant, if leftwing questioners were to delve into the matter, would be the divergence of objective. For Mr. Eden is working primarily to bring about a settlement that could be guaranteed (and which, because it were a settlement, would be saleable to the British public). That is his view of a SEATO. Mr. Dulles, in seeming despair either of a settlement at Geneva or of Mr.

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Eden's timing and analysis, seeks forthwith such an association of states, committed either to each other or to the USA, as would form a barrier somewhere.

Staff Talks Object

This is the divergence which Mr. Eden has sought the means to correct by proposing military staff talks in Singapore between Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand and the USA. He has set out two objectives. The first is to work out the alternative defence-line upon which a partition of Indo-China could be militarily guaranteed by others. It is vital to regard inland communications and ports in searching out the alternatives offered by the terrain. Here lies the way to a peace that could be enforced.

Second is to consider the essentials of any mutual military aid to any of the Associated States of Indo-China. The means of communication and potential location of bases must be examined before realistic exchanges can develop.

Here was a flexible project, the very flexibility and ambiguity of which alarmed Mr. Dulles. While Whitehall was early this week promoting the Singapore talks as a way of progressing without making political commitments, Mr. Dulles said he would rather the talks were in Washington, with Asian states sitting in also.

BIG FOUR PARLEY?

Sir Winston's New Hope

In the provisional estimation, meanwhile, of the British Foreign Secretary, it is too early to judge whether the Chinese do, in fact, mean to encourage their friends to sweep on down the Southeast Asian peninsula at the risk of world war; and whether, if so, M. Molotov is genuinely game to try diplomatic manoeuvres with the British to halt them.

At all events, it is not yet clear that he is not and a certain negative hint has been thought likely to confirm Mr. Eden's own hunch in the matter.

Both the Soviet radio and the press have been wholly silent about the resolution adopted by the House of Commons on April 5 which recognised the "grave threat" presented by the H. bomb and urged the Prime Minister to take the initiative again to secure a meeting with the Heads of Government in the USA and Russia.

Soviet Gesture Coming?

Silence on a topic of this immensity is interpreted to suggest that the propaganda organs of the Russian system have been bidden to await a directive that would needfully follow a top level decision in the Government. If so, the matter is being deeply pondered at the Kremlin.

That has suggested the likelihood of a violent new peace gesture following close upon Russia's entry to UNESCO, ILO, and a host of other international engagements in recent weeks. Whitehall would not be surprised if Russia now proposed such a highlevel confabulation.

British-Russian Exchanges

For Soviet propagandists seem to have been building up to a climax. British-Soviet friendship is the current motif. Sir Winston Churchill's addresses to the Royal Academy Banquet on April 28 and to the Primrose League on April 30 have been taken up in Moscow. On the first occasion the Prime Minister said new weapons increased the chances of outlawing war. The second speech sought to convince the Russians "that we long to see them play a proud and splendid part in the guidance of the human race". Nor can it be wholly accidental that, political tension having prevented the Russian Ballet from opening in Paris, the Foreign Office raises no objection when commercial interests seek to bring it to London.

The movements of thought that may be proceeding through the diplomatic channel behind all this can only be surmised. But if, while Mr. Eden observes on the spot in Geneva, and Sir Winston communicates with Malenkov and President Eisenhower, there is the smallest hope of wresting a settlement from the conclave, no measures will be left undone.

PEKING CONFERENCE

Executive Orders

Of course Mr. Eden and Sir Winston Churchill decline to consider Dien Bien Phu as in itself a great or determinant strategic loss. On the other hand intelligence reaching Whitehall through non-diplomatic channels seems to suggest either that matters are being thoroughly reviewed in Peking, or that the great decisions have already been made there and need only be communicated to subordinate executives.

For there is information that the most important instrument of the communist national liberation struggle in the Far East - the "World Peace Movement" - has held a conference in Peking within the past two weeks.

Delegates assembled from Malaya, the Philippines, Siam, Burma, Indo-China, Indonesia, India and China. Unlike the general run of such conferences this was confined to local Secretaries-General of the peace movement.

Meeting Delayed

Their intention to meet became known when British authorities in Singapore and HongKong delayed transit facilities for the Indonesian representatives. But their presence was considered of such importance that the meeting, to have been held in mid-April, was delayed until they arrived.

The Asian section of the "World Peace Movement" was formed in Peking in October, 1949. A peace congress held there in October, 1952, declared that "the struggle for national liberation is inseparably linked with the struggle against war".

PLATFORM AT COLOMBO

Realities in Communiqué

That is the context in which Mr. Eden's diplomacy senses hope in the conference of the Asian Prime Ministers (Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, Pakistan and

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India) at Colombo. And commitments made there are less of a platitude than they seem. Indeed, the surprise is that when five neighbouring Prime Ministers, whose countries are already involved in a series of crosscurrents and tensions, meet for the first time they produce any common platform at all.

This common platform, outlined in the communique, contains references to 'colonialism'; but the highest common factor proves from the communique to be "the right of selfdetermination". That right is specifically asserted in regard to one part of the world only, it may be significant to note, and one far removed from the Indian Ocean. Although the Prime Ministers contrived to suggest that France was depriving the North African Arabs of their right to selfdetermination, no such suggestion was made about French treatment of Vietnam.

"Colonialism"

To the contrary, they called for no more than a French declaration that would qualify Niotnam for consideration by the UN and eventually for admission to it. Given the popular suggestion in India that France is fighting a mere colonial war to sustain an outworn and discredited system, the silences here are audible.

There is no suggestion, likewise, that 'colonialism' is offensive anywhere in the Indian Ocean although targets could have been found without giving offence to members of the Commonwealth. At one end of the scale there was no word of Mauritius or the Cocos Islands nor yet of Pondicherry; at the other end nothing was said directly about Africa (for instance Portuguese East).

Egypt

Nor, when the Conference expressed its unequivocal sympathy for the Arabs of Palestine and of North Africa, was any reference made to Egypt. Reports from the Commonwealth meeting at Lahore in March certainly have suggested that new thoughts are arising in India about the Suez Canal. For it was pointed out then that the chronic instability of Egyptian Governments both before and since King Farouk's abdication has meant that only the presence of British force in the Canal Zone has assured the local tranquillity necessary for smooth working of the Suez Canal Conventioin. India and her colleagues at Colombo discussed shipping problems, without referring to those in the communique. The Prime Ministers also discussed raw materials and the chance of commodity agreements.

But they could not look at the first without considering the danger to Indian Ocean trade if free passage through the Canal were no longer assured. Nor could they think far about raw material supplies and marketing arrangements without seeing either that 'colonialism' should be defined so closely as to be no longer obnoxious, or that it had best be mentioned only in regard to countries far away.

Silences about Kashmir

There was a special nuance in the Conference allusion to France declaring the independence of Vietnam so that the United Nations could consider

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the matter (without, that is to say, being open to the charge of meddling in a country's domestic affairs; for that is what Pandit Nehru says the UN and oversea countries persist in trying to do with Kashmir).

It is, of course, on this matter that the silences of the Asian Prime Ministers contribute the chief disappointment. It speaks much for Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, as Prime Minister of Pakistan, he could subscribe to one or two phrases which read like Pandit Nehru's challenges to his policy. The Asian countries deplore interference in their domestic affairs by external communist agencies. But the phrase is extended to include "anticommunist" as well. It reads like a slight upon Pakistan's military aid agreement with the United States.

It could well prove important later that both Pakistan and Ceylon which does not fear to declare a general alignment with "the West", endorsed their colleagues' comments on China. All five countries want the Peking Government represented at the United Nations. And all five, in effect, discern dissimilarities between the brands of communist activity of which they have experience.

MR. EDEN'S CABLE TO COLOMBO

Useful Reply

On April 28, while this conference was still in session, Mr. Eden cabled to ask whether the Prime Ministers would be willing to support peace in Indochina, if this could be established at Geneva. The Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotelawala, as Chairman, replied by sending the communique and calling attention to paragraph two.

It recognised the need for accord "on steps necessary to prevent the recurrence or resumption of hostilities". Any such agreement should be reached between the countries chiefly concerned, including Britain, France, the USA and the USSR, the three Associated States of Indo-China and Vietnam and by "other parties invited".

This was taken in Whitehall to mean that some of the Colombo Powers might be willing to give physical help, for example in supervision of a truce. Moreover, in one cable in a series passing between New Delhi and Whitehall Pandit Nehru stressed that India was "aware of her responsibilities".

The Prime Minister has enquired what that means. And Mr. Eden has by way of courteous recognition of the Kotelawala telegram sent several summaries of the course of events at Geneva.

SUMMATION AT GENEVA

Two Interpretations

This, then, is a summation of the diplomatic position to date:

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- 1) Sir Winston Churchill is expecting a propitious moment for a Big Four talk about the H-bomb;
- 2) Mr. Eden continues to observe at Geneva the interaction of Moscow and Peking, and is strengthened in this, his belief from Berlin: that Moscow wishes to stem the Chinese advance toward involvement of the Red Bloc in world war;
- 3) Mr. Eden sees here the makings of a diplomatic opportunity to achieve a settlement in Indo-China. Once that were made, the public of the Western world could be invited to back it with military guarantees;
- 4) By contrast, the French propagate the beliefs that Britain is to blame for Dien Bien Phu by refusing to support the United States in aerial intervention; and that the Chinese are moving relentlessly on with Singapore, rather than Saigon, as the ultimate object.
- 5) Mr. Dulles, accepting the French thesis, continues to propound and propagate early conclusion of a Southeast Asian Treaty Organisation, irrespective of progress at Geneva where he believes the British Foreign Secretary is wasting his time;
- 6) To match up the British and United States viewpoints, Mr. Eden has proposed the Singapore staff talks, which Mr. Dulles now wants to dominate in person at Washington;
- 7) Mr. Eden is keeping in close touch with India and the other Colombo Powers, for their help, just as Mr. Dulles counts on the Philippines and Siamese.

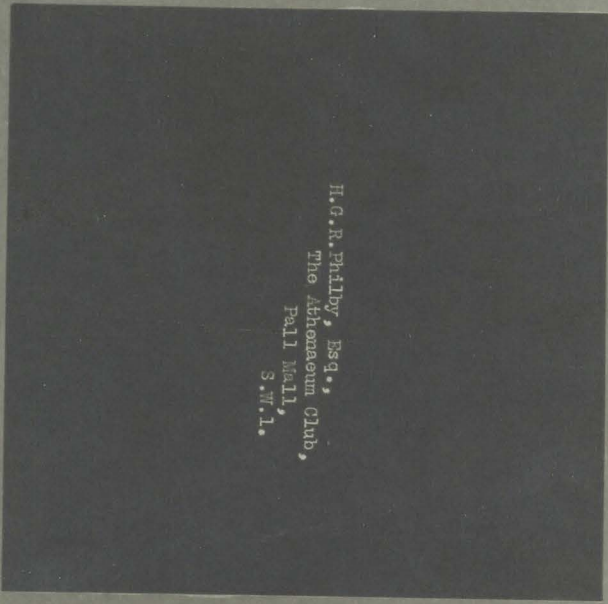
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19th May, 1954.

H.G.R. Philby, Esq.,
The Athenaeum Club,
Pall Mall, S.W.1.

Dear Philby,

It was such a pleasure to meet you last night with Erich Verlehen after all that I had heard about you.

I am enclosing some samples of:

- (1) The (weekly) Whitehall Letter which I took over from Gordon-Lennox nearly

/eighteen . .

eighteen months ago and which has been running since before the war. This is priced at 5 guineas a year and is intended to combine domestic with international affairs.

- (2) The (weekly) Fleet Street Letter concentrates entirely on international affairs and is priced at £25 a year.
- (3) The Daily Service of Diplomatic News - a series of daily bulletins to be priced at anything from £70 a year upwards.
- (4) General features on international affairs by myself.

Taken together these constitute the routine productions of the Fleet Street Letter Ltd., but of course we do special services for particular journals like NEWSWEEK and THE PEOPLE. I think it is in the sales promotion of routine products and the expansion of the special services that the best economic hopes lie.

Signed by Patrick MAITLAND

THE FLEET STREET LETTER

Editors:
WILFRED RYDER.
HON. PATRICK MAITLAND, M.P.

10, Ovington Square,

London, S.W.3.

No. 390

February 18, 1954

Dear Sir,

ONE MOTIVE which sent the Western Foreign Ministers to Berlin was the hope that they might gain an insight into the aims of Stalin's heirs. What they found only confirmed their fears - that the mixture is much as before, though it tastes better.

MALENKOV World domination is still the aim of Soviet foreign policy, in which
CAUTIOUS there is no room for abandoning territory, least of all East Germany or Austria. But Stalin's blustering manner of setting about it forced the West to band together and arm to the point where it can deny the Soviet Union all hope of obtaining world domination. Mr. Malenkov has adopted a more cautious policy which he hopes will lead to a breakdown of the Western alliances of which Mr. Stalin was the chief architect.

Stalin, moreover, had over-strained the Soviet economy with his vast construction projects and the armament programme needed to back his aggressive policies. Production of food and consumer goods was allowed to drop so drastically that even the docile Muscovites could not be denied much longer. Mr. Malenkov has therefore set out in two or three years to give them more food and consumer goods. This period of detente, he hopes, will help to weaken Western alliances and create a slump which should be their death blow.

PLAIN "If today, in conditions of tension in international relations", he told
WORDS the Supreme Soviet on August 8 last, "the North Atlantic bloc is rent by internal strife and contradictions, the lessening of this tension may lead to its disintegration". There could be no clearer admission of the aims of the new Soviet leader.

DIVIDE To prise open the splits in the West, France is offered peace in Indo-
& RULE china in return for abandoning the European Defence Community which will permit German rearmament and immeasurably increase the strength of NATO. Soviet trade pacts are offered in profusion all over the world; they help to break down the Western world's dependence on the dollar and at the same time help to solve Soviet economic problems by providing imports of goods of which Soviet industry cannot produce enough.

When America and Britain outline new defence policies based on atomic weapons, the Soviet government appeals for agreement to ban their use - a point which appeals strongly to countries which would be in the path of an atomic duel. France and Germany are tempted with a tripartite pact with the Soviet Union to guarantee European security; Britain and the USA are excluded.

SUBTLE This is a more subtle policy than that of Mr. Stalin. But it cannot
POLICY hide, though it may cloak, the aim of world domination. Communism may have abjured aggression for a few years while it regains breath and rests its flagging energies, but the basic aim has not been abandoned.

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EDC The Soviet government has used the Berlin conference primarily to halt or at least to delay West German rearmament within the European Defence Community. Now that the conference is at an end the prospects that the French Assembly will ratify the treaty setting up the community do not appear as remote as last summer, when another Council of Foreign Ministers on Germany was in prospect but had not yet met nor ended in failure. At least half of the socialists in the French Assembly are likely to support it and M. Bidault has been angling for the votes of the Gaullists.

They object to the 'supranational' aspects of the community whereby France would lose a substantial amount of control over her armed forces and hence suffer a loss of sovereignty. The modifications M. Bidault proposes are designed to reduce these sacrifices. One is that the period of eighteen months before complete military integration of the six nations is achieved should be extended. By that time, it is hoped, there will be peace in Indochina and some French troops can be brought home to counter-balance the new Wehrmacht.

ADENAUER Dr. Adenauer has indicated that he is willing to accept the modifications GIVES IN the French require. He regards the supranational aspects of EDC as its most valuable features for the restraint they will place on West German militarism which he has as much reason to fear as the French. Yet he prefers to make sacrifices on this point rather than lose EDC altogether. For the only alternative is the re-arming of Western Germany as a member of NATO. Dr. Adenauer considers that NATO provides insufficient restraint on the rearmament of its members and little on the direction in which it can be used.

JAPAN While attention has been focussed on Berlin, some progress has thus been made towards filling one of the most important gaps in Western defences - by the rearmament of Western Germany. At the other end of the shield round the Soviet borders, negotiations which American representatives have been conducting in Tokyo on the scale of Japanese rearmament and the amount of American aid for it are nearing their conclusion. Japan's present army of 110,000 men is to be doubled and a start made on an effective navy and air force in place of the coastguard service and spotter corps which Japan has at present.

GUIDED The Keidanren, the Japanese Federation of Economic Organisations, has MISSILES more ambitious plans for rearmament than either the American or the Japanese government. It has set up a special committee on the production of guided missiles, which is supported by thirteen aircraft, radio, calculating machine and precision instrument producers. It has begun work by collecting information from abroad - a method of research long favoured in Japan.

The Keidanren argues that guided missiles are a more effective form of defence than fighters. There is no mention of the fact that rocket bases in Japan can dominate important areas of Siberia and Manchuria, not to mention the whole of Korea.

ATOMIC The National Security Board, the nucleus of Japan's future Ministry of WEAPONS Defence, is planning to send officers abroad as military, naval and air attaches. Their task will be to obtain information on new weapons, tactics, strategy and "international military affairs". Hitherto the American Military Advisory Office in Japan and the Foreign Ministry have been the only sources of such information. And Mr. Kimura, Director of the NSB, is planning to set up a research institute for atomic weapons as well as for guided missiles.

Thus, while the Japanese government argues about the amount of American aid which will be made available for rearmament, the industrialists and the militarists have more far-reaching plans. They are more interested that Japan should make her own arms than that she should get them from America. The main restraint on Japanese rearmament is the caution of Mr. Yoshida. But, unlike Dr. Adenauer, he is not to be helped to restrain the rise of Japanese militarism by anything resembling the European Defence Community; all that he can fall back on is the alliance with America. A similar arrangement has so far restrained South Korea; it remains to be seen whether it can restrain Japan.

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BALKAN DEFENCE From Germany to Japan there is a burst of activity among countries who have formed regional defence pacts, are forming or trying to form them in the Balkans, the Middle East, Southeast Asia and Africa. Representatives of the Chiefs of Staff of the three Balkan Pact partners - Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia - are meeting in Ankara this week to continue their periodic discussions of military cooperation and coordination. Their pact is one year old on February 28.

At a meeting in Belgrade in November the three powers signed an agreement to establish a Permanent Secretariat to prepare for the conferences of the three powers, to study all aspects of political, military, cultural, economic and technical cooperation, and to advise their governments accordingly. The three powers also reached agreement on a coordinated plan of defence against an attack on any one of the three.

TURKISH WORRIES Yet, despite this progress, there is a shadow over the pact. It cannot be effective until Italy - the back door to Yugoslavia through the Ljubljana Pass - is a member, and that is impossible until there is agreement on the future of Trieste, which is still as far away as ever.

Moreover there are fears in Ankara that "Russian intrigues" might impede military cooperation. The Turkish government thus decries the Cominform's invitation to Yugoslavia to return to the fold, and the recent improvement in relations between Yugoslavia and some of the satellites. She has been accorded an important place on the Danube Commission after being snubbed there for years.

DOUBTS & SUSPICION The Turkish government is also worried at the effect of the trade pacts which Greece has concluded with the USSR and nearly all the satellites. Greece has signed a border agreement with Bulgaria, and Hungary has promised to return Greek hostages abducted during the civil war. Nor is the Turkish government convinced that Yugoslavia and Greece are cutting their military expenditure as a matter of economic necessity; it suspects that this is partly to be accounted for by the Soviet peace campaign.

Marshal Tito has bluntly rejected Cominform overtures to return. Greece has signed an agreement with the USA giving airbases which will counteract the effects of any reduction in her armed forces. Yet recent Soviet and satellite peace moves have created suspicion and doubts among members of the Balkan Pact.

NORTH OF THE MIDDLE EAST Negotiations for a political, economic, cultural and military pact on the lines of the Balkan Pact are in progress between Turkey and Pakistan, which will soon be concluded. Iraq, annoyed at the manner in which the other Arab States have rejected the plans for federation which her Foreign Minister put to the last meeting of the Arab League Council, is now more favourably disposed to join such an alliance than hitherto. Persia is seen both in Ankara and Karachi as a member once Gen. Zahedi's government has its hands free from negotiations for a settlement of the oil question, and once the country's finances are in a better state as a result.

SE ASIA The need still remains for a regional defence arrangement for the countries lying between Pakistan and those like Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand, which are joined in pacts with the USA; but the foundation on which it can be built - the will to work together against communism - is still missing. In its place the Great Powers with interests in this area continue their periodic defence conferences. Another meeting of military representatives of Britain, France, the USA, Australia and New Zealand will be held in Singapore next week; it will be the third of its kind.

AFRICAN DEFENCE Finally, there will be a meeting of military representatives of Britain, France, East, Central and South Africa in Dakar in March. Their talks will be a continuation of those in Nairobi in 1951 (when the provision of through communications facilities in Africa in wartime was discussed) and in London in 1950 (when the need for defence cooperation in the continent was first recognised). This meeting may, however, be more interesting.

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For there is a growing realisation of the fact that the Belgian Congo and South Africa are among the world's principal sources of uranium and that they are unprotected by any joint defence organisation. Enthusiasm is again reviving for the South Atlantic Treaty which Mr. Erasmus, South African Defence Minister, proposed at the African defence talks in 1950, which was pushed into the background by the Korean war.

REDS This picture of general progress in the defence efforts of the Western
GAIN Powers from Germany to Japan would not be complete unless the shadows are painted in. Reds have been rioting this week in Rome where the future of democratic government is still uncertain. They have been out on the streets in Calcutta too. Throughout India the communist vote in recent by-elections had increased by one third; in Hyderabad they have obtained nearly one half of the poll and in Madras nearly one quarter.

In Indonesia the northern tip of Sumatra is in the hands of rebels and there is no safety from armed bands even on the outskirts of the capital, Jakarta; the country is ready to fall like a ripe fruit to a communist putsch. In Indochina, French-trained indigenous troops have been deserting to the enemy in sufficient quantities to recall bitter memories in Washington of the way the Kuomintang armies went over to the Chinese communists. In Japan there are now 100,000 card-carrying communists, twice the number of 1950.

CAPITALISM'S Thus, although the missing links are gradually being forged in the
APPEAL FAILS Western chain of alliances from Germany to Japan, it will be of no avail if, while it cannot be broken from without, it can be weakened by subversion from within. These instances of increased support for communism in vital sectors of the free world illustrate the futility of relying on arms to conquer communism when the hearts of the people who are to be called upon to carry them have not been won over. Alliances and armament programmes are useless without the economic development to boost the standard of living which the poor of this world are so easily persuaded communism can give, but not capitalism. Reports of Commonwealth Economic Conferences and Randall Commissions provide neither pasta, wheat nor rice for the starving millions of Italy, Indonesia, Indochina and Japan; the will to put economic plans into effect is needed also, without thought of the political consequences at home.

AGRICULTURAL The Soviet leaders continue to make frantic efforts to ensure that
CONFERENCES the promise of extra food and consumer goods "within two or three years" which Mr. Malenkov gave to the Soviet people last August will be carried out. For three weeks running the Kremlin Grand Palace has been the scene of major conferences of agricultural workers. The first, principally of workers from Motor Tractor Stations, met from January 25-28 and the second, of state farm workers, met from February 3-5. The third, a mixed bag of farm workers, met from February 11-13.

At each of these meetings every member of the Party Praesidium, its full and alternate members and its two secretaries, has been present. Only Mr. Molotov, who has been in Berlin, was absent. Marshal Bulganin, who was absent from the second meeting, was present at the third, the only absentee on that occasion being the alternate member Ponomarenko, who has been sent to Kazakhstan as First Party Secretary.

PLOUGHING The aim of these conferences has been to see that the government
MORE LAND decrees of last Autumn, which ordered the measures necessary in agriculture to fulfil Mr. Malenkov's promise of more food, are put into effect. The manner in which these conferences follow on top of one another and the fact that every party notable attends, indicates the extreme anxiety on their part that the decrees should be carried out, and their fear that the attempt to satisfy the long-denied demand of the people for more of the goods they produce will fail, bringing serious unrest in consequence.

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At these conferences plans have been unfolded for bringing 20,000,000 acres of additional land under cultivation. By next year half of this programme is to be completed. The areas chosen are the Urals, Siberia, Kazakhstan and the Volga Valley.

KAZAKHSTAN, UZBEKHISTAN Further evidence of the effort to step up agricultural production is the purge of top party personnel in Kazakhister - one of the main agricultural areas. Its first and second party secretaries have been purged for failing to increase agricultural production and to reclaim waste land. In neighbouring Uzbekhistan "extensive shortcomings" have been discovered in the growing of cotton. A government decree has ordered an increase in production there in 1954 to 3m. tons, in 1955 to 3.3m. tons and in 1958 to 4.2m. tons.

3m.MORE WORKERS Increased production of consumer goods is being assured by switching heavy industry to produce them, and by imports from abroad either of the goods themselves, or of heavy industrial products, thus releasing plant capacity and workers to make consumer goods. For this extra all-round effort in both industry and agriculture more workers were needed. That they have been found is evident from official figures released this month in Moscow which show a sudden and vast increase in the number of workers employed in the Soviet Union in 1953 - 44,800,000 as against 41,700,000 in 1952, an increase of 3,100,000.

Now the increase in 1952 was only 900,000 and 1,600,000 in 1951. The annual increase has been falling steadily since the massive influx into industry and agriculture immediately after the war, caused by partial demobilisation. By 1952 the figure was increasing only in the normal annual amount resulting from a gradual increase in the total population.

DEMOBILISATION? Further demobilisation cannot wholly explain the sudden jump in the annual increase of workers by 2,200,000. The Soviet armed forces number today some 4,750,000, an increase of 160,000 since 1951. There is some evidence that a slight reduction is now beginning as a result of the ending of the Korean war and the introduction into service in the Soviet forces of atomic weapons, but it will affect no more than 200,000 men in the army and is counterbalanced by a continuing influx into the navy. It cannot explain the sudden jump in the labour force last year.

SLAVES FREED The true explanation of the jump is the amnesty last March for some categories of Soviet prisoners convicted for non-political offences. They were sent to labour camps by the Secret Police but were never counted as part of the Soviet labour force. Their numbers have been estimated as high as 25m. and as low as 5m. A true estimate is probably around 10m.

The reason for the release of over two million of these red slaves is no sudden accession of humanity on the part of the Soviet government. It is rather the realisation that this massive labour force was most wasteful because it was unwilling. The amnesty was designed to allow it to choose its work in the hope that it would prove more productive and help the drive for more food and consumer goods.

MORE CRIME One curious result of the amnesty: Before it, the Soviet press used to boast about the absence of crime in the USSR. In fact, it was hushed up because suspected criminals were whipped off without trial to labour camps. Since the amnesty, however, so many of the inmates of these camps have returned to their old ways of life that complaints about murders and robberies cannot any longer be kept secret. Not all managers of factories and collectives have been willing to take on those released, which is another reason why they have been forced to crime. From time to time there appear in the Soviet press appeals to give work to those released and to help in rehabilitating them instead of shunning them.

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COMMUNIST HOOLIGANS Astonishing frankness about the disillusion of youth in communist countries and revelations of the manner in which it seeks relief from boredom are coming from Poland and Czechoslovakia. In Poland a campaign against 'hooliganism' has been in progress for some months; under this heading is listed drunkenness, gambling and shirking. 'Zycie Warszawy', the leading Warsaw daily, describes in detail the drunkenness which is common in a young workers' hostel in Okopowa Street and at another in Karolkowa Street. At dances, the paper claims, the inmates of these hostels "behave like perfect hooligans". On excursions the first "cultural and educational" demand by leaders of both sexes is for vodka.

A woman tram conductress has described over Warsaw Radio the reign of terror conducted by bands of hooligans in the city at night. One of her fellow-workers, she stated, is a nervous wreck as a result. Wanda Odolska, a Warsaw Radio commentator, has described an incident in which a young girl was being tormented on a trolley bus in Warsaw: "Young boys leered at the girl, gloating at her embarrassment and trying hard not to miss a word. The conductor appeared to think that hooliganism in public vehicles was an everyday affair". Young men on the vehicle who were asked to restrain the hooligans "merely made some uncivil retort".

BOREDOM "Many young boys...wander aimlessly through the streets, beat up passers-by and indulge in alcohol and hooliganism", the commentator states. "In workers' hostels little attention is paid to the welfare of youth. The so-called clubs exist only in name; the flies often die of boredom on their premises". Wardens who proudly claim they have put an end to drinking orgies have driven the boys from boredom into the streets where hooliganism has increased.

CZECH GANGS One of the pastimes of these young bloods, it is admitted, is to beat up ardent young communists. In the countryside the target is workers on state farms. Nor is this state of affairs confined to Poland. In Czechoslovakia twenty young hooligans united in a band which called itself the "Vysherad Riders" have been publicly tried for a series of crimes of violence. The trial has been used to bring the problem of hooliganism to the public notice and a campaign against it is now in progress.

DRABNESS RELIEVED Hooliganism is to be found in the West as well as in the East, in London, Glasgow and New York as well as in Prague and Warsaw. There is some evidence, however, that in Eastern Europe it is a result of the failure of communism to capture the imagination of youth, as well as a reaction against the drabness of life and the poor future which it holds out.

Communist governments are beginning to show some awareness of the danger of boredom and drabness on youth. There has been some relaxation of the ban against jazz. There is an effort to reduce the number of communist meetings and lectures and discussion groups which take up so much free time after work is over. Recently there have been complaints in high places that shirt-sleeves are being worn even at important balls; the glamour of formal dress for both men and women is extolled.

Yours faithfully

Wilfred Ryder.
Patrick Maitland.

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THE FLEET STREET LETTER

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March 4, 1954

Dear Sir,

BRITAIN'S NEED FOR A FORWARD DEFENCE LINE on the Continent of Europe is about to be spelled out in the agreements which she will shortly sign on the manner of her political, military and parliamentary association with the European Defence Community and in her declaration of intent to station troops on the Continent to work alongside those of EDC.

THE FINAL FORM of Britain's association with EDC, as agreed in outline between Mr. Eden and M. Bidault in preparation for further detailed negotiations in Paris and London, will link her more closely to Europe than the Dunkirk Brussels and North Atlantic Treaties.

THE REASONS for the need for this major departure in British foreign policy were explained in a little-noticed speech by Mr. Nigel Birch, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, to the House of Commons on March 2nd.

DEFENCE SHIELD "The threat of atomic reprisals is the main deterrent to a hot war but the second deterrent, and one which may be almost as important", Mr. Birch said, "is the provision of a firm defensive shield in Europe. As the speed of aircraft increases, and as the range of guided weapons extends, so does the importance of depth in defence.

"If the Continent cannot be held, there is no depth in our radar warning system. We are bound to be attacked by escorted bombers and short range ground-to-ground missiles. Nor can we retaliate if our bases, airfields and launching sites are overrun. Therefore, the ability to pursue a forward strategy in Europe in the event of war is vital to ourselves as well as to our allies.

ARMIES NEEDED "Strategic airpower alone, whether using the atomic weapon or not, cannot prevent armies advancing unless they are opposed by conventional forces on the ground. Use of tactical atomic power can only be decisive against an enemy which has been forced to concentrate his forces; that means it cannot be used with effect unless there are conventional forces on the ground.

GERMAN ARMY GIVES DEPTH "It is almost certainly true that the use of tactical atomic weapons will prevent a massed attack being made in the classical manner. Therefore, it can be of some advantage to a Power weaker in numbers but stronger in technical development. But whatever gains we may get from the use of atomic weapons in the tactical roles we shall still need a firm shield on the ground in Europe.

"The present allied front in Germany is 500 miles long, and it is not protected by any major natural obstacles east of the Rhine. Holding such a front is a formidable task, even with a German contribution to EDC, but to hold such a front far enough forward to give us the depth we require for our own defenses without a German contribution would present insuperable difficulties."

BRITAIN, in other words, cannot today be defended except by a strong defence shield on the Continent provided by conventional armies, including her own and that of Germany. In order to obtain the German contribution to that shield through the European Army Britain is prepared to link herself more closely to Europe than ever before in her history.

MOLOTOV Mr. Molotov in Berlin showed himself in private conversation with his
UNEASY Western colleagues uneasy and uncertain about the future of Communist China's policy in Asia. Both the British and the American delegation, and to a lesser extent the French delegation also, came away with this impression.

Now Soviet officials have for some time given the impression in conversation with Western diplomats that the Chinese are difficult to deal with and that the Soviet government has not a completely free hand in Asia. It is an obvious bargaining technique and the Western Powers have long ago seen through it. But the impression Mr. Molotov gave at Berlin was something more than this.

ASIAN There are two explanations of his attitude given by those who were in
WARS Berlin. One is that both the Western Powers and the Soviet Union know that the chances of war in the immediate future in Europe are remote. But there are active hostilities in the Far East - in Indochina for instance, and in Korea there is merely an armistice without any peace settlement. As long as this situation prevails, there is a danger that hostilities may spread.

For the Western Powers have made several public statements which leave no doubt that the resumption of the Korean war or active Chinese intervention in Indochina would bring retaliation on China herself. It is this that the Soviet government fears, for then, by the terms of the Sino-Soviet alliance, it must come to China's aid.

SOVIET Even if the result were not general war, the Soviet government's plans to
UNREST stem unrest inside the Soviet Union within two or three years by greater production of food and consumer goods would be upset as the five year plan was upset by the need to supply China with military equipment for the Korean war. And if internal unrest is not stemmed, then the future of the Soviet regime itself is uncertain.

PEACE IN The Soviet government therefore, in this view, wants to bring an end
FAR EAST to hostilities in Asia for, as long as they are active, they carry within themselves enormous potentialities for damage to its own existence. It is therefore prepared to make concessions to get peace in Asia. It does not, however, always find it easy to persuade China to make them. That is why Mr. Molotov showed himself uncertain and uneasy about China at Berlin.

CHINA'S Another and to some extent complementary explanation of Mr. Molotov's
SPHERE unease at Berlin comes from those who hold that there has recently been an agreement on spheres of influence between the Soviet Union and China - China taking the responsibility for Asia as far West as the Indian sub-continent and the Soviet Union for the rest of the world. In this view the Soviet government is not entirely happy at the manner in which China is conducting her responsibilities.

For it is striking, they point out, that the West had for months been negotiating at Panmunjong directly with the Chinese communists on the status to be accorded to the Soviet government at the

political conference on the future of Korea: China wanted her to be merely an observer with no rights of negotiation nor responsibility for the final settlement; the Western powers insisted that she must be a fully participating power, that by appending her signature to any agreement which might be reached she should be responsible for its observance.

OBSERVER, DELEGATE Yet, despite the long haggling without result over this point at Panmunjong, the Western Foreign Ministers reached agreement with Mr. Molotov at Berlin in five days on a formula which was the exact opposite of that which the Chinese had been seeking. For at the Geneva conference, which is in fact the Korean political conference, the Soviet Union is to be on an equal footing with China if not, as an inviting power, one that is superior.

REFERRING TO PEKING At Berlin Mr. Molotov made it clear time and again that he was referring back to Peking; and often it was clear he was not given his own way easily. But at Panmunjong the Chinese rarely seemed to consult Moscow, otherwise the Soviet government would surely have urged them to accept the formula which Mr. Molotov himself accepted later at Berlin. The Chinese communists, in other words, seem to have taken an extraordinary amount of rope for themselves at Panmunjong. At Berlin Mr. Molotov seized the opportunity to tighten it

If the Berlin conference opened these interesting sidelights on Sino-Soviet relations, what may the Geneva conference do? For there Mr. Molotov and Chou En Lai will sit side by side. Their manner may give important hints of the degree of cooperation which can be expected between the two allies in the future.

SCANDALS IN TOKYO The Liberal government of Mr. Yoshida, Prime Minister of Japan, is being severely shaken by accusations that some of its members have accepted massive bribes from shipping companies which sought government loans. The accusations are as yet unproved but there appears little doubt that there is substance in them. They have forced Mr. Yoshida to abandon his projected prestige trip to Britain and America this spring, for he may yet have to resign.

The crisis over the government scandals has dealt a serious blow to the prospects of the development of democratic government in Japan by damaging public confidence in it. It is during crises such as these that right and left wing extremists seize the opportunity to strike. While the Japanese communists are at present not strong enough to attempt a coup, the government is afraid that right wing extremists might try their hand.

JAPANESE FASCISTS The Japanese Minister of Justice, Ken Inukai, has recently given warning that Japanese fascists are trying to take advantage of the "generosity of democracy" to strengthen their organisation and are coalescing into sizeable organisations. Their aim is allegedly to fight communism but their slogans are also anti-American and call on Japan to regain her independence.

BLACK DRAGON Some of the right wing groups to which Ken Inukai referred have been described by Ichiro Takahashi, Deputy Director of the Public Security Investigation Board of the Ministry of Justice. They include the National Protection Group, the Imperial Youth Association, the Spirit Youth Association and the National Youth Martyr Corps, an offspring of the notorious Genyosha - which was the parent body of the Black Dragon and other societies.

Other right wing associations he has listed are the Bolshevik Prevention Corps, the Unique Justice Society and the Great Japan Patriotic Society. Derived from the East Asia League founded by the late General Kanji Ishihar, who wanted to extend the Japanese Empire into Inner Mongolia, are the East Asia League, the Self Defence League, the Cooperative Party and the National Workers League.

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GUARDING So far clashes between these organisations and the communists - the **YOSHIDA** inevitable first step towards the creating of chaos which is the well-tried fascist method of reaching power - have been few. But the National Youth Martyr Corps tried to eject communists who were staging a sitdown strike in the Foreign Ministry in order to obtain passports to go to a peace congress in Peking. And there was a disturbance when Mr. Oyama, a member of the Japanese Upper House, addressed a meeting in Kyoto on his impressions of visits to communist countries.

These incidents were unimportant but nevertheless Ken Inukai has ordered an increase in the number of guards for Mr. Yoshida. For he claims that his experience in the past has taught him that incidents occur when a government remains in office for a long time; Mr. Yoshida has been in power for six years.

POLICE Opponents of the Yoshida regime, especially the Socialists, claim that the **STATE?** Ministry of Justice 'revelations' of the growing fascist danger in Japan are a smoke-screen to hide the scandals in which the government is involved. They claim indeed that the government is itself introducing some of the fascist characteristics of the pre-war Japan which it claims to fear. They claim, for instance, that the bill Ken Inukai has introduced into the Diet which will centralise Japan's local, village, town and city police into a national force is a step in the direction of the pre-war police state.

CARTELS There are indeed disturbing features in present-day Japan. One is the **RETURN** liberty allowed to the industrialists who support it to rebuild the giant cartels which fostered expansionist policies before the war. One of these is the Mitsubishi Shoji. Before the war it handled 10 per cent of Japan's internal and foreign trade, coming second only to Mitsui Busan, which handled 18 per cent. It was split into a hundred small enterprises in 1947, many of which have since disappeared.

In April 1952 twelve of the remaining firms merged into three - Fuji, Tozai and the Tokyo Trading Company. Another former Mitsubishi affiliate adopted the name of the prewar concern in August of that year. These four firms have now signed an agreement to merge into one in July this year and to adopt the name Mitsubishi Shoji. It will seek to avoid "duplication of sales contracts with manufacturers" and to absorb other former Mitsubishi affiliates.

CRISIS Japan faces a mounting adverse balance of trade. American financial aid **MOUNTS** has subsidised uneconomic enterprises and removed the incentive to rebuild and modernise industry which has been done with such success in Germany. Exports are 20-30% above world price levels. A spring offensive of go-slow strikes is threatened by the General Council of Trade Unions which is heavily infiltrated by fellow-travellers. There are 85m. Japanese crowded onto islands which a century ago supported only 30m. people and the population increases at the rate of 1m. a year.

This is a situation which leads to easy exploitation by right-wing extremists, industrialists and militarists. The only hope for Japan appears to be a coalition between the Liberals and Mr. Shigemitsu's Progressives (now in opposition). Both are moderate right wing parties which together could counter the extremists. But there is little sign of a coalition for personal rivalries run high.

NEGUIB The restoration of General Neguib after his deposition two days before- **RETURNS** hand does not bring stability back to Cairo. No revolutionary regime can show such evident inability to make up its mind without suffering badly as a result. The prime need of every revolution is decisiveness, to do away with enemies and opponents quickly but never to hesitate or let them back into favour - otherwise it is finished. In bringing General Neguib back, the Revolutionary Council has openly invited all forms of opposition to raise their heads and has given them hope of success.

The terms on which the General came back were that he should be President and that Col. Naser should be Prime Minister and Chairman of the Revolutionary Council. But Gen. Neguib and Col. Naser interpret these terms in different ways. Gen. Meguib believes he has a decisive voice in the decisions of the council whereas Col. Naser sees him as a simple figurehead. Since Col. Naser was forced to give way and bring the General back, it is unlikely that he will be able to baulk Gen. Neguib's wishes.

SUEZ BASE The regime has been so weakened by events of last weekend both in Cairo and in Khartoum that it may decide that it is essential to gain prestige both at home and abroad by an agreement with Britain on the Suez base. It will find that Britain is in no hurry and is certainly in no mood to compromise because:

1. until it is certain where power lies in Cairo, an agreement with the Revolutionary Council is of little value. For it might be overthrown by Neguib, the Moslem Brotherhood, the Wafd or even the monarchists the day after signature;
2. the American-sponsored Turkish-Pakistan pact has made it essential to have a Suez base, maintained and readily available in wartime on the terms Britain seeks. For the base guards the only sea lane between the two partners in the pact.

OIL GIANTS' VIEW-POINT Yet another pressure is now being exerted on the British and American governments to make no concessions to Egypt. For the Canal is becoming increasingly important as an artery of the international oil trade for the supply of Western Europe's oil requirements. Oil is now by far the most important commodity passing through it; the quantities are steadily increasing and will increase still more when Persian oil starts flowing again. The big oil companies are now bringing pressure to bear on the British government to stand firm.

SUEZ VIRTUAL OIL PIPELINE In 1953 tankers represented over 60 per cent of the tonnage of vessels using the Canal. They carried over 49m. tons in a south-north direction and 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ m. tons from north to south. Before the war tankers accounted for only 17.3 per cent of the tonnage of shipping using the Canal, and even in 1946 the figure was only 30 per cent.

Last year south-north shipments were 7.6 per cent larger than those of 1952 which had already showed an increase of 7 per cent over the previous year. Chief destinations were the UK, France, North America, the Netherlands and Italy. North-south shipments of oil - mostly of refined products - reached nearly 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ m. tons in 1952 and rose in 1953 to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ m. tons. These products came from the UK, Italy and France.

THE SUEZ CANAL will be increasingly used by the oil trade. For the only alternative - pipeline transport - has proved more expensive than was expected. The famous Tapline from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, which was expected to cost £42m., in fact cost £66m. No more lines are likely to be built. The building of giant tankers enables their rates to be reduced and offers a cheaper method of transport than pipelines.

FOOTHOLD IN SPAIN Spanish air and naval bases will in wartime be available to other NATO countries, including Britain, as well as to America. This is the effect of a secret protocol to the agreement for the construction and use of bases in Spain by the USA which was signed in Madrid on September 27, 1953. The existence of secret clauses or protocols to that agreement is indicated in article three. It states: "The time and manner of wartime utilisation of said areas and facilities (i.e. naval and air bases) will be as mutually agreed upon". What that mutual agreement is has never been publicly stated.

GIB Recent agitation in Spain against Britain's retention of Gibraltar is explained by this secret agreement. Franco thought that in return for it he would get concessions from Britain over Gibraltar. When he found that he was to get nothing of the sort, he inspired and encouraged anti-British demonstrations in Madrid, until they got out of hand.

WARNING The new airfields which the USA is to build in Spain are at Torrejon, **SYSTEMS** El Copero and Moron de la Frontera near Seville and at Sunzuzo near Saragossa. Later another will be built near the Mediterranean coast. These fields are to be equipped with radar and linked to other American aircraft warning systems in France and Germany.

Thus, not only will Britain derive benefit from the ability to use Spanish bases in wartime but this aircraft warning system will be of considerable value to Gibraltar. Although equipped with heavy anti-aircraft guns, it is at present terribly vulnerable because it has no early warning system against air attack from the North or East.

POLL FOR There is growing support among important members of the government - **BRITAIN?** including, it is said, Mr. Butler - for the holding of general elections in Britain this year. They argue that the prospects of the Tory Party winning while employment is as high as it is at present are good; but that by summer and certainly by autumn the effects of the American recession should have brought more unemployment; the Party's electoral prospects will then be reduced.

WINSTON Sir Winston is against an election this year. He wants the government **OPPOSES** to run at least to within six months of its five year term. He claims that recent by-elections, with their evidence of a slight swing to the right, show that the government is doing well enough without the need for elections. His opposition creates yet more agitation in the party for his retirement.

In public the Prime Minister gives no sign of even contemplating an early retirement. He came to the House of Commons on Tuesday to wind up the defence debate with a speech which showed the vigour and intellectual ability of a man many years younger than he is.

TOWN In private, however, there are signs that he is preparing to go - probably **HOUSE** after he has received the Queen from her Commonwealth tour with the pageantry of a procession up the Thames. One sign is that the Latin American diplomat who now occupies his house in Hyde Park Gate has been asked to vacate it on April 1st. Now there could be several simple reasons for this request. But it is natural in the present situation to suspect that the Prime Minister wants it to be prepared for his retirement, when he must give up his present town house - 10 Downing Street.

BUTLER In Westminster Mr. Butler is currently favoured more highly for the **GAINS** succession than Mr. Eden, despite the brilliant display the latter gave at Berlin. Members of Parliament consider this showing of little importance for it merely displayed his skill as Foreign Secretary. Has he ever put a Bill through the House, they ask.

Mr. Butler's capacity for leadership, on the other hand, is being severely tested and he is coming through the tests with flying colours. It is he who is chosen to talk to restive members of his own party on points of government policy of which they are critical. Few can resist his arguments or his charm.

Yours faithfully,

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*W. J. Ryder
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THE FLEET STREET LETTER

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No. 400

May 6, 1954.

Dear Sir,

INDOCHINA'S IMPORTANCE is appreciated by Sir Winston Churchill as well as by Senator Knowland. The City of London is becoming again a centre of world finance. West Africa and Malaya advance towards self-government - and Dominion status. Sudan crisis talks are being held in London.

MUNICH TAUNTS Taunts of "Munich" have been hurled from Capitol Hill in Washington across the Atlantic at Sir Winston Churchill for refusing to allow aircraft from British carriers in the Gulf of Tongking to be used at Dien Bien Phu. Congressmen have thus busied themselves, whenever they could spare the time from the McCarthy hearings, despite:

1. Mr. Eisenhower's assurance that his decision not to intervene was not influenced by Britain;
2. their own insistence that the President must authorise no sudden intervention, as Mr. Truman did in Korea, but Congress must first approve; and
3. their knowledge that the demobilisation of two divisions puts America in no state to face a long-drawn war in Indochina

BRITISH REFUSAL Sir Winston has stuck solidly to his reasons for refusing: Parliament would never countenance intervention in Indochina until a peace settlement had been tried in Geneva; Dien Bien Phu is the wrong place to make a stand and air power alone will not save it; and Britain has no guarantee that, once having intervened, Congress would allow America to do the same.

PEKING WARNED In fact there is not the least doubt that, should the Geneva conference fail to produce peace and the Viet Minh sweep on, Britain will seek to ward off the danger to Malaya and Burma. She will fight to save Indo-China but not Dien Bien Phu.

Indeed discreet warnings have already been passed to Peking by the British Government that it would be wise if the Viet-minh did not press on after victory at Dien Bien Phu to conquest of the delta, Hanoi and Haiphong. Such action, the Peking government has been told, would be just what is required to cement the divisions of the Western world over Indochina and nerve it to intervene.

PEACE TERMS At Geneva the French government has neither put forward any proposals for a settlement as yet nor has it sought support for any from its allies. M. Laniel's terms for a cease fire of March 5 (evacuation of the Vietminh from the centre and the south and their confinement to strictly policed areas in the north) now appear somewhat out of date.

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All that the French government has done is to take a public stand, through Mr. Dejean, High Commissioner in Indochina, against partition even though this appears to be the only logical basis for negotiation. It may well have done so, however, as a tactical move. Indeed it could hardly appear to favour partition in face of opposition by Bao Dai.

EDEN'S In reality the French government may well leave the British government
TASK to put forward proposals for a settlement. If they include partition, the French can more easily persuade the Vietnamese of its necessity for it could be alleged that there was little choice but to give in in view of the British government's attitude.

Britain, Australia, New Zealand, France and the USA are to confer outside the Geneva conference on the military measures they will take either to prevent violation of any line agreed in Indochina, or in the event of failure to agree on one. They will try to persuade Asian nations - not merely Siam and the Philippines but at least Pakistan and Ceylon - to join their discussions at a later stage on the political and economic agencies which would be needed during a truce.

INDO-CHINA One item of news from the front which has not been allowed to pass
DESERTIONS the censor is that desertions of Vietnamese troops to the Vietminh rebels continue, particularly in the delta. Over three hundred deserted between February 3 and March 4 near Nam Dinh to the south of Haiphong, according to one report. During an attack on the post of Tam Pha in the same area the commander, the assistant commander and the garrison of seventy men went over to the rebels. To the north of Haiphong, near Quang Yen, one case has been reported of Vietnamese troops firing on their officers and then deserting.

THAIS There has also been evidence of disaffection among Thai troops in the Vietnamese army. The Thais stretch from Indochina across the borders of Siam, Burma and China. In the latter they have been organised into an autonomous state, with obvious implications for the future. One report reaching London states that two companies of Thai troops have surrendered to the enemy.

These desertions are one of the main reasons for M. Bidault's sudden concern at the deterioration of the situation in the delta at the end of April which prompted him on the eve of the Geneva conference to appeal to Mr. Eden and Mr. Dulles for intervention. The 150,000 conscripts Bao Dai mobilised on April 12 will be of little use if they are of the same mettle.

FLYING French censors also cut allusions to the "Flying Tigers" of the Civil
TIGERS Air Transport Company run by the American General Chennault. They are dropping supplies and paratroops to Dien Bien Phu. The General is recruiting American, Japanese, Philippino, Siamese and Nationalist Chinese airmen in order to extend his activities in Indochina. He is seeking 1,000 experienced pilots in the Eastern United States alone.

Hong Kong reports state that the Soviet Union and China are also building a "volunteer" airforce in Kwangsi, on the Indochina border within easy flying distance of Hanoi. Some 400 Soviet and Czech fighters and transports are said to have been sent there and to be dispersed on airfields at Kweilin, Nanning, Liuchow and Lienchow. Some 800 Soviet and Czech airmen have arrived to man them.

MOSCOW, Opening on February 1st of a direct long-distance wireless telephone
NANNING service between Nanning and Moscow - disclosed in the Nanning 'Kwangsi Jih-pao' on February 11 - suggests that the Soviet Red Army is taking a more direct advisory role in the Indochina war. The paper stated that the circuit was opened "to cope with present needs of industrial development".

The Chinese communists are indeed setting out to industrialise this area (FSL 398). Yet it appears too early for a direct telephone service to Moscow for economic reasons alone.

PRIORITY FOR CITY The City of London, destroyed by the great fire raids of December, 1940 and May, 1941, is to be rebuilt. Now that the edge has been taken off the demand for private houses, high priority can be given to healing the deep wounds in the square mile alongside St. Paul's. New buildings are going up: St. Bridget's House off Fleet Street for the Unilever empire, in hard Italian quartzite to brave London's acid smog; the new Bank of England near the Cathedral and Bucklersbury House, fourteen stories high. An attempt is to be made to set buildings back and provide more space for the traffic which mediaeval lanes were never meant to take.

RESERVES UP AGAIN An attempt is being made in fact to build a fitting home for a fast-reviving world financial centre. Of its revival there is no doubt. Mr. Butler announced on May 3 that the Sterling Area's gold and dollar reserves have risen by more than £48m. during April to \$1,007m. This is well on the way to the highest point reached since the war - £1,361m. on June 30, 1951.

MARKETS RE-OPEN The reason for the sudden accession of \$135m. in April was not merely the receipt of Russian gold, American defence funds, seasonal buying from the continent of Commonwealth wool, or an influx of funds to London in expectation of a widening from 1% to 3% of the limits within which the Sterling-dollar rate can move.

The real reason is the rebuilding of Sterling balances in London by Continental and other non-Sterling countries for use in the City's revived commercial and financial markets. The unification of many types of Sterling earlier this year and the re-opening of London's commodity markets have been the biggest factor, particularly the return of the gold market.

GOLD FLOW It has brought gold flowing into brokers' offices in London from all over the world, particularly from the Far and Middle East. The world's gold merchants find it more economical, convenient, and safe to deal through London rather than through their local centres. Such was the demand that the price of gold in London in the last week of April rose to 249s.2d a fine ounce - about 5d. above the level obtaining at the close of the previous week. If this trend continues, a price could soon be reached - around 250s.6d. - at which it would be possible for the Bank of England to buy gold from the US Federal Reserve Bank at \$ 35 an ounce for re-sale in London and to make a useful profit even after paying commissions and transport.

E.P.U. DEBTS Jaundiced eyes are being cast on the revival of Britain's gold and dollar reserves. Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and Holland are demanding that she repay her debts to them incurred through the European Payments Union - they had reached \$544.2m. by April 1. She has offered to pay back \$84m. and to negotiate with creditors over the remainder; the OEEC Council has been debating the offer this week.

Germany, the biggest EPU creditor, with \$545.lm. owing to her, is particularly insistent on repayment. She wants her money back within three years and at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ % even though she had her post-war debt to Britain of £200m. reduced to £150m. and was allowed to pay it off in twenty years interest free. The British Treasury argues that Germany herself is to blame for her huge EPU surplus. Her excessive exports are made possible by substantial subsidies. Her exporters are allowed a 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ % allowance on profits. The British argue that these subsidies should be ended and that, if necessary, Germany like Belgium should even restrict her exports. Mr. Butler goes to Germany after the OEEC meeting to press those arguments on Professor Erhard, German Minister of Economic Affairs.

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W.AFRICA ADVANCES Important steps towards self-government have been made in two areas of the British Commonwealth - West Africa and the Malay Peninsula. The Colonial Secretary has approved the form of the new constitution for the Gold Coast where elections will be held in June. In the other main West African territory, Nigeria, the centralised constitution of 1951, which did not work, has been succeeded by another for a decentralised federation in which the regions will have considerable autonomous powers; further constitutional advances will be made this summer.

The Gold Coast and Nigeria are thus moving fast towards self-government. It is highly probable that, when they achieve it, they will ask for membership of the Commonwealth as self-governing Dominions. If the other members agree, two new Dominions will then come into being. South Africa is likely to be the only opposing voice. There are reports that she is seeking a bargain: she will withhold her vote against the West African colonies if Britain hands over the three protectorates inside South Africa - Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland. It is unlikely, however, that the British government will submit to blackmail.

MALAYA LEG-CO The Colonial Secretary has also approved suggestions by General Sir Gerald Templor, High Commissioner of Malaya, that the new Legislative Council there should have a majority of elected members from the beginning - 52 elected members as against 46 appointed. Malaya is thus at one jump to reach a stage which Singapore reached some time ago.

FEAR OF CHINESE Singapore and Malaya were separated in 1946 because of the Malays' fear of economic domination by the overwhelming Chinese majority in Singapore. The Federation of Malaya was created including the Malay States and the Settlements of Malacca and Penang; and Singapore became a separate colony. There is a Governor of Singapore, a High Commissioner for the Federation, and over all a Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia whose task is to co-ordinate policy between the two entities and between them and Borneo.

Yet, despite their separation, Malaya and Singapore are interdependent. Singapore is a centre of communications, banking and commerce, and through it the Federation offers its primary products to the world. Singapore, as a strategic base, must rely on airfields, radar stations and lines of defence on the peninsula to resist attack.

RIFT GROWS Nevertheless the rift between the two is widening. The appointment of a Commissioner General for Southeast Asia has not narrowed it. Singapore does not want to join the Federation, for it considers itself better off financially on its own and fears that, as part of the Federation, its resources would be dissipated. The Federation, in its turn, is jealous of Singapore's wealth and progress.

The British government is in favour of closer union between the two territories with the proviso that the form and timing are matters which their Governments and peoples should work out for themselves. Ways of improving coordination of policy and administration are being considered by a Joint Coordination Committee, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, which has been convened by the two governments. But it has not yet reported.

NIGERIAN EXAMPLE When the two governments face the problem of closer union, Singapore will be unlikely to federate with the present Federation of Malaya. This would involve a three-tiered constitutional structure, with a population of six millions subject to legislation and administration at three levels - pan-Malayan, Federal and State or Settlement. A more likely solution would be for a new federal constitution for Malaya giving its component parts more power; Singapore could then join without any derogation from her individual sovereignty. Singapore and Malaya could well watch with advantage how similar regional rivalries are accommodated in the federal constitution of Nigeria.

SUDAN TALKS Sir Robert Howe, British Governor General of the Sudan, has returned to London for leave this month while the Moslem fast of Ramadhan shuts shops and sends the House of Representatives packing. He will seize the opportunity for consultations with the Foreign Office for the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of February 12, 1953 - to help the Sudan to self determination without interference - has virtually broken down in face of Egypt's determination to extend her empire over its million square miles and eight and a half million inhabitants. Mr. Eden may even take time off from the Geneva conference to come back to London to see him.

THREE YEAR TRANSITION The Anglo-Egyptian Agreement constituted the Governor the supreme constitutional authority in the Sudan during the transitional period of not more than three years between, on the one hand, the election of the House of Representatives and the setting up of the present government and, on the other, the time when a Constitution and an Electoral Law have been framed, elections held for a permanent Sudanese Parliament and that body has expressed a desire either for some form of union with Egypt, or for complete independence

The Governor remains directly responsible in the transitional period to Britain and Egypt as regards external affairs, any change in the Self-Government Statute, and any resolution passed by his five-member advisory Commission which he regards as inconsistent with his responsibilities. In the latter case he will inform the two Governments, each of which must reply within one month; The Commission's resolution stands unless the two governments agree to the contrary. The Governor also retains certain responsibilities to ensure "fair and equitable treatment to all the inhabitants of the various provinces of the Sudan" and in the event of a constitutional breakdown.

EXTREME CAUTION The transitional period got off to a bad start. On March 1 the Umma (Independence) Party violently demonstrated its opposition to the pro-Egyptian policies of the government's National Unionist (pro-Egyptian) Party as personified in the presence in Khartoum of General Neguib and Salah Salim, for the opening of the House of Representatives. Tempers cooled somewhat after a while, however, for the Prime Minister, Ismail al-Azhari, acted with extreme caution to avoid anything which could cause a recurrence of disorders.

ARMS GIFT He even met the Mahdi, to whom the Umma look as their leader, and asked him to appeal publicly to his followers to support the government. He was told that more time was needed to see how its policy would develop. Even after that meeting, the Prime Minister, continuing to act with extreme caution, saw to it that the ceremony of the handing over of an Egyptian gift of arms for a thousand men of the Sudan Defence Force, which the Egyptian government wanted to make a major propaganda occasion, passed off in the first week of April with the minimum of fuss; while his Defence Minister, Lt. Col. Khalaf Allah Khalid, was allowed to state publicly that many of the arms were old and of a type the Defence Force was unused to.

GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION The young men in Cairo, however, soon became impatient. Forgetting the bloodshed which their presence in Khartoum provoked, they insisted that the question of approval of Ibrahim Ahmad, the Umma Party member of the Governor General's Commission, should be brought before the House. Ismail al-Azhari delayed for as long as he could but at last gave in. The House, dominated by its pro-Egyptian NUP majority, has replaced him by Siricio Iro, an anti-British member of the NUP from the South. Before the Opposition could react by walking out, or the Mahdi's tribal followers by violence, the NUP members voted a recess for Ramadhan.

The two NUP members and the Egyptian member of the commission will now be able to outvote the British and Pakistani members on every issue. The commission's work will virtually be directed from Cairo. It will pass nothing which displeases Cairo and, if London objects to any of its decisions, they will stand after one month. The Governor General's position has become intolerable.

ousting BRITONS Control of his Commission is not the only target the Egyptian government has set itself. The next is the ousting of all British civil servants. It is even supplying the Sudanese government with funds to pay them off. A collection among the staff of Maj. Salah Salim's Ministry of National Guidance in Cairo has produced £E.1,000 for this purpose; he is now trying to organise a collection throughout the country.

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The Sudanisation Commission appointed under the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement to arrange the gradual transfer of the administration from the hands of Britons into those of Sudanese at a pace which would ensure that it continued to be efficient is tackling its task, under Cairo's urging, with great energy. It has recommended that all Britons in the Sudan Defence Force be withdrawn within six months; that a beginning be made immediately on Sudanisation of senior posts in the police, and the Ministries of the Interior, Justice and Finance.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS Another aim of the Egyptian government is the conversion of the Southern Sudanese to Islam as a precaution against their splitting from the north and joining Uganda. Elimination of Christian missions in the south is the first step. The Egyptian government has informed Ismail al-Azhari that it considers that Sudanese Treasury funds should not be allocated for mission schools in the south because they have been introduced by the British to destroy Sudanese unity.

If the missions are denied government funds for their schools, which have some 21,000 students, they will go bankrupt; for these funds are one of their main sources of income.

CONVERTS TO ISLAM Egypt is making great efforts to convert the Southern Sudanese to Islam through the Islamic Preaching Society which now claims 12,000 converts. Mosques are being built throughout the country with Egyptian funds. Cairo Radio is spreading the teachings of the Koran; it has begun to broadcast in the languages of the Dinka and Nuer tribes in the South.

EGYPT'S EMPIRE More and more links are being forged between Egypt and the Sudan, while those with Britain are being cast off. The Committee for the Consolidation of Egyptian-Sudanese Relations met on April 20 in Cairo under the chairmanship of Salah Salem to discuss the strengthening of trade, agricultural and industrial relations. An Egyptian economic delegation will shortly leave for Khartoum to study the strengthening of economic ties. The Egyptian Minister of Health will also visit the Sudan. An Egyptian hospital is being built at Juba and four dispensaries in the South.

Clearly a stage is approaching when the Governor General could use his reserve powers to declare that the Sudan agreement is being imperilled, for the right of the Sudanese to move towards self-determination without outside pressure is being impaired. Or Britain could denounce the agreement since Egypt is breaking it. She is acquiring an empire in the Sudan with no other effort than that required by paying money and uttering fair words.

Yours faithfully

Wilfred Ryder.
Patrick Maitland.

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THE FLEET STREET LETTER

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No. 401

May 13, 1954

Dear Sir,

CROWN AND COMMONWEALTH are worth pondering as the Queen returns. Dien Bien Phu's fall is affecting Morocco. Liberation parleys in Peking indicate no desire to halt the red advance in Asia; indeed there are signs of preparations against Formosa. Yet China has huge economic tasks at home claiming attention.

A QUEEN RETURNS Britons are this week engaged in their favourite pastime - feting the Monarch. As she returns from her Commonwealth tour in the Royal Yacht Britannia, the Home Fleet sails to escort her off the Devonshire coast. She is honoured in each coastal town she passes. Jet fighters and bombers of the Royal Air Force and the Royal Canadian Air Force salute as she passes along Galleons Reach in the Thames Estuary. In the Pool of London Her Majesty transfers to the Royal Barge, to travel in state to Westminster Pier and so by coach to her home between the same cheering crowds that greeted her Coronation nearly a year ago.

What is this monarchy around which so much colourful pageantry is played? Is it merely a pandering to the Briton's love of panoply? Is it an expensive, obsolete luxury?

POPULAR MONARCHY There is more to it than that. There is a veneration for tradition, a desire to preserve the forms of the past even after revolutionary changes much of their content. The royal power having been reduced by law or custom, all grounds for hostility have been reduced. There has come a corresponding growth in affection on the part of the people. The crown is above politics. It therefore draws none of the attacks that politicians, however famous, whatever benefits they may have bestowed on their country, inevitably draw down on themselves from some sections of the electorate. Politicians themselves recognise its popularity, none would court political suicide by attacking it.

The people do not want the monarchy to be secluded. Queen Victoria withdrew for a while from the public eye after the death of her husband. It was not long before criticism of the institution began to be heard. The mistake has not been repeated.

RIGHT TO ABDICATE Nor is it entirely true that the crown's real power has decreased as its popularity has increased. Indeed in some respects its potential power has increased because of its greater popularity. Bagehot in his 'English Constitution' grants constitutional monarchs three rights - to be consulted, to encourage and to warn. They have been fully used, and to some purpose, by both George V and the late King. The young Queen has not hesitated to use them. Indeed the Paris Embassy would not have waited so long for its recent change had not the Prime Minister, in a blank moment, ignored the Royal Assent.

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There is another right of monarchy which gives power in proportion to its popularity - the right to abdicate. Its use was best illustrated by King Haakon VII of Norway when he refused the German demand for appointment of Quisling as Prime Minister; he said the decision, of course, rested with his Ministers; however, he would not continue as King if the demand were accepted. His stand restored morale and at once established him as head of the resistance.

COMMONWEALTH DEVELOPMENTS The Commonwealth the Queen has visited differs greatly from the Empire ruled by Queen Victoria, who last used the Thames as a royal waterway in September 1842, when she landed at Woolwich after a voyage from Scotland. Its structural unity has gone, to be succeeded by structural variety, as Mr. Menzies sadly said in Adelaide on June 28, 1950; he feared it would become a "purely functional association, based upon friendship and common interest".

The three distinguishing characteristics of the Commonwealth outlined by the Belfour Report of 1926 - equality of status, freedom of association and common allegiance to the Crown - hardly remain, or have lost their meaning. Canada and India have not been given equality of status but have acquired it by their own efforts; they are free to leave the Commonwealth if they wish as well as to remain within it.

ROYAL TITLE As to common allegiance to the Crown, each member of the Commonwealth, after the Prime Ministers' conference of December, 1952, decides for itself the form of the title in which to express its relationship. The result is three formal royal titles used by the six commonwealth countries which are monarchies. India and Pakistan, as republics, recognise the Queen only as "Head of the Commonwealth"; their allegiance is to the State and to its elected head, not to the Queen. Allegiance to the crown in fact is no longer a condition of full membership of the Commonwealth. The monarch is the symbol of membership but no longer an integral part of the constitution of all members.

DESCRIBES REALITIES There are those who see this variety, this constitutional dualism, not, like Mr. Menzies, as a cause for pessimism but as a ground for optimism. Nicolas Mansergh believes it "makes it possible for the relationship of all members of the Commonwealth to be defined in terms that represent and reflect political and psychological realities". He sees it as a source of strength for the Commonwealth which is a "partnership in common enterprises freely undertaken", constituting "far more than formal unity traditionally expressed and uniformly imposed".

AVOIDING THE FATE OF ROME The Commonwealth indeed has adapted itself to changing circumstances to escape the fate of the Roman Empire which broke up not, as Gibbon thought, through the failure of its central institutions but by suppression of nationalism within its frontiers. The Commonwealth has become decentralised. Appeals to the Privy Council have been abolished. Each member has full power of constitutional amendment. Local citizenship is more fundamental than the common status of British subject.

Imperial Conferences - virtual cabinets - have given way to informal meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. But, while the former met every five years, the latter have met in 1944, 1946, 1949, 1951, 1952 and 1953 and there is prospect of another meeting soon to discuss the accession of new members - from West and Central Africa. The old imperial unity has gone but more frequent consultation has strengthened inner cohesion.

ROLE OF MEMBERS Those who distrust nationalism will not agree with such an optimistic interpretation of the growing trend by which the member nations mean as much as the Commonwealth. But, whether they like it or not, nationalism is becoming the most powerful force within the Commonwealth. Its

strength in future will depend more on the vigorous national life of its independent members and less on the predominance of one - the United Kingdom. Indeed, the strength of the individual members has grown, as that of the United Kingdom has seeped away in two world wars.

AVOIDING DISASTER Britons do not like to be told of the decline of their power, but only by recognising it can the disasters be avoided which befell Poland and are threatening France. New powers are appearing in the world to redress the balance between the USA and the USSR. They are Germany, Japan, India and Canada. Two are Commonwealth countries.

The inner ring of old Commonwealth - Canada, Australia and New Zealand - are as closely linked by their agreements and treaties with the USA as in Britain. The new countries of the Commonwealth - India, Pakistan and Ceylon - with their fresh and often innocent view of power politics, offer a genuine opportunity for building a bridge between the USA and the USSR.

FANCIFUL PARALLEL These are the realities of the modern Commonwealth the Queen has sailed home up the Thames from visiting, not those evoked by the glorious words spoken by Elizabeth I to her troops encamped at Tilbury during the Armada crisis: "Let tyrants fear...I know that I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and a King of England too". Physical power now means less than moral pressure; the days of cruiser diplomacy are gone. Those who stretch fanciful parallels with former ages are uncertain of their own. They need not waste their time. For, right under their eyes, a new monarchy and Commonwealth hold great promise.

MOROCCO Pressure is being exerted on the French government, now that Dien Bien Phu has fallen, to get out of Indochina and consolidate France's position militarily in North Africa. It comes not merely from the Gaullists but from the French Army which has many leanings towards North Africa and which fears that civil war might break out in Morocco, for the defeat at Dien Bien Phu has increased the morale and daring of the opponents of French rule there.

Civil war would follow attempts by the Egyptian-inspired Istiqlal (Nationalist) Party to assassinate the present Sultan, Sidi Mohammed Ben Arafat, with whom the French last year replaced Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef, or his fiery supporter, El Glaoui, Pasha of Marakesh. One attempt to do so has failed. To prevent another, the French have been screening suspected terrorists in Casablanca. Nine members of the Istiqlal and two left wing politicians have been deported to the South.

POWER OF ISTIQLAL Signs of the increasing power of the Istiqlal are their insistence that prayers should not be said for the new Sultan in place of the old. They are in consequence said only for "Sidi Mohammed", which the faithful interpret as they please. The Istiqlal has also imposed an effective ban on television for which the French have installed a station. The result has been the speedy dismantling of aorials and the return of sets to the shops from which they were being bought. The Istiqlal has also imposed a ban on the sale of tobacco which, being a state monopoly, is a source of income to the French. As a result, sales have fallen some sixty per cent.

SPAIN SPURRED AGAINST FRANCE Egypt is pressing Spain as well as the Istiqlal to new efforts to embarrass France in Morocco. She has already done so by falling in line with the Istiqlal and refusing to accept Sidi Mohammed Ben Arafat as the new Sultan. Restraint, or the lack of it, by the Spanish authorities in Morocco on support by the Arabs in their zone for the Istiqlal could well be crucial in a civil war.

The Spaniards are not unready to listen to Egyptian promptings. They have been trying to strengthen their ties with the Arab world in order to play a more important role in international

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politics. They hoped this would come with the signing of the defence and economic agreement with the USA in September, 1953. But they have been disappointed.

HASSOUNA IN SPAIN A conference of Spanish diplomats in the Middle East was held from April 21 to 24 in Beirut to form plans for a new friendship campaign with the Arabs. Spanish diplomats in Cairo, Beirut, Amman, Baghdad, Damascus, Teheran, Bengazi and the Spanish consul general in Jerusalem attended. Abd al Khaliq Hassouna, Secretary General of the Arab League, has also been invited to Spain by General Franco. On the eve of his departure from Cairo he met the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Mr. Fawzi. He saw the Spanish Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sr. Navasques, on April 22 and Sr. Artajo, Foreign Minister, the following day to discuss Morocco.

REDS FLOCK TO PEKING The two most important instruments of the communist "national liberation struggle" in the Far East have held conferences in Peking within the past fortnight. They are the peace movement and the communist trade unions. They come first and second respectively in order of importance among communist cover organs in Asia; the next are youth and women's organisations.

PEACE PARLEY The peace conference was attended by representatives from Malaya, the Philippines, Siam, Burma, Indochina, Indonesia, India and China. They were not ordinary members of the movement but secretaries general. Their intention to meet became known when British authorities in Singapore and Hong Kong received an application for transit facilities for the Indonesian representatives - and delayed their reply. Their presence was considered of such importance that the meeting, which was to be held in mid-April, was delayed until they arrived. They left Jakarta on April 25.

The Asian section of the world peace movement, it may be recalled, was formed in Peking in October, 1949. A peace congress held there in October, 1952 declared that "the struggle for national liberation is inseparably linked with the struggle against war".

RED TRADE UNIONISTS A meeting of Asian trade unionists was also held in Peking from May 5-8. Some fifty-five delegates from seventeen trade union organisations in Burma, Ceylon, China, India, Indonesia, Korea, Mongolia, the USSR and Indochina took part. The role of the communist trade unions in communist strategy was clearly revealed when Liu Shao Chih chose the meeting of the WFTU in Peking in November, 1949 to lay down the guiding rule that the national liberation struggle must be an armed struggle, and national liberation armies must be built up with bases from which to operate.

WOOLING ASIANS The purpose of these two meetings is only too clear: to rally Asian opposition to any defence pact the Western Powers may seek to bring into being, whether to guarantee a truce in Indochina or to continue the fight if there is none. It is Asian participation in such action which in the British view will make it effective and for Asian participation Britain is still striving.

On April 29 Mr. Eden telegraphed the Asian Prime Ministers, meeting in Colombo, to ask whether they would be prepared to join at least in guaranteeing any settlement in Indochina reached at Geneva. Sir John Kotelawala, Prime Minister of Ceylon, who was Chairman of the Conference, replied for the others. He drew Mr. Eden's attention to the second paragraph of the communique issued after the conference.

WILLING TO HELP This recognised the need for agreement "on steps necessary to prevent the recurrence or resumption of hostilities" in Indochina. Such agreement, it said, should be reached by the "countries principally concerned, particularly the UK, the US and the USSR", by "France, the three Associated States

of Indochina and Vietminh" and by "other parties invited"; the good offices and machinery of the United Nations should be used to secure implementation of a settlement. Mr. Eden takes this reply to mean that the Asian states are willing to help implement a settlement if invited; but that they would prefer to do so through the United Nations.

WILL VIET But a settlement pre-supposes that the Vietminh are willing to restrain
MINH STOP their armies from sweeping on to the Delta, or into Laos or Cambodia after their conquest of Dien Bien Phu. With the knowledge that there is little at present to bar their way, and with the example of the Chinese Red Army sweeping from Manchuria to the shores of the China Sea to inspire them, there appears little reason why they should stop.

Whether they stop or not will probably be decided in Moscow and Peking. Both have been discreetly warned by Britain (FSL,400) of the danger of a greater conflict if their junior partners in Indochina press their victory at Dien Bien Phu home. Both fear the consequences of such a conflict; both have serious problems at home on which they wish to concentrate. But victory is a heady wine. And the two meetings which have just taken place in Peking would indicate that China is planning to intensify the liberation struggle in Southeast Asia, rather than bring it to an end in Indochina.

CHOU ON "The USA invaded Formosa at the same time as it started the Korean war.
FORMOSA Formosa has been turned into a subversive base for continuing aggressive activities against the Chinese mainland. The occupation of Chinese territory by any power will not be tolerated". These words are taken from the speech made by Chou En Lai, Chinese Premier and Foreign Minister, to the Geneva conference on April 29, his first public statement to any international gathering since the communists conquered China in 1949. Its implication is that China is to pursue a 'Monroe Doctrine for Asia'.

Chou En Lai's reference to Formosa - the first by any Chinese statesman for some twelve months - has raised queries in London and Washington whether his government is again planning to attack the island. Preparations to do so were abandoned when the Chinese 'volunteers' entered Korea in November, 1950. But there are indications that, since the war ended, preparations have been quietly resumed for an assault.

ISLAND One obstacle which must be removed beforehand is the Nationalist hold on
BASES thirty-five islands off the Chinese mainland. Most are small. But Quemoy, Kinmen, Paichuan, Matsu, Peikan, Tachen, Penschan, Ichang and Yushan are big enough to maintain sizeable Nationalist garrisons and to provide bases for guerilla attacks on the mainland and raids on communist shipping. The Nationalists still hold the larger islands. But an official survey of the work of the People's Liberation Army during 1953 revealed in February that the communists have captured twenty-five of the smaller.

POLICY America has promised aid to the Nationalists in the event of an attack
CHANGE? on Formosa, but not hitherto against an attack on the islands off the mainland, for they are virtually indefensible. Hitherto they have been outside the scope of American military and economic aid to Formosa. The present position, however, is not clear. For last September American economic aid began to flow to Quemoy. Military aid is also being given to Kinmen. Both are near the mainland port of Amoy, directly opposite Formosa. Now that it is giving economic and military aid, the American government may be prepared to help defend at least the larger islands.

BUILDING Communist China must not merely gain these islands in order to provide
RED NAVY stepping stones to Formosa, and to prevent attacks in the rear of an invading armada. She must also have a navy to carry the invading force and to bombard Formosa's defences. Even since 1950 the Soviet Union has been helping her to build one by supplying ships and instructors. She is now helping China to build seagoing ships through a Sino-Soviet Shipbuilding Company with headquarters and yards at Dairen in South Manchuria. Its existence was revealed in a brief announcement from Peking in January that in 1953 it exceeded the work it had done in 1952 by 17.3%; its existence has never been reported before.

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Now China is in need of a merchant navy. At present she relies largely on merchant vessels of other communist countries. Most of the goods which reach her by sea from Eastern Europe come in Polish ships. Czechoslovakia also has a shipping company for the Far East trade route which is based on a free zone in the Polish port of Gdynia. Moreover, a Mercantile Marine College in Dairen which gives a three year course followed by 20 months ship practice to 1,000 students is staffed by Soviet instructors and has a curriculum patterned on that of the Soviet Mercantile Marine Institute. Its first 200 students graduated early this year.

WARSHIPS? Yet the secrecy hitherto maintained about the Sino-Soviet Shipbuilding Company would indicate that its main purpose is to build not merchant but naval vessels. No secrecy has been maintained about other Sino-Soviet companies. Moreover in nearby Port Arthur the Soviet Navy has a base where Chinese naval students are trained and where the naval vessels, including submarines, which the Soviet Union has leased to China, are berthed.

NAVAL CLASH The first clash of any size between the Chinese communist and Chinese Nationalist navies took place on April 26. A Nationalist cruiser encountered six communist gunboats and one landing craft off the Chekiang coast. It immediately signalled for reinforcements. In the ensuing battle two communist gunboats were sunk; the others withdrew under the protection of shore batteries. The incident is of importance for it shows that the red navy is already willing to show fight. On its ability as much as on that of the red Airforce depends the fate of Formosa.

CHINESE RAILWAY The Chinese government has approved in principle a plan for a new railway, 625 miles long from Lanchow to Paotow. It will run through the stock-raising areas of North China, over the Yellow River and through the Great Wall. A decision to build the stretch of the new line between Lanchow and Yinchuan (Yuchwan), capital of Ningsia Province, was revealed in January (FSL, 386). The remaining section of the line is now being surveyed.

PAOTOW, LANCHOW Paotow is the terminus of a line from Peking and is clearly destined to be joined at some future date by a spur from the Trans-Siberian Railway which reaches southwards to Ulan Bator, capital of Outer Mongolia. Lanchow is the terminus of the Lunghai Railway from the coast, which is being extended to Sinkiang. To build this 2,000 mile line, a new bed is being dug for the Kulang River which runs through the Wuhsiaoling Mountains. They are the biggest obstacle the railway must face before reaching the Kansu Corridor. Tunnels are needed and a bridge over the Yellow river. The schedule calls for this section of the line to be evacuated within two months so that rails can be laid in June.

The line will follow the Kansu Corridor through Urumchi (Tihua), Wusu and Illi, to the Soviet Union. Some reports state that the Soviet Union is already building lines from the Turkestan-Siberian Railway at Sergiopol through Chuguchak (Tacheng) to Wusu, and from Alma Ata to Illi.

Yours faithfully,

Wilfred Poyder
Patrick Maitland

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EGYPT ATTACKS
SUDAN MISSIONS

29 April, 1954.

The Egyptian government has set out to convert the southern Sudanese to Islam as a precaution against their splitting from the north, according to reports from Khartoum. Elimination of Christian missions in the South is the first target the Egyptians have set themselves.

The Egyptian government has informed the Sudanese Prime Minister, Ismail al-Azhari, that it considers that the use of Sudanese Treasury funds for educational purposes by Christian missions in the South is wrong because these missions have been introduced by the British to destroy Sudanese unity. They should not be allowed to administer funds subscribed by Moslem taxpayers in the North; they should be forbidden to teach.

Through the Islamic Preaching Society Egypt is stepping up her efforts to convert the Southern Sudanese to Islam. The Society claims 12,000 converts. Egypt is also trying to spread her influence in the South by means of Cairo Radio. It has begun to broadcast in the Dinka, Nuer and Kreich languages spoken by Southern tribes.

The Committee for the Consolidation of Egyptian-Sudanese Relations met in Cairo on April 20 under the chairmanship of Maj. Salah Salim. It discussed the strengthening of trade, agricultural and industrial relations with the Sudan. An Egyptian economic delegation will shortly leave for the Sudan to study the strengthening of economic ties. The Egyptian Minister of Health will also visit the Sudan.

EGYPT can now virtually dictate the British Governor General's policy since she achieved the appointment of a second pro-Egyptian member of his commission a week ago. This gives Egypt three votes - including that of the Egyptian member - against the Pakistani chairman and the British member.

SINKIANG BRANCHES FOR SOVIET RAILWAY Railways are being built by the Soviet Union from two points on the Turkestan-Siberian railway into northwest Sinkiang, China's most northerly province, according to reports from diplomatic sources in London. They stretch from Sergiopol through Chuguchak (Tacheng) to Wusu, and from Alma Ata to Illi.

The northwest is the principal area of Sinkiang whose minerals are being exploited 'jointly' by the Soviet Union and China. At various times the Soviet Union, even before the communists came to power in China in 1949, exploited its tin, oil, tungsten and gold. Uranium has also been found there.

Wusu is planned as the terminal of the Lunghai railway which China is extending from Lanchow through Hami in western Sinkiang and Urumchi (Tihua), the capital.

To build this 2,000 mile line, the Chinese are excavating a new bed for the Kulang River through the Wuhsiaoling Mountains. The Chinese Minister of Communications, Teng Tai Yuan, says that with the earth excavated the existing bed of the river is being filled and will be turned into a road.

THE WUHSIAOLING RANGE is one of the biggest obstacles the railway must face. It bars the way to the Kansu Corridor. Tunnels are needed and a bridge over the Yellow River. The schedule calls for this section of the line to be excavated within two months so that the rails can be laid in June.

'VOLUNTEER' AIRMEN
GATHER IN KWANGSI

30 April, 1954.

The Soviet Union and Communist China are building a "volunteer" airforce to send into Indochina against the "Flying Tigers" of the American General Chennault which are dropping supplies and paratroops to Dien Bien Phu. This is reported from Hong Kong.

The airforce is being established in Kwangsi, the southwest China province on the Indochina border within easy flying distance of Hanoi and Haiphong. Some 400 Soviet and Czech fighters and transports have been sent there and are dispersed on airfields at Kweilin, Nanning, Liuchow and Lienchow in readiness to enter Indochina. Some 800 Soviet and Czech airmen have arrived to man them.

Opening on February 1st of a direct long-distance wireless telephone service between Nanning and Moscow - which was disclosed in the Nanning newspaper 'Kwangsi Jih-pao' on February 11 - has led American observers in Hong Kong to suspect that the Red Army is taking a more direct advisory role in the Indochina war. The paper stated that the circuit was opened "to cope with present needs of industrial development".

The Chinese communists are indeed setting out to industrialise this corner of China. Yet it would appear too early for there to be need for a direct telephone service to Moscow for economic reasons alone.

GENERAL CHENNAULT, according to Hong Kong reports, is expanding his private air line activities in Indochina and is recruiting American, Japanese, Philippino, Siamese and Nationalist Chinese airmen. He is seeking 1,000 experienced American pilots in the eastern United States alone.

SOVIETS HINT AT TIES WITH BONN New feelers have been put out by the Soviet government for the establishing of diplomatic relations with West Germany, according to reports from Berlin. They have come indirectly through Georg Handke, Foreign Under-Secretary in the East German Foreign Office.

The substance of a lecture he gave to the heads of the main departments of the Foreign Ministry has been allowed to leak out. In it he said that, since the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Berlin had shown that the Western Powers would not sign a peace treaty with Germany, the Soviet Union accepted that, for the time being, two German states existed. It was prepared to recognise both.

As soon as the Western Powers granted full sovereignty to the West German Federal Republic, Mr. Handke went on, there would be no obstacle to the Soviet Union's entering into diplomatic relations with it.

Earlier feelers for the establishing of diplomatic relations came during the Berlin conference. Mr. Ilychev, Soviet press chief, said on January 30 that "although no official relations exist between the Soviet Union and West Germany, the possibility of such contact exists".

Hr. Wilhelm Grewe, a constitutional expert in the office of the State Secretary in Bonn, who accompanied the West German observers to the Berlin conference, visited East Berlin and is believed to have discussed the opening of diplomatic relations.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT may well be anxious to establish diplomatic relations with West Germany in order to foster trade. West German business men have high hopes that it can be expanded considerably.

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LAOS, CAMBODIA TO
GET PACT WITH USA

15 May, 1954.

The American government is studying a project for an alliance with Laos and Cambodia in advance of formation of a Southeast Asian Treaty Organisation, according to reports from Washington. They are two of the three Associated States of Indochina; Vietnam is the third.

The treaty would be by executive action of the President, according to these reports, and therefore would not require ratification by Congress. He would justify his action by the need for speed.

It would be followed by increased supplies of American arms for the two countries. Consideration is being given to transferring defence funds earmarked for other Southeast Asian and Pacific countries to Indochina.

Exclusion of Vietnam from the treaty would not imply that it is to be abandoned, according to these reports. But it would indicate the assessment of the US Defence Department that there is difficulty in saving the whole of it.

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, it is learned, feels that the two key cities in Vietnam of Hanoi in the north and Saigon in the south can be held with increased US aid. But the American assessment, which is shared in London, is that there can be less confidence about Hanoi than about Saigon.

US BASES TO RING AFRICA The US government is planning to complete a ring of military and air bases around that part of Africa north of the Sahara. She already has air bases in French North Africa and Libya and is now seeking bases in Ethiopia and Liberia.

Military alliances giving such bases are expected to be arranged as the result of visits to Washington by the Emperor Haile Salassie of Ethiopia, who goes next week, and President Tubman of Liberia, who goes later in the summer.

Military training missions and supplies of military equipment for the Ethiopian forces are likely to be given in return for bases. So far the USA has no foothold there.

In Liberia, under an agreement of March 31, 1942, America constructed, controlled, operated and defended airports in Liberia for the duration of the war. All American armed forces were withdrawn afterwards, however, and wartime facilities now need bringing up to date.

America gave some military equipment to Liberia's forces at the end of the war but it is largely out of date. On January 11, 1951, an agreement was signed whereby Liberia accepted an American military training mission.

AMERICA has played a part for some years in British, French, Portuguese, Belgian and South African efforts to develop coordinated defence arrangements in Africa. American delegates took part in the Nairobi Conference in August 1951 on defence of East and Central Africa and in the Dakar Conference in March this year on defence of West Africa.

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US AGREES TO
STAFF TALKS

19 May, 1954.

America has now agreed to Britain's request for military staff talks with France, Australia and New Zealand on the means of guaranteeing a truce in Indochina if one can be reached in Geneva, and what can be done if one cannot be reached, it is learned in Whitehall. Sir Winston had hoped to be able to announce this on Monday but the American reply had not yet come.

Britain has agreed that the talks should take place in Washington. She had at first asked for Singapore to give the talks a Southeast Asian flavour. America, however, has argued that they are better held where policy decisions can be taken quickly.

On present form it is not intended to send special delegates from London. Britain and France already have high-ranking military representatives in Washington in the NATO Standing Group. Australia and New Zealand have service missions.

Ideas will undoubtedly be aired during the talks on the form of a treaty organisation for Southeast Asia for which America is pressing. It is believed she is thinking of a series of regional treaties - between Formosa and South Korea, the Anzus Treaty and a Southeast Asian Treaty; they would be united in an organisation like that of NATO.

BRITAIN is confident that the Asian dominions and Burma will not join if South Korea and Formosa are included. And India and Burma would be more interested if the political and economic aspects of the overall organisation were stressed more than its military aspects, and certainly more than in NATO.

BONN ACCORD ON CONVERTIBILITY Professor Erhard, West German Economics Minister, has agreed to bring Germany's plans for an approach to convertibility completely into line with those of Britain. This is the fruit of Mr. Butler's visit to Germany earlier this month, it is stated in Whitehall.

Britain's main conditions are that her gold and dollar reserves should continue to increase, that American business activity should begin to rise again, that she adopt no more restrictive policies than those at present in force, and that adequate support for convertibility should be provided by the International Monetary Fund.

No firm date is fixed for convertibility, the Treasury insists. Mr. Butler talks of a period in which the conditions will be fulfilled which will make convertibility possible. He clearly believes it has begun and that by the time the IMF meets in Washington in September it should be well under way.

Britain is expected to make the first decisive move towards convertibility by applying it to non-resident sterling accounts. Germany, Belgium, Holland and Denmark are expected to follow within hours. The move will, in fact, be virtually simultaneous but other European countries cannot move until Britain does so, such is the importance of sterling.

A transitional period is then expected to follow before resident accounts can be declared convertible. In this period exchange rates are expected to be allowed to fluctuate until they have found a realistic level which will then be fixed.

PROFESSOR ERHARD and Mr. Butler agreed that Latin American countries cannot be allowed to stand outside any move towards convertibility without grave danger. For that they must be persuaded of the benefit of multilateral as opposed to bilateral trading. That is the main purpose of the visit to London of the Argentine Foreign Minister, Senor Remorino, and Senor Morales, Minister of Economy.

US DILEMMA
OVER SEATO

18 May, 1954.

The American-South Korean alliance of last August is to be widened to include Formosa, according to reports from Tokyo. This is said to be the purpose of the visits to Formosa and South Korea of Mr. Charles Wilson, American Defence Secretary, and General Van Fleet, former commander of the US Eighth Army in Korea.

It is suspected in London that the American government wants to include such a tripartite pact in a Southeast Asian Treaty Organisation. So far Siam and the Philippines have said they will join such a pact; Britain, Australia and New Zealand have agreed to study it.

The three Commonwealth countries believe that SEATO would not have the support of Asian opinion if it did not include India, Pakistan and Ceylon. They believe that these three countries are slowly moving towards it. They are also convinced that they will shy away from it if South Korea and Formosa are to be included.

A further complication with regard to a SEATO is that Japan has expressed a desire to join. This would alienate not merely India, Pakistan and Ceylon but also South Korea, whose relations with Japan are poor.

THE COMPLICATIONS attending a wide SEATO may therefore persuade the American government to go ahead with the three Associated States, Siam, the Philippines, and also Australia and New Zealand if they can be persuaded that Anzus ties are of more value than those of the Commonwealth.

SOVIET TV FOR ARABS The official announcement from Moscow that a television station is to be set up in the Soviet oil town of Baku, near the Turkish, Syrian, Iraqi and Persian borders, is causing concern in Whitehall and Washington. It is feared that it will be a new and potent source of Soviet propaganda to the Middle East.

Soviet sound broadcasts from Baku are heard over the radios installed in cafes and public squares all over the Middle East. Television broadcasts will be a much greater attraction for there is no television station anywhere in the Middle East except on an experimental scale in Turkey.

The mountains of Kurdistan will doubtless prevent clear reception in large areas of Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Persia. But they are not an impassable barrier and the towns of northern Persia and along the shores of the Caspian should have perfect reception.

The decision to set up such a station is another sign of growing Soviet activity in the Middle East while the Western powers are pre-occupied in Europe and Southeast Asia. The means of combating it were discussed at a conference of US diplomatic representatives from thirteen Middle Eastern countries held in Istanbul last week.

A SIMILAR MEETING of Soviet diplomats has been held this month in Baku. The study of the literature and history of Islam has recently been stepped up in the Soviet Union and books on these subjects are pouring from publishing houses.

THREE PATTERNS
OF IDEAS AT GENEVA

FRANCO-AMERICAN, BRITISH
AND ASIAN PROPOSALS

By Patrick Maitland

18th May, 1954.

Three distinct approaches to the Southeast Asian problem are now emerging at Geneva.

First is the Franco-United States programme. Mr. Dulles began, it will be remembered, by proposing before the Geneva Conference started that China should be 'warned', next that if Britain would back up the idea the United States should openly intervene with airpower.

This last was in effect vetoed in London. First, there was the manifest danger of provoking fullscale Chinese intervention. Next, the record of Korea made it legitimate to doubt if aerial operations would make much difference.

Now the French are communing with the United States about some further attempt to intervene directly. These talks seem to be shaking down to a recognition of certain salient points. The Vietminh do not look like being driven out of the areas of Vietnam that they hold. They threaten Hanoi and have as good as said they want the road kept open for their advance.

But if that much has to be conceded for want of the force which could alone dislodge them, what of Laos and Cambodia? The thought that these States might crumble and fall disturbs Paris and Washington alike.

They have suffered some infiltration but nothing as extensive as in Vietnam. It is therefore becoming the hope in Washington and Paris to preserve these two States intact by insisting on the removal of such Vietminh irregulars as are there as the price for some surrender in Vietnam. It looks as if, given safety for Laos and Cambodia, the United States Government will back France in conceding Tonking (the north part of Vietnam) provided Hanoi and the Delta are held.

That thought provoked another from M. Molotov over the weekend. He evidently suspected that the President of the United States might by Executive Agreement conclude some tie-up with Laos and Cambodia. Hence the quick demand that phantom Vietminh 'governments' in those States be recognised for purposes of negotiation, and that the road to Hanoi be kept open.

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From the British, Australian and New Zealand circle an altogether different approach is becoming clear. This assumes that direct American intervention now would do nothing but harm. At best it would allow the USA to become involved in a bigger and worse Korea, to the damage of the rest of the world.

Next, any partition line that France and the USA might now feel tempted to accept must take account of minorities, especially Catholics dwelling behind the Vietminh curtain. And if Vietminh penetrate the Red River Delta, they will command a big Catholic population.

It follows, then, that any 'line' must be supervised. This is the point at which M.Molotov's proposal last week for a control or supervisory commission of countries not hitherto engaged seemed like a response to British hopes. This is clearly the kind of arrangement for which Mr.Eden is working, provided the United States does not compromise that work by obtruding proposals that are certain to be rejected.

Mr.Eden has as good as insisted that Singapore is the sensible place to hold the 5-Power staff talks that could both work out methods of supervising an armistice and work out ways of helping defend Indo-China once a firm and politically acceptable line had been defined.

Asian countries interested in the whole matter are crystallising a third set of ideas. In Burma, for example, the thought of further communist penetration is regarded with cold alarm after an exhausting struggle to beat down two insurrections in Burmese territory. The Government of Burma, whose Foreign Minister is touring the West after a visit to Moscow, is described as 'less neutralist now than it has ever been'.

Indonesia joined with Burma in the Colombo Conference. Here the influence is strongly red. While there are sincere if primitive democrats in the Indonesian Government, others have gained the reputation for collaborating wholeheartedly with the USSR. Australians assert that the Royal Commission examining Petrov will unearth sensational evidence about this.

On the other hand India has just conferred with Nepal about the whole defence problem which now is at least admitted to exist; six months ago it was still called a phantom.

One idea emerging from talks in Delhi between Pandit Nehru and the Nepalese King and Foreign Minister is that the Indian Ocean Asians should combine without

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the Western Powers. The project gaining currency is for a mutual defence treaty between India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia, Burma, Siam, Afghanistan and Nepal.

Little is clear about this proposal save that it would exclude the Western Powers and that any mutual defence system among these Asiars would first need to resolve the tension between India and Pakistan.

On the other hand each idea has a positive content. It is generally assumed in Whitehall that an effective system must include plenty of free Asian countries. But it will be bound to depend on Western physical power. And it cannot take functional shape until the executive countries know what help they could usefully give and in what circumstances. That is what the United States is discussing with France, and what Mr. Eden has proposed the staffs should examine together in Singapore.—Copyright.

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SPECIAL

BALANCE OF POWER
IN INDIAN OCEAN

ENTRY OF AMERICAN
INFLUENCE IN PAKISTAN
AND INDO-CHINA

By Patrick Maitland

24th April, 1954.

Outward pressure by the Eurasian landpower has for the second time within five years drawn the United States into the mainland of the Asian continent. For the airlift this week from Paris to Indo-China is the start of an involvement, just as the relatively limited entry of Chinese artillerymen into Indo-China is a direct involvement likewise.

Staff conversations have, furthermore, been in progress at Pearl Harbour, in Washington and at Singapore, to consider what steps may be possible should the French forces fail to hold Dien Bien Phu and, indeed, recoil throughout Viet-Nam.

A preliminary American conclusion has been that at all costs the advance of elements friendly to Red China must be resisted and next that a defence line could be established through Siam and Burma if need be. The third conclusion, as to which country might most conveniently furnish the fighting troops and the supplies to hold such a 'line', is not yet made known officially.

But this was clearly in mind when Mr. Dulles was in London before Easter and in Paris over the weekend. On the first occasion he proposed to Mr. Eden, and the British Foreign Secretary agreed to explore it, that the interested nations should create a Southeast Asian and Western Pacific Treaty Organisation.

One of the main preoccupations in some quarters has been that any such arrangement should support not a 'colonial' regime in Viet-nam but a free union between Viet-nam and France.

But a more earnest preoccupation in Whitehall has been to avert the transformation of the Indo-China war into a repetition of Korea, with mounting military involvement by the opposing colossi and no great result at the end of it all.

For in British eyes the issues in Southeast Asia are less simple than in Korea. Here is a danger, in effect, that the indeterminate military conflict of Great Powers shall affect an area where the contagion could spread fast, but which holds in it, perhaps, the future of the British Commonwealth system.

Certainly the vast majority of Her Majesty's Dominions, if these are measured

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in number of selfgoverning territories, or by the number of their inhabitants, lie around the Indian Ocean.

From the Union of South Africa, up through the Central African Federation which can almost be called an Indian Ocean power, through East Africa to Pakistan, India, Mauritius and the Cocos Islands, Ceylon, Malaya and Australia, there ranges the application of British culture and political science to alien countries and foreign or emigrated peoples, united primarily by the English language.

Within this region, giving access to enormous and still undeveloped mineral wealth upon which the Sterling Area rests its hope of Commonwealth economic independence, there live multitudes of peoples and fierce tensions prevail.

In the African Continent there is the clash between European and Indian. In South Africa there is near war between African and White, so also in Kenya. In East Africa the spread of an Indian imperialism is sensed. Between Pakistan and the Republic of India there lies Kashmir. To the southeast Australia continues to exclude all but a few Asian immigrants while building up an European population with all speed.

Amid this complex of tensions, it cannot be to the British Commonwealth interest that yet another should obtrude itself, least of all the ideological war between East and West when in the Indian Ocean the Commonwealth strives to mingle Asian and European culture. Still worse, in a Commonwealth view, would be the obtrusion on this scene of the East-West conflict fought out as a Great Power war with all the horrifying panoply of modern slaughter.

To some degree this is also the view of all parties in the French Assembly. The Laniel Government, while invoking the Mutual Aid Treaty with the United States, has been eager not to enlarge the conflict by inviting direct American participation. There is no official suggestion in Paris that American troops should be sent.

Yet the shadow of that stands in the wings and with it another facet of Indian Ocean affairs. It was to the United States that Pakistan turned for backing against India which Great Britain could not provide consistent with the accepted standards of Commonwealth relationships. It is to the United States, on the Eastern side of the Indian Ocean, that France has necessarily turned for supplies of war material and for transport.

For though the Indian Ocean is, very largely, the inland sea of the British Commonwealth, redressment of the balance of power within that area is the part of an emancipated British Colony of a former, and now departed, British Empire—Copyright.

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Note for PF. 604,584.

With reference to 490b, I telephoned to [redacted] and asked him if he would have a look at the S.O.E. papers for Paul DEHN and told him that we had no trace of DEHN here but that he had come to notice as a contact of "one of the old gang".

[redacted] telephoned to me yesterday to say that he had the DEHN papers before him. They showed that DEHN was recruited to S.O.E. by Brigadier G.A. Hill in 1941. He was at the S.O.E. Training School in May 1941 and in 1942 became Personal Assistant to Brigadier Gubbins. On 17.2.43. DEHN was training in Canada and in February 1944 he was attached to S.H.A.F.E. In August 1944 he was employed on Psychological Warfare in France. From that time onwards he was principally employed in helping to write the history of S.O.E. In this connection he made a trip to Norway in 1945 and after an attachment to the Ministry of Information his employment by S.O.E. ended in the same year.

The papers do not contain any comments or information of interest about DEHN and the only personal information was that he was educated at Shrewsbury School and was from 1931-35 at Brasenose College, Oxford.

Evelyn M. B. Samuel
E. McBarnet.

D.L.A.
19.5.54.

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Ball Mall

S.W. 1.

18 MAY 1954

9 7829 F



May 19th.

Dear Kim,

Have just returned
from tedious conference in
Scotland and am en-
route to Council tonight
from Shetberg. Long
time no see, but hope
life a little more
tranquil after Whilsun.
Will communicate - Ken

9 7829 F

DIAM/30
1915

and we must - again -
lunch or din.

due to Milam.

Yes ever

Dick

SCOTTIAN WHITE

9 7829 F

Copy in PF. 604, 589.

491B



H. A. R. Philby Esq.
The Athenaeum
London S.W. 1 Pall Mall

9 7712 J

17 MAY 1954

St. Anthony's

Much look forward seeing
you here at the college
Shortly before 6:30 pm
Friday 2nd



15/5

9 7712

D

490b
491a.

THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT
RETAINED IN DEPARTMENT
UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF
THE PUBLIC RECORDS
ACT 1958.

490^a

D.G.

We do not know what passed between ELLIS and PEACH at the Athenaeum, nor even that the subject of conversation was a job for PEACH. The relevant facts are as follows.

ELLIS and PEACH met on 4 March, 1954. Since then there has been no mention in PEACH's recorded telephone conversations of anything to do with ELLIS. Connie ASHLEY-JONES, PEACH's mistress, knew about PEACH's intention of seeing ELLIS. She also saw him in the days immediately following the interview. On 7 March she had a long conversation over the telephone with HONEY, discussing PEACH's prospects of employment. While mentioning several possibilities, she made no reference at all to ELLIS or anything that had passed between him and PEACH.

I conclude that if the conversation had anything to do with employment, it came to nothing.

I have inserted at 29a an extract from WHO'S WHO on ELLIS. It does not disclose any particular interests on his part which he would hold in common with PEACH.

G. R. MITCHELL

G.R. Mitchell.

D.
12.5.54.

DIAM/SC
12-5-54

Copy in PF. 604.589

489a

POST CARD



10 MAY 1954

H. A. R. Philby Esq.
The Athenaeum

London SW1

Pall Mall

4/7119 W

Hope Fri. May 21st still
suits. Suggest 4.45 pm
from Padd, and then come
straight here. Dinner
? for 7.15. Lounge suit.

Ed 7/5

4 7119 W

5th May 1954

Re:- 19 BRAMERTON STREET
London, S.W.3.

488a

Voters' List particulars at 20.11.1953 are

BERNARD
DEHN

James M
Paul E

10

D.1.A. (Miss E. McBarnet)

PF. 604,584

PEACH

475a

Our report F.153/55 of 3.5.1954
refers, and as spoken 5.5.1954.

W. J. Skardon
W. J. Skardon

A.4.
6.5.1954
F.153/60

29/3

*Sc/DIA
6/5/54*

487a

D.I.A. (Miss E. McBarnet).
Copy to: D.I. (Mr. J.C. Robertson).

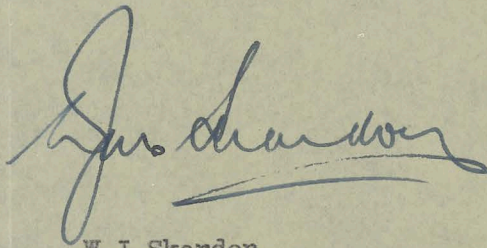
PF.604,584.

PEACH

5.5.54.

ASHLEY-JONES left Northwood Hall alone at 9.25 a.m.,
boarded a 134 'bus and travelled towards Town.

PEACH was seen to leave the flats at 11.30 a.m.
and to be out just long enough to purchase cigarettes.
There was no posting by him and at 3 p.m. observation was
withdrawn.



W.J. Skardon.

A.4.
6.5.54.
F.153/61

29/4

Jc/DIA
6/5/54.

6
987



Westminster Bank Ltd

239 Brompton Road

London S.W. 3.

Handwritten scribbles on the left margin.

9 6889 W

5 MAY 1954

THIS PORTION TO BE RETAINED BY THE STOCKHOLDER

NOTE.—The Inland Revenue Authorities will accept this Certificate as a Voucher in respect of claims for exemption or relief from Income Tax, and it should therefore be CAREFULLY PRESERVED.

12719

£4 PER CENT. FUNDING STOCK,
1960-1990.

CAPITAL.	HALF-A-YEAR'S Interest due 1st MAY, 1954.	Income Tax at 9s. per £.	NET PAYMENT.
£150. 0. 0	3. 0. 0	1. 7. 0	£1. 13. 0

I hereby certify that the Income Tax shown as deducted from the above-mentioned Interest has been, or will be, duly paid over to the Exchequer.

W. D. SIMPSON,
Chief Accountant, Bank of England.

THE ADJOINING NUMBERS SHOULD BE QUOTED IN ANY COMMUNICATION RELATING TO THIS ACCOUNT

29D-7-11307
HAROLD A. R. PHILBY, ESQ.,
18, GROVE COURT,
DRAYTON GARDENS, S.W. 10.

29D-7-11307

N.B. CHANGE OF ADDRESS should be notified to the Chief Accountant IMMEDIATELY, together with particulars of all accounts in which alterations are necessary.

Warrants outstanding more than Six Months after date must be sent to the Bank of England for verification.

Pay^{t.} 70.

12719

WARRANT FOR INTEREST DUE
1st MAY, 1954.

29

10s.

£4 PER CENT. FUNDING STOCK,
1960-1990.

To the CASHIERS of the BANK OF ENGLAND.

£1. 13. 0

Pay the Sum of
ONE POUND THIRTEEN SHILLINGS

to the Order of
HAROLD ADRIAN RUSSELL PHILBY

29D-7-11307

W. D. Simpson
Chief Accountant.

The Person named above must sign here H. A. R. Philby

9 6889 W

H855a



Wyckwood School

Ash Vale

near Aldershot

Hants



5 MAY 1954

9 6886 W

No. **C** 458643

1 BROMPTON SQUARE

LONDON

S.W. 3

May 4

6121

1954

102

WESTMINSTER BANK LIMITED

BROMPTON SQUARE BRANCH



PAY *Wychwood School*

OF CASH

Five pounds eleven shillings & pence

£ 5 - 11 - 4

H. A. A. Phillips

M

THIS CHEQUE REQUIRES ENDORSEMENT

9 6886 W

446

WYCHWOOD SCHOOL

Copy of an a/c I sent 25-7-53 ^{Simmy Tam}Name... *Misanda + Tommy* ^{Month} *Extra* in...

	Rs.	A.	P.
Board and Tuition	.....	.....	.....
Dancing	.....	.....	.....
Music	<i>Tommy's a/c</i>	19	3
Riding	.....	.....	.....
Chemists	<i>Misanda's a/c</i>	4	12 1
.....
.....
.....
Haircutting	.....	.....	.....
Shoes, repairs	.....	.....	.....
Stationery	.....	.....	.....
Pocket money	.....	.....	.....
Sundries	.....	.....	.....
.....
.....
TOTAL	7	5	11 4
Balance due			
GRAND TOTAL			

9 6886 W



Banbury Bank Ltd

Church Street

Rickmansworth

Herts



5 MAY 1954

9 6887 W

No

C
N 458642

1 BROMPTON SQUARE

LONDON

S.W. 3

May 4

1954

6121

102

WESTMINSTER BANK LIMITED

BROMPTON SQUARE BRANCH



PAY *Barclays Bank Ltd, Richmond* OF *CHEST*

Ninety-one pounds five shillings &

£91-2-3

An expense

H. G. R. Pwllh

M

THIS CHEQUE REQUIRES ENDORSEMENT

9 6887 W

Telephone: CHORLEYWOOD 93.

BEAUMONT HOUSE

HERONSGATE, RICKMANSWORTH, HERTS.

..... May 1954

..... H. A. R. Philby, Esq.
..... Sunbox,
..... Heronsgate, Rickmansworth,

Education of A. T. Philby

For the Term ending 25th July

	£	s.	d.
Boarders' Fee			
Supplementary Charge			
Laundry			
Day Boarders' Fee	23	12	6
Supplementary Charge			
Music			
School Fees — Insurance	1	9	-
<i>Sundries for Last Term:—</i>			
Matron's Account		2	-
Shooting			
Transport & Luggage			
Fares to Matches and/or Expeditions			
Books and Music Books			11
Stationery and Magazine		12	11
Lectures : Swimming (Summer) : Cinema (Winter)		5	-
Barber		2	2
Breakages			
Church Subscription (for Boarders)			
.....			
.....			
.....			

£ 26 - 4 - 6

Fees should be paid direct to Barclay's Bank Limited, Rickmansworth, sending this form, not later than the first day of term. The Bank is only empowered to receive fees and any queries must be addressed to the School. A full term's notice in writing is required before removal of a boy; otherwise a full term's fees will be charged.

9 6887 W

Telephone: CHORLEYWOOD 93.

BEAUMONT HOUSE

HERONSGATE, RICKMANSWORTH, HERTS.

May 1954

H. A. R. Philby, Esq.
Sunbox,
Heronsgate, Rickmansworth

Education of J. D. Philby

For the Term ending 29th July

	£	s.	d.
Boarders' Fee	57	15	-
Supplementary Charge			
Laundry	2	2	-
Day Boarders' Fee			
Supplementary Charge			
Music			
School Fees — Insurance	2	8	-

Sundries for Last Term:—

Matron's Account		13	9
Shooting			
Transport & Luggage			
Fares to Matches and/or Expeditions			
Books and Music Books		3	1
Stationery and Magazine		15	6
Lectures : Swimming (Summer) : Cinema (Winter)		5	-
Barber		2	2
Breakages			9
Church Subscription (for Boarders)		2	6

£ 64-17-9

Fees should be paid direct to Barclay's Bank Limited, Rickmansworth, sending this form, not later than the first day of term. The Bank is only empowered to receive fees and any queries must be addressed to the School. A full term's notice in writing is required before removal of a boy; otherwise a full term's fees will be charged.

9 6887 W



A. L. Adams

117 Tudor Way

Richmond upon

Herts

5 MAY 1954

9 6888 W

No. **C** 458645
N

1 BROMPTON SQUARE

LONDON

S.W. 3

May 4

6121

19 54

102

WESTMINSTER BANK LIMITED

BROMPTON SQUARE BRANCH



PAY *A. L. Adams*

or Bearer

Two pounds two shillings and five pence

£ 2 - 2 - 5

H. G. R. Philpot

M

THIS CHEQUE REQUIRES ENDORSEMENT

9 6888 W

4839

A. L. ADAMS

BUILDING, PLUMBING
AND
HOT WATER FITTING
CONTRACTOR.

117, TUDOR WAY,
RICKMANSWORTH,
HERTS.

COMPLETE HOME MAINTENANCE

Mt. Philby
h/a Box
Kulifar Rd
Hemsworth
26/4/1954

18/1/54

To Reseating and Reworking
taps, supply and fix $\frac{1}{2}$ B.S.S Valve
less Ball to WWP of W/C

Material and labour £ 2 2 5

E. & O.E.

9 6888 W

482^a

[Handwritten signature]

D.l.A. (Miss E.McBarnet).
Copy to: D.l. (Mr. J.C.Robertson).

FF.604,584.

PEACH

4.5.54.

ASHLEY-JONES left Northwood Hall at 9.5 a.m. and went off alone towards Town by 'bus.

PEACH came out at 12.50 p.m., posted a letter in Archway Road bought bread, fish and other oddments, returning with them to the flat at 1.5 p.m.

At 6.25 p.m. ASHLEY-JONES returned home and although we maintained observation up to 9 p.m., neither she nor her paramour were seen again.

[Handwritten signature]

W.J.Skardon.

A.4.
5.5.54.
F.153/59

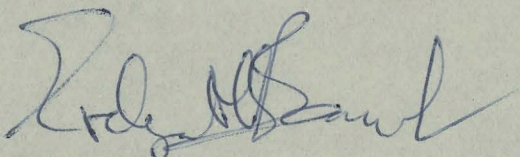
RB/19

THIS IS A COPY
ORIGINAL DOCUMENT RETAINED
IN DEPARTMENT UNDER SECTION
3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS
ACT 1958
Albie 2024

481^a

Note for PF 604,584.

Mr. Skardon, A.4., telephoned to me
this morning to tell me that the Voters'
List for 19 Bramerton Street, S.W.3.,
contained two names: James M. BARNARD and
Paul E. DEHN.



E. McBarnet.

D.1.A.
5.5.54.

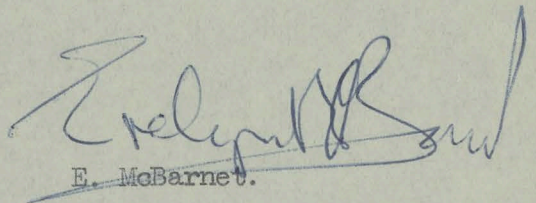
Jc/DIA
5/5/54

H80^a

Note for PF.604,584.

This afternoon I received some further information relating to my enquiries at 479a.

I was informed that the house at 19 Bramerton Street is owned by a certain Paul DEHN, who has some connections with the B.B.C. He is believed to take part in the programme called "The Critics". Living with him at this address is a young man called James BARNARD. He is extremely musical and also writes film and radio scripts. He is said to be aiming at a kind of "Noel Coward" career. These two men entertain quite a lot and the circle is composed of quite well known people in the theatrical, radio and literary worlds.


E. McBarnet.

D.1.A.
4.5.54.

Jc/DIA
5.5.54

479^a

Note for PF.604,584.

With reference to A.4. report at 475a,
I asked the G.P.O. this morning if there was a
telephone installed at 19 Bramerton Street, S.W.3.,
and if so who was the subscriber. I was later informed
that there was a telephone, no. FLaxman 7871 and the
subscriber is Paul DEHN. This is the only telephone
installed at this address.

Evelyn Baul

E. McBarnet.

D.1.A.
4.5.54.

JC/DIA
5-5-54

45

478^a

D.I.A. (Miss E. McBarnet).
Copy to: D.I. (Mr. J.C. Robertson).

PF. 604, 584.

PEACH

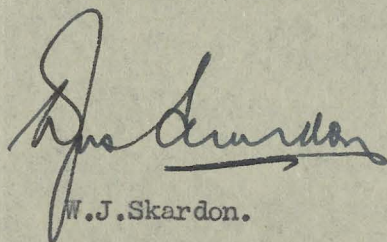
3.5.54.

PEACH left home with ASHLEY-JONES at 9.15 a.m. travelled with her as far as Warren Street and there went off alone to Baker Street.

He boarded the 10.5 a.m. train for Rickmansworth and was allowed to proceed.

We resumed observation at Baker Street Station and Grove Court at 7.45 p.m.

PEACH was not seen at either place up to 9.45 p.m. when observation was withdrawn.


W.J. Skardon.

A.4.
4.5.54.
F.153/58

27/17

JIDA
5/5/54

8/5

477a

D.l.A. (Miss E.McBarnet).
Copy to: D.l. (Mr. J.C.Robertson).

PF.604,584.

PEACH

475a

Further to our F.153/55 of 1.5.54, herewith descriptions of the contacts reported therein.

"M" Looks 38. 5 ft. 8-9 ins. Medium build. Erect carriage. Dark brown hair, receding at temples. Dark complexion. Clean shaven. Speaks with accent, possibly French. Dressed in grey double-breasted suit, brown shoes.

"N" Looks 26-28. 5 ft. 7 ins. Medium build. Fair hair and complexion. Clean shaven. Dressed in light-brown suit, brown shoes.

A.4.
3.5.54.
F.153/57

Woodhouse.
W.J.Skardon.

26/23

JC/DIA
4/5/54.

JCS JS

476^a

D.l.A. (Miss E.McBarnet).
Copy to: D.l. (Mr. J.C.Robertson).

PF.604,584.

PEACH

1.5.54.

PEACH left Northwood Hall in company with ASHLEY-JONES at 12:10 p.m. did their weekend shopping, dropped in at the Archway Tavern, and at 1.5 p.m. were back at the flat.

At 2 p.m. they left Northwood Hall, deposited a package containing clothing at Cromwell Cleaners, 179, Archway Road, N.6. and at 2.15 p.m. entered 3, Wood Lane, N.6, where it was known that they would be spending the day.

We maintained observation up to 8 p.m. and from time to time spoke to the Night Duty Officer, but nothing further of interest occurred.

Sunday, 2.5.54.

Observation was maintained in the vicinity of Northwood Hall from 8.30 a.m. until 9 p.m. but neither PEACH nor his lady friend was seen.

During the day we were in touch with the Night Duty Officer who had no information to assist us.

W.J. Skardon
W.J. Skardon.

A.4.
3.5.54.
F.153/56

26/5

*JC/DIA
4/5/54*

[Handwritten signature]

D.I.A. (Miss E. McBarnet),
Copy to: D.I. (Mr. J.C. Robertson).

475^a

FF.604,584

PEACH

30.4.54.

PEACH left Northwood Hall at 9.35 a.m. with ASHLEY-JONES, escorted her to the 'bus, visited a local grocers and then returned to the flat.

He was next seen at noon walking into Archway Road from Harberton Road. This is not the most direct route from Northwood Hall and this may have been his route on the two previous occasions when he had not been seen to leave for his known appointments.

PEACH went to Fleet Street, stayed for one drink in The George and at 12.50 p.m. met ASHLEY-JONES near Clements Inn. They went to Barclays Bank Ltd., 366 Strand, W.C.2, and then to Ye Olde Cheshire Cheese for lunch.

At 2.25 p.m. they parted and PEACH walked via the Strand to Piccadilly, seemed undecided whether to travel by train or 'bus and eventually boarded a No.96 'bus on which he went as far as Fulham Road.

After walking through various side streets he reached King's Road and at the junction of Manresa Road met two men, ("M") and ("N") respectively. The time was 3.20 p.m. and the meeting appeared to be quite fortuitous. PEACH shook hands with contact "M" and exchanged slips of paper which may well have contained their addresses.

At 3.25 p.m. they parted, PEACH returned to

/18 Grove Court,

JC/DIA
4/5/54

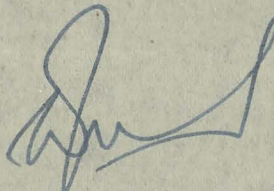
[Handwritten signature]
3/5
DIA/EMCB
Pl- let me know
When they are
identified.
JLH
3/5

18 Grove Court, Drayton Gardens and we followed the contacts to 19 Bramerton Street, S.W.3, where they admitted themselves by key.

PEACH left his mother's address at 5.30 p.m., and met ASHLEY-JONES outside the Chelsea Palace at 5.45 p.m. when both went to the Gaumont Cinema, King's Road.

They left the cinema at 8.55 p.m., stayed drinking at the Markham Arms, 138 King's Road, until 10.25 p.m. and then made their way back to Northwood Hall, arriving at 11.20 p.m.

We shall obtain Voters' List particulars for 19 Bramerton Street and forward them together with the descriptions of contacts "M" and "N".



W.J. Skardon.

A.4.
1.5.54.
F.153/55

PF. 604,584.
Copy in PF. 605,197.

PA PEACH
copy - FAIRLEY

D.I.A. (Miss E. McBurnet).
Copy to: D.I. (Mr. J.C. Robertson).

474^a

PF. 604,584.

PEACH

29.4.54.

PEACH left Northwood Hall with ASHLEY-JONES and saw her on to a down Town 'bus. He then posted a letter bought a newspaper and returned to the flat. We once again did not see him leave Northwood Hall for his late afternoon appointment but at 5.40 p.m. located him in Fleet Street, as he was about to enter EL VINO's Wine Bar, 47, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

PEACH was seen to meet Thomas FAIRLY and, after waiting a few moments, they were able to sit at a quiet corner table where, for nearly twenty minutes, they held what appeared to be a serious conversation. PEACH was seen to consult his diary on one occasion and it is believed that arrangements were made for another meeting between these two. We did hear the 10th (month unknown) mentioned.

They returned to the bar at 6.20 p.m., having completed their business, and stayed talking for ten minutes in a more friendly fashion. Before parting PEACH was seen to write what may have been an address on a small piece of paper and hand this to FAIRLY. They seperated in Fleet Street and PEACH was followed back to Northwood Hall, where he arrived at 7.15 p.m. He was not seen to leave again up to 9 p.m. when observation was withdrawn.

We were also able to spare one Assistant to keep an eye on FAIRLY and after he left PEACH he travelled to Notting Hill Gate and was traced to 25, Kensington Place, W.8. entering by a semi-basement door, at 7.20 p.m.

JCDIA
4/5/54

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3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS
ACT 1958 April 2024

474a

- 2 -

Although we denude ourselves of some coverage at Northwood Hall when it is known that PEACH has an appointment in Town, it should be realized that it is not possible for us to cover completely all exits of the flats and we are, in the usual way, awaiting his approach to train and 'bus via the main exits.

A.4.
30.4.54.
F.153/54

W.J. Skardon
W.J. Skardon.

24/17

PA.

29 APR 1954



473^a

H.A.R. Philby Esq.,
The Athenaeum,
Pall Mall,
LONDON, S.W.1.

7 6568 W

News from Turkey

PRESS ATTACHÉ, TURKISH EMBASSY, 43 BELGRAVE SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1 SLOANE 6968

Vol.5, No. 8.

28th April 1954

C O N T E N T S: The Turkish General Election. - President Tito Concludes Turkish Visit. - New N.A.T.O. Headquarters at İzmir. - Turkish Power Contract for English Firms. - Higher Incomes for Turkish Farmers. - Visa Requirements with Austria Abolished. - N.A.T.O. Anniversary Stamps Issued. - Foreign Capital Investments in Turkey: New Handbook.

THE TURKISH GENERAL ELECTION

The Turkish nation will go to the polls this week-end (May 2nd) to elect the deputies to the National Assembly, Turkey's single-chamber parliament.

The parties after vigorous electioneering through meetings up and down the country, and by press and radio broadcasts, are now winding up their campaigns, in accordance with Turkish law that requires them to discontinue party propaganda three days before the election.

At the last General Election in May, 1950, the Democratic Party gained an overwhelming victory against the Republican People's Party which had been in office for twenty-seven years, winning 407 seats out of 487 against the latter's 69.

The Democratic Party and the Republican People's Party are again the main parties contesting the election. In addition the smaller Peasant's Party (which had six members in the old Assembly) and the Republican National Party will be putting up a number of candidates.

All parties are agreed on foreign policy, differences between them being wholly on domestic issues, notably on

472a



J. R. Ackroyd Esq

"The Listener"

35 Marylebone High Street

London W.1.

7 6609 W

4-20 Norwood Hall

Highgate N. B.

April 29th

Dear Achary,

I am afraid mine has
been a mistake. Enclond is
not mine. I did an Answer
of Ernst von Salomon.

Yours sincerely

H. G. R. Phisg

The Death of the Fourth Republic

By Ronald Matthews.

Eyre and Spottiswoode. 18s.

By Ronald Matthews. Eyre & Spottiswoode. 18s. 7

The Third Republic foundered on blindness, incompetence and corruption. The Fourth Republic is going the same way, and for the same reasons. That is the theme of this harsh and angry book by Mr. Matthews. The events of the past ten years have driven him into angry despair. Only 'with bitter laughter or angry tears', he observes, is it possible to recall the exultant writings of the underground that promised social justice to the millions who had been battered and betrayed by the political and financial gangsters of the Third Republic. It may well be that some of the details of the author's criticisms are slightly out of focus; but this is a minor and unimportant objection. The fact is that Mr. Matthews has produced a remarkably accurate diagnosis of France's ills. His love for France and his admiration for the strangled ideals of the Resistance are evident on every page of this well-written book. It must be read by all who profess to take an interest in the future of Western Europe.

It is not only in France, of course, that corruption and incompetence are rife. But in all the Western World, there are few if any countries where the blind and the corrupt have the same blatant influence as in France. Is it because French constitutional practice leaves a power vacuum that gangsters and careerists are quick to take advantage of? It was M. Robert Schuman who wrote a year ago (in a discussion on French policy in North Africa) that he had formed the conviction that 'no important reform in the relations between France and Morocco or Tunisia would be possible without a return to exact conceptions of responsibility and of subordination to properly constituted authority'. And Mr. Matthews recalls how the Indo-Chinese affair has been bedevilled for years by insubordinate officials and speculators without any status in the administrative hierarchy, but with an expert knowledge of wire-pulling in Paris.

Universal suffrage combined with proportional representation and a multiplicity of parties appear to have led to such a diffusion of power as to paralyse the national will. Mr. Matthews recalls that M. Blum himself, writing from prison, wondered whether the parliamentary regime really was 'the form of democratic government exactly adapted to French society'; and that it might therefore be necessary to 'seek' for forms that suited it better'. This was the thought that inspired Georges Bernanos in the bitterness of his exile. 'The English people', he wrote, 'have always made the mistake of believing that institutions made them free; whereas it was the English themselves who, in their youth, stamped their institutions with the hallmark of liberty. Democracies are made by democrats; the Republic by citizens. A democracy without democrats, a Republic without citizens is a dictatorship, a dictatorship of intrigue and corruption'.


The fatuous anti-clericalism of French Socialists and Radicals is one reason why Parliamentary Government in France is in such obvious difficulties. Their prejudices make it impossible for them to combine with the M.R.P. in a strong left-centre Government, which might have done for France what the Labour Party has done in the United Kingdom. If these parties remain frozen in their out-dated nineteenth-century attitudes they may well destroy French freedom by establishing a regime that combines freedom with a capacity for action. Mr. Matthews also notes the effect of Communist duplicity. As the largest single party in France it is obviously able to bring Parliamentary Government to a standstill, especially if its opponents remain split on the clerical issue. Yet though the Party's perfidy is obvious, Mr. Matthews does not altogether explain why so many voters continue to support it. Is it an act of despair? Are all the other parties so contaminated that those who wish to protest can do so only by voting Communist?

28th April 1954

Re:- 14. BOURDON STREET
London, W.1.

471^a

There is no entry in the Voters' List
(20.11.1953) for the address quoted.



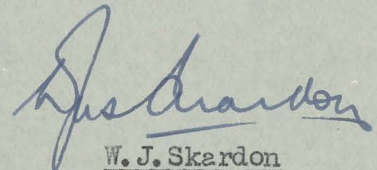
D.1.A. (Miss E. McBarnet)

PF. 604, 584

PEACH

463^a

Our report F.153/48 of 23.4.1954
refers.



W. J. Skardon

A.4.
29.4.1954
F.153/52

23/18

VC/DIA
29/4/54

[Handwritten signature]
D.l.A. (Miss E.McBarnet).
Copy to: D.l. (Mr. J.C.Robertson).

470^a

PF.604,584.

PEACH

28.4.54.

ASHLEY-JONES left Northwood Hall at 9.40 a.m. and went off on her usual route towards her office.

Although we did not see PEACH leave during the afternoon, he was picked up at 4.50 p.m. entering 51, Cadogan Gardens, S.W.3. for a dental appointment.

At 6 p.m. he left the dentist, hurried across to the King's Arms in Sloane Square, to steady his nerves, and then travelled by bus to Archway Road. He entered the Winchester Hotel for one drink and at 6.55 p.m. reached Northwood Hall.

Although we understood that PEACH and ASHELY-JONES might well be spending the evening at the local cinema, they were not in fact seen to do so, and when observation was withdrawn at 9 p.m. the lights were on in the flat.

A.4.
29.4.54.
F.153/53

[Handwritten signature]
W.J. Skardon.

23/17

JC/DIA
29/4/54

28/4

469^a

D.I.A. (Miss E. McBarnet).
Copy to: D.I. (Mr. J.C. Robertson).

PF.604,584.

PEACH

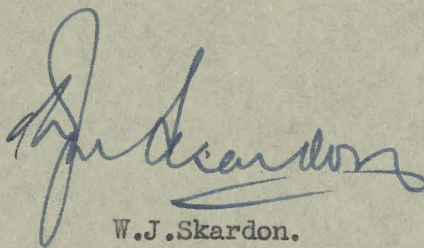
27.4.54.

Observation was taken up in the vicinity of Northwood Hall at 8.15 a.m. and at 9.50 a.m. ASHLEY-JONES left the flats, walked to Archway Road, and then boarded a number 134 'bus travelling towards her office.

She was seen to return home at 4.40 p.m.

PEACH came out at 5.55 p.m, visited a local off-licence, where he bought wine, and afterwards returned to Northwood Hall.

We maintained observation up to 9 p.m. but saw nothing further of interest.



W.J. Skardon.

A.4.
28.4.54.
F.153/51

Je/DIA
29/4/54.

468^a

[Handwritten signature]

D.l.A. (Miss E. McBarnet).
Copy to: D.l. (Mr. J.C. Robertson).

PF. 604, 584.

PEACH

26.4.54.

Observation was imposed simultaneously on Northwood Hall and Baker Street Station. As we had not seen PEACH at either place up to 10.15 a.m. our Assistants at Baker Street were transferred to ASHLEY-JONES' business address, where PEACH was due to call sometime between 10.30 and 11 a.m.

Information that PEACH and his family were intending to leave Sunbox at 9.50 a.m. did not reach us before the decision had been made to cover Clement's Inn in preference to Baker Street Station.

PEACH was seen by us for the first time this day at 12.25 p.m. when he arrived at Clement's Inn and was joined by ASHLEY-JONES, who had come from the direction of her office. They kissed on meeting and went to the Cheshire Cheese, where they lunched. At 1.50 p.m. they left, having made no contacts, and parted near the offices of Doudney Blair and Company Limited. PEACH made his way to Charing Cross and there boarded a 'bus to Archway and entered Northwood Hall at 2.50 p.m.

At 5.30 p.m. ASHLEY-JONES arrived home and although we maintained observation up to 9 p.m. there was no further activity by either PEACH or his lady friend.

[Handwritten signature]
W.J. Skardon.

A.4.
27.4.54.
F.153/50

22/15

Jc/DIA
28/4/54

466a.
467a.

THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT
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THE PUBLIC RECORDS
ACT 1958.

465^a

D.l.A. (Miss E.McBarnet).
Copy to: D.l. (Mr. J.C.Robertson).

PF.604,584.

PEACH

23.4.54.

PEACH left Northwood Hall in company with ASHLEY-JONES at 9.30 a.m. and boarded a 134 'bus towards Town. At Warren Street station PEACH alighted and continued by 'bus to Baker Street, where he posted a letter and then boarded the 10.5 a.m. train out of Baker Street.

He alighted at Rickmansworth at 10.40 a.m., boarded a 361 'bus towards his home address and was allowed to proceed.

PEACH had with him a B.O.A.C. over-night bag and a brown paper parcel which appeared to contain clothing, or some such soft material.

A.4.
26.4.54.
F.153/49

Woodhouse
W.J. Skardon.

22/3

E/DIA
26/4/54

THIS IS A COPY
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3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS
ACT 1958 APRIL 2024

Miss Ashley-Jones

At Brook Farm

Mill Corner

Northiam

SUSSEX



23 APR 1954

6 6201 D

The Flat,
Thursday

My beloved,

It occurs to me that I may not immediately find time to write to you when I reach Heronsgate. And unless I post it from there fairly early, it might not reach Northiam in time for Saturday delivery. So I shall write it now and post it at Baker Street tomorrow morning. In any case, I know quite well what I shall be thinking tomorrow, so why wait?

First, my darling, many happy returns. I bless your birthday, and hope you have at least forty-one more, ending up as a sweet and benign old lady, full of wisdom and warmth. I should like to know you then. If I pass on before to my next incarnation, please think of me as a bear, first a little one, then a big one. Not a polar bear -- that would be too cold -- but perhaps a Himalayan bear, sniffing the rhododendrons and playing tricks on the Abominable Snowman.

Secondly, I hope you are both having a nice joint birthday party, and that the daffodils are not all dead

6 6201D

Third, I am sorry that I have been so piano for the last day or two. I seem to be extraordinarily bad at coping with my problems. But never mind, for this weekend anyway, which is absolutely yours. Imagine me sitting with my papers in the garden, and looking from time to time at the poplar that points to you.

I expect that I shall stay on until Monday, as I told you. But if things become too intolerable, I will sneak up on Sunday evening. But dont expect me, darling, and I shall in any case have no means of telling you what the form is. If I am not with you on Sunday evening, I shall call at the office between 10.30 and 11 on Monday morning, so dont oversleep or dawdle over your breakfast!

Well, my beloved, bless you again, and the day you were born. Enjoy yourself and may you have warm Spring sunshine. I shower you with kisses and press you to me.

All love from

Your

Kim

6 6201D



Miss Ashley-Jones

4-20 Northwood Hall

Highgate N.6.

6200 D

Welcome home, my beloved. I hope that you had a nice time, and that you will have sweet dreams tonight.

Lots of love and warm kisses from

Your

Kim

6200 D

D.l.A. (Miss E. McBarnet).

463^a

PP. 604, 584.

PEACH

22.4.54.

PF. FAIRLEY. PF. 605, 197.

PEACH left Northwood Hall at 9.50 a.m. in company with ASHLEY-JONES. He was carrying a small black brief-case and together they travelled to Charing Cross, where ASHLEY-JONES boarded a 'bus travelling in the direction of Fleet Street. PEACH walked to the Athenaeum Club, Waterloo Place, entering at 10.25 a.m.

He came out at 10.30 a.m., walked back to Charing Cross and there boarded a number 134 'bus travelling towards Highgate. During the journey he was seen to be reading a letter, probably obtained from his Club, and it was noticed that whenever a passenger came near him, he would stop reading and secrete the letter on his lap.

At Archway Road PEACH alighted, visited local shops and reached Northwood Hall at 11.40 a.m.

At 5.15 p.m. PEACH reappeared, travelled by 'bus to Holloway Station and then by train to Green Park, where he alighted and walked into Berkeley Street, W.1. He continued through Berkeley Square and Davies Street to Oxford Street and continued for a short distance towards Oxford Circus. He appeared to be more alert than at any other time during the observation and, retracing his steps, went to Bond Street Station and descended to the Booking Hall. It was at this time crowded with home-going people and PEACH, having reached the Booking Hall, thrust his way back to the street level against the oncoming crowd. He made his way back via Davies Street to Mount Street and at 6.30 p.m. reached 14, Bourdon Street, W.1.

Seldin
26/4/54.

It may well be that PEACH did not wish to arrive at Bourdon Street before 6.30 p.m. and for that reason wasted his time wandering about. We do continually bear in mind the fact that PEACH is not unacquainted with surveillance and it may well be that he was endeavouring to ascertain whether or not he was being followed.

At 7.10 p.m. he left Bourdon Street, travelled by train from Green Park to Holloway and there boarded a 'bus travelling towards Northwood Hall.

Observation was maintained there up to 9 p.m. but there was no further movement.

A.4.
23,4.54.
F.153/48

W. J. Skardon
W.J. Skardon.

SECRET

462^a

FF. 604,584/D. I. A./EMcB.

22 April 1954.

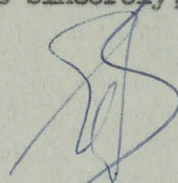
Dear Mr. Harlow.

Please refer to my letter of the above reference, dated 12 April 1954.

It has come to our notice that H.A.R. PHILBY receives correspondence addressed to him at the Athenaeum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1., and I should therefore be grateful if you will add this address to the ones given in my above mentioned letter.

I should like to see all correspondence addressed to H.A.R. PHILBY at the Athenaeum, Pall Mall, but do not for the present wish to see correspondence addressed to him at the other two addresses (4/20 Northwood Hall, Hornsey Lane, London, N.6., and The Sunbox, Heronsgate, Rickmansworth).

Yours sincerely,



E. McBarnet.

G.A. Harlow, Esq.,
G.P.O.

SECRET

Te/DIA
23/4/54

22/4
D.l.A. (Miss E.McBarnet).

461a

PF.604,584.

PEACH

21.4.54.

ASHLEY-JONES left Northwood Hall at 9.40 a.m. and boarded a number 134 'bus towards Town.

PEACH came out at 5.45 p.m., dressed in flannels and a sports coat. He went to the Winchester Hotel, where at 6.15 p.m. he was joined by ASHLEY-JONES. They stayed drinking there until 7.5 p.m. and, after buying wine at a local off-license, returned to Northwood Hall at 7.15 p.m.

There was no further movement up to 9 p.m. when observation was withdrawn.

W.J. Skardon
W.J. Skardon.

A.4.
22.4.54.
F.153/47

23/4
D.l.A. (Miss E.McBarnet).

4609

FF.604,584.

PEACH

20.4.54.

ASHLEY-JONES left Northwood Hall at 12.10 p.m. by the Whitehall Park exit and, after visiting several shops in Archway Road, went off in the direction of Archway Station.

At 5.50 p.m. she returned and although observation was maintained up to 9 p.m., we did not see anything further of interest.

During the evening lights could be seen on, in the flat.

W.J. Skardon

W.J.Skardon.

A.4.
21.4.54.
F.153/46

17/23

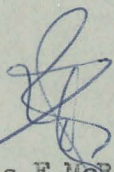
Jc/D/A
23/4/54

20th April 1954

Re:- Motor Car, J G T. 667

H59a

The index mark and number quoted was allotted by the London County Council but the vehicle is now registered with the Herts., County Council through which authority particulars of the registered owner can be ascertained.



so.

D. l. A. (Miss E. McBarnet)

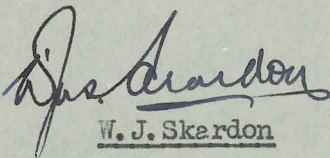
FF 604,584

PEACH

456a

Our report F.153/43 of 15.4.1954 refers.

A.4.
21.4.1954
F.153/45



W. J. Skardon

17/8

JC/D/AT
21/4/54

NIGHT DUTY OFFICER'S REPORT.

DATE 19:4:1954. TIME 2300 hrs. REPORT No. 14

Message received from.....---.....

Message taken by.....---.....

Subject H.A.R. PHILBY.

4580

Summary of Message or Report:—

No information regarding PHILBY has been received to-day. Further, in the absence of any report from previous N.D.O.'s on duty over the Easter holiday, it seems that he was not the subject of a report from the ports during this period.

(Continue overleaf if necessary).

Action taken—

[Handwritten signature]
2/4

[Handwritten signature]

Original passed to D.I.A./Miss McBarnet.

Copy to A.1. and copy to D/Mr. Mitchell.

JC/DIA
2/4

[Handwritten scribble] 20/11
D.l.A. (Miss E. McBarnet).

H57^a

PF.604,584.

PEACH

15.4.54.

ASHLEY-JONES left Northwood Hall at 10 a.m., posted a letter [redacted] and then boarded a 'bus towards Town.

At 1.50 p.m. PEACH came out, had lunch at the Winchester, visited local shops and returned to Northwood Hall at 2.25 p.m.

PEACH was next seen at 5.45 p.m. when he left Northwood Hall and travelled by 'bus to Grove Court, Drayton Gardens, arriving there at 6.40 p.m. We had covered this address from 6 p.m. and noticed ASHLEY-JONES arrive there at 6.20 p.m.

At 8.10 p.m. PEACH and his lady friend, together with a middle-aged woman - most probably PEACH's mother - came out and went to the Redcliffe Hotel, Fulham Road, where, after drinks in the Saloon Lounge, they had dinner.

No other contacts were made in this Hotel and at 9.50 p.m. all three returned to Grove Court.

At 11.30 p.m. PEACH and ASHLEY-JONES left together and made their way by taxi and 'bus to Northwood Hall, arriving there at 12.10 a.m.-16.4.54.

A.4.
20.4.54.
F.153/44

R. Shwoodhouse
W.J. Skardon.

16/19

JE/DIA
2/4/52

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15/4

D.l.A. (Miss E. McBarnet).

456a

PF.604,584.

PEACH

14.4.54.

PEACH was first seen when, at 11.26 a.m., he alighted at Baker Street from a Rickmansworth train with his wife and two children. He engaged a taxi for his family who went away towards Marylebone Road.

PEACH, who was carrying a hold-all, made a telephone call and then travelled by 'bus to 11, New Square W.C.2 entering at 12.20 p.m.

He came out with a man ("L") at 1.30 p.m., had lunch at White's Oyster and Sandwich Bar, and parted at Chancery Lane at 2.15 p.m.

Contact "L" was traced back to 11, New Square, W.C., where he was seen to remove a small chair from the luggage boot of motor car J G T 667 before entering his office.

PEACH walked from Chancery Lane to Fleet Street and met ASHLEY-JONES in the Kardomah Restaurant .

They left together at 2.45 p.m., visited the grocery department of the Civil Service Stores and came out with their purchases at 3.0 p.m.

ASHLEY-JONES went off on a 'bus towards her office and PEACH was followed to Northwood Hall, arriving there at 3.45 p.m.

*Jc/DIA
21/4/54*

At 6.10 p.m. ASHLEY-JONES arrived home and although we maintained observation up to 9 p.m. there was no further movement.

Gerald Tootill

Contact "L" is described as:-

Looks 50. 5 ft. 8-9 ins. Well built, corpulent. Broad forehead. Small nose. Slightly receding chin. Thick brown close-cropped moustache. Fresh complexion. Dressed in brown suit, white shirt and collar, brown tie, grey socks, black shoes, black bowler hat.

W. J. Skardon

W.J. Skardon.

A.4.
15.4.54.
F.153/43



Gerald Toom Esq

Arncliffe

Radlett

HERTS

1956 MAR 9

9 5767 F

1956 MAR 1956

4-20 Northwood Hall
Highgate N.6.
April 14

My dear Gerald,

I have just received a letter from Justin in answer to the one I sent him breaking off our engagement.

As I told you today, it was couched in extremely friendly terms, and contained one concrete suggestion, viz. that we should now exchange letters, each giving the other the right to exploit any ideas excogitated in the brief period of our association.

As regards the detailed ideas embodied in the MS, these are of no importance. We had not got to the period in which my specialised knowledge would have come into play, and I simply mugged it up from text-books that anybody could employ.

The nub of the matter, I think, is that he wants to go ahead with the film without any danger of my sniping at him from the wings. For my part, I have no wish to do so, and, unless you see any grave objection, I would be happy to give him the "All Clear".

9 5767 F

I wonder what you think? You may consider it advisable to discuss the point with M.C.A. (you have the name of the gentleman in question). But perhaps it would be easier to write straight off and tell him that he can go ahead as far as I am concerned.

Yours ever

Kim

I am usually available at Mountview 8325, if you should wish to call me.

9 5767 F

4-20 Northwood Hall
Highgate N.6
April 14

My dear Gerald,

You suggested to me during our talk that your letter might be a bit strong. Reading the amendments I have suggested, it seems that in point of fact I have hotted it up!

I have not bothered to retype the paragraph marked "A". The pencilled alterations are clear enough. I think your first statement was a bit dangerous, and might get us involved in intricate argument about historical precedents. It occurred to me after I left you that Nelson did very much the same sort of thing when he smashed up the Danish fleet in Copenhagen, and history books (English ones) still applaud his action!

I have, however, taken the liberty of typing out lengthy amendments to the paragraphs marked "B" and "C", which I enclose herewith.

Amendment "B" consists largely of an addition to your original, drawing attention to the words "whether operational or not". It is a supporting argument of no great value in itself, but it does serve to emphasise the vagueness of HMG's allegations.

With regard to amendment "C", I have proposed an amendment of substance -- needless to say, with great diffidence, since you can clearly judge this better than I can. The point is that I doubt whether the time has come to say that we have "abandoned hope of compensation for more than a reasonable proportion, etc", whatever our hopes or fears may in fact be. If I were at the receiving end of such a communication, I would be inclined to breathe a sigh of relief and say: "Well, boys, they are coming round. All we have to do is to sit on the papers". So I have substituted the "it may well be that" formula, which simply states an obvious fact without implying any acquiescence on our part.

You may think that the sentence about "the cost of even one of the aircraft, etc" is a bit strong, and it is of course quite irrelevant. But it is a telling point from the point of view of public opinion, and, in view of the subsequent threat to publish, it serves to indicate the sort of damaging debating point that might be made.

9 5767 F

15 APR 1954

Now, with regard to an impartial assessment of the damage. Even though HMG may already have turned this down, I see no reason why the suggestion should not be reiterated. The assessment made by the Political Liaison Officer can have no earthly validity. I can well see that HMG would find it extremely difficult to accept the proposal, since, once a figure were reached by impartial assessment, it would be very difficult to pay anything less than that figure. But, in the likely event of HMG again rejecting the suggestion, would it not be possible for the Government of San Marino to hire the services of a reputable, independent assessor? Then, with an upper and lower figure in mind, we might get down to some serious horse-dealing and end by splitting the difference.

are/
As regards the suggested statement from HMG, this is clearly essential to establish the reputation of San Marino as a truly neutral state, a reputation on which her future existence may well depend. The F.O. should appreciate this point, as they/extraordinarily quick to see the implications of any step that might queer their own pitch in future negotiations.

Finally, I am not sure whether your last two paragraphs add much to the argument, and would be inclined to end the letter on the note struck in my last two lines, viz. "and let the world judge, etc". At the same time, I would be reluctant to lose the penultimate paragraph (Monte Titano and all that) and wonder whether it could not be inserted earlier in the letter, or perhaps held over for use in some future note.

I must thank you for introducing me to this fascinating case, and I hope that you will keep me au courant. I do not suppose that you will get an answer from the F.O. before my book is finished, at the end of the year, but even if you do I shall be delighted to take time off to listen to developments.

Yours ever

Kim

P.S. For convenience of filing, I am enclosing a separate letter dealing with the Justin affair.

.....were in fact in San Marino territory actually at the time of the bombing". Since the evidence upon which this belief is based has been withheld from us, we cannot show in what respects it is incorrect, although we can, and do, state as a fact that there were no German soldiers in uniform and no German vehicles in our territory on the 26th June, 1944. We would also draw Her Majesty's Government's attention to the phrase "whether for operational purposes or not", which implies that, even if the Commander in the Field had reason to believe the erroneous information in his possession concerning the presence of German soldiers in uniform and German vehicles in our territory, he had no reason to believe that they were there for operational purposes. We find it difficult to believe that Her Majesty's Government would contend that the suspected presence of German troops, in numbers unstated and for purposes unknown, *in itself* justified the bombardment, without warning, of a defenceless territory, with grievous loss of life and serious damage to property.

" B "

.....Her Majesty's Government could do if placed in our position. Any admission on our part, explicit or implicit, that we had failed to defend, and successfully defend, our neutrality in the last war would gravely

" C "

prejudice any attempt to maintain our neutrality in any future war.

It may well be our melancholy privilege to join the honoured band of nations which, like ourselves, defended their neutrality and paid the price in blood and treasure. It may well be that, in the end, the measure of compensation received by us will not amount to the cost of even one of the aircraft that inflicted on us such grievous blows. Nevertheless, in view of the damage inflicted on our weak economy, and in view of the slur cast upon us by the incorrect allegation that we failed to defend our neutrality, and in view of the consequences that the decision of Her Majesty's Government ^{in this case} must have for our status in any future war, we must maintain our position on the following points:

1. There must be made an impartial assessment of the damage inflicted by the Raf, by an assessor, or assessors, drawn from a neutral country, say, Switzerland or Sweden.

2. Her Majesty's Government should state that, whatever grounds the Commander in the Field may have had at the time of the bombing for believing that German troops had been using San Marino territory for operational purposes, subsequent and thorough investigation of the facts had proved those grounds to be invalid.

Once these two points have been met, we have no

"C"
(continued)

9 5767 FX

" C "
(continued)

doubt that the outstanding issues will be promptly settled. If Her Majesty's Government cannot see its way to adopting these suggestions, and if we can find no other solution, we owe it to ourselves, and to future generations of our people, to publish our documents and let the world judge the issue according to its merits.

It is our pride.....etc.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of San Marino presents his compliments etc. and in reply begs to state -

1. The Republic of San Marino recognises that Her Majesty's Government in their adherence to Article 36 (2) of the Statute of the International Court of Justice have reserved to themselves the right to exclude disputes arising out of events occurring at a time when Her Majesty's Government were involved in hostilities but they cannot agree that the request for the information upon which the bombing of our territory was based was misconceived in the circumstances of this case namely where a belligerent Power has contrary to the established principles of international law violated the territory of a Neutral State without previous warning of any kind.

Her Majesty's Minister of State in the public debate in Her Majesty's House of Commons on the 2nd July 1952 stated that the Republic of San Marino had adduced no evidence whatsoever in support of the contention that it was the Allied Forces which were the first to violate the territory of the Republic.

With our letter of the 30th May we met this request and submitted the evidence of our neutrality which included in Annex A the Orders and Edicts issued by the German Command during 1943 and 1944 testifying to the fact.

In their reply of the 17th December, Her Majesty's Government after admitting that there were grounds for thinking that some at any rate of their information upon which they relied on the decision to bomb our territory on the 26th June 1944 was of doubtful accuracy still maintained that it was apparent from the information available that German forces were making military dispositions upon our territory of such a nature as to justify the breach of neutrality.

Our request for the information was made in order that we might have the opportunity of showing that in fact the decision to bomb our territory derived its origin on nothing more substantial than the suspicion referred to in paragraph 5 of the reply of the 15th March of Her Majesty's Government.

In this connection, we had stated in our letter of the 30th May that we recognised that the Commander in the Field might have ordered the bombing of our territory on the assumption that it was incredible that we could, by our own efforts, have retained and preserved our neutrality in just those circumstances of geographical location, the German action in relation to neutral territory during the war, and the general character of hostilities in Italy.

If it was on this suspicion alone that our people and our land were bombed as now seems apparent, then we are at a loss to understand why we, as a neutral State were not accorded that warning which is prescribed by International Law so that we could react through diplomatic channels and if need be, invite the presence of neutral observers.

The failure on the part of Her Majesty's Government to give any warning of their intended action deprived us of the opportunity to take any precautions whatsoever to preserve the lives of our people from destruction.

(So far as we are aware) ^{As} we are the ^a only neutral State which has suffered the tragedy of a deliberate violation of its neutrality without warning, and we now invite Her Majesty's Government to state the grounds upon which they justify their action in this respect.

Her Majesty's Government, in paragraph 5 of their letter, have stated that "there is in fact every reason to believe that whether for operational purposes or not German soldiers in uniform and German military vehicles were in fact in San Marino territory actually at the time of the bombing."

Without the facility of seeing the evidence upon which this belief is based, we are powerless to show that it is based upon false information.

We can only state as a fact that there were no German soldiers in uniform and no German vehicles in our territory on the 26th June

1944.

We also draw the attention of Her Majesty's Government to

stating
Sunday
presence of
soldiers NOT
for operational
purposes
not by
junkie bombing
without warning

the edict of the German Command dated 3rd August 1944.

It is hardly conceivable that the German Command would have warned us of the possibility of their troops and vehicles entering our territory in their retreat, (which they in fact did in September 1944) if troops and vehicles had already been stationed in our territory before on or after the 26th June 1944.

Her Majesty's Government have in this, and in their previous replies inferred that unilateral acts of violation by a belligerent of the territory of a neutral State deprive a neutral State automatically of neutrality despite the fact that those acts are refuted and repulsed and compensation claimed and exacted.

If we have correctly understood the contention of Her Majesty's Government in this respect, we must demur and are advised that there is a wealth of authority under International Law to establish the contrary.

We have, at all times, appreciated and here repeat our deep appreciation of the sympathy expressed by Her Majesty's Government for the sufferings of our people resulting from the bombing. Her Majesty's Government seem to us, however, to fail to appreciate that so long as we stand charged by Her Majesty's Government and in the eyes of the world, which we now do consequent upon the debates in Her Majesty's House of Commons, as a State which did not defend its neutrality to the utmost of its power and resources throughout the late war acceptance of an ex gratia offer based upon the contention would be tantamount to admission of the charge laid against us by Her Majesty's Government in public debate being correct.

Having, with one exception in ¹³_____ maintained our neutrality as a State from the Fourth Century onwards, including the Napoleonic Wars, we can no more afford to go down to History in the late war as a country which did not defend its neutrality to the bitter end, than Her Majesty's Government could do if placed in our position. K

In this connection, and if we can find no other solution, we must publish our documents to the world and leave ourselves to be judged according to the merits.

X
See over

C⁴

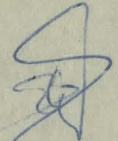
9 5464 F -

On the subject of compensation, we have long since abandoned hope of compensation for more than a reasonable proportion of our total loss and should the time come, it will be our privilege to join the honoured band of nations who, like ourselves, defended their neutrality and paid the price with their blood and treasure and only received a measure of compensation.

It is our pride that by virtue of the steps we took to deny our land to the belligerents until our resistance was swept aside in the holocaust of war, we prevented the fortification of Monte Titano which might otherwise have resulted in a battle comparable with that at Cassino and entailed a similar sacrifice of life.

Before deciding upon our future action, we repeat our request that Her Majesty's Government should inform us of the grounds upon which they contend that they were entitled to violate our neutrality by aerial bombardment on the 26th June 1944 without any previous warning.

X Any admission on our part, explicit or implicit, that we had failed to defend, and successfully defend, our neutrality in the last war would gravely prejudice any attempt to maintain our neutrality in any future war.


D.I.A. (Miss E. McBarnet).

454^a

PF.604,584.

PEACH

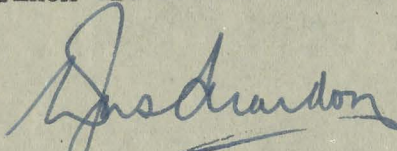
12.4.54.

Assistants were standing by for PEACH as from 3 p.m.

At 4.45 p.m. observation was taken up at 12, Buckingham Street, W.C.2. and maintained there until 7 p.m., but we did not see ASHLEY-JONES.

From 6 p.m. to 9 p.m. we covered Baker Street Station and Green Line stop with negative results.

It is now known that PEACH did not return to London.


W.J. Skardon.

A.4.
13.4.54.
F.153/42

1/2

Jc/DIA
13/4/54.

SECRET

453^a

EF.604,584/D.1.A/E.McB.

12 April 1954

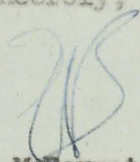
Dear Mr. Harlow,

I am applying for a Home Office Warrant on Harold Adrian Russell PHILBY of 4/20 Northwood Hall, Hornsey Lane, London, N.6., and The Sunbox, Heronsgate, Rickmansworth. H.A.R. PHILBY was a close friend of Guy BURGESS for many years and is himself under suspicion of engaging in espionage.

For the present we do not require to see correspondence addressed to PHILBY. However, as you will see, we have applied for the Warrant to operate on correspondence emanating from H.A.R. PHILBY

I attach a copy of an envelope in PHILBY's handwriting, which may assist in identification.

Yours sincerely,


E. McBarnet.

G.A. Harlow, Esq.,
G.P.O.

SECRET

Jc/DIA
13/4/5

THIS IS A COPY
ORIGINAL DOCUMENT RETAINED
IN DEPARTMENT UNDER SECTION
3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS
ACT 1958 APR 11 2024

SECRET.

452^a 12 April, 1954.
11757

To THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL, and all others whom it may concern :

I hereby authorize and require you to detain, open and produce for my inspection all postal packets and telegrams addressed to :—and emanating from:— Harold Adrian Russell PHILBY,
4/20 Northwood Hall,
Hornsey Lane,
London, N.6. AND at
The Sunbox,
Heronsgate,
Rickmansworth.

or to any name at that or any other address if there is reasonable ground to believe that they are intended for the said Harold Adrian Russell PHILBY.

and for so doing this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Harold Adrian Russell PHILBY of 4/20 Northwood Hall, Hornsey Lane, London, N.6., and The Sunbox, Heronsgate, Rickmansworth, was for many years a close friend of Guy BURGESS. PHILBY is himself under suspicion of engaging in espionage for a Foreign Power.

PP. 604, 594/D. L. A/B. McB.

S. Form 56.

One of Her Majesty's
Principal Secretaries of State.

Jc/DH
13/4/54

451A

PF 604584/PEACH

..

PF 137694/PETROV.

NOTE.

In view of the defection of PETROV (PF 137694) and of the marked increase in the diplomatic traffic between Moscow and London since that event, it seemed just possible that the Russians might be making arrangements for the early withdrawal of PEACH from the U.K. While it is not possible to prevent PEACH from going, it seemed prudent to take all reasonable steps to get early warning of any oversea journey he might intend to make. I therefore visited Commander Burt today, gave him the outlines of the PETROV case, told him of the chain of reasoning which might conceivably mean an early departure by PEACH, and asked him if he would send confidential messages to his representatives at the ports. I left with Burt a copy of the paper at 450a giving PEACH's personal particulars. He readily agreed to act as requested. He felt confident that no curiosity would be aroused and that there would be no leakage. He would arrange for any officer through whose port PEACH might pass to inform him, Burt, at once, and he would in turn inform me.

G.R. Mitchell

G.R. Mitchell.

D.
12.4.54.

D/BAD
12/4/54

PARTICULARS of PHILBY passed to
Commander Burt, Special Branch, by
D./Mr. Mitchell on 12.4.54.

✓ 4510A

Name: Harold Adrian Russell PHILBY.

Born: 1 January, 1912, at Ambala, India.

Passport No: C/368090 issued Istanbul, 20.12.48

Addresses:

- (1) 4/20, Northwood Hall,
Hornsey Lane,
London, N.6.; and
- (2) The Sunbox,
Heronsgate,
Rickmansworth.

12 April, 1954.

D/BRD.
12/4/54

448a

NOTE.

I telephoned Mr. Skardon this afternoon, and asked him to make arrangements as soon as possible to place observation on PHILBY.

I also informed him that, according to the latest news from A.2.A., it was almost certain that PHILBY was at present with his wife at the latter's country home.

It was agreed that D.1.A. (Miss McBarnet) would let A.4 know immediately if they had any further information about PHILBY's movements.

At the same time I asked Mr. Skardon to instruct A.4 staff to keep an eye open for any unusual activity or movement on the part of the Russians, discretion being left to A.4 to act on such information at short notice - e.g. by turning their attention to some Russian official who is not at present being watched.

J. C. Robertson.

D.1.
12.4.54.

Jc/DIA
12/4/54

PF 604584

PEACH, Edward.

446A

NOTE.

As proposed at minute 443, L.A. and I saw [redacted] today. We told him that PEACH was now under contract to write his autobiography which would be published both in the U.K. and the U.S.A. by Messrs. André DEUTSCH. The prime purpose of the book, so far as we could tell, was to illustrate the intellectual atmosphere prevailing in the 1930s. PEACH would describe his own career at the University, in Journalism, in Spain and at the Foreign Office, and show how Marxist thought influenced him and his friends. There would be references to Guy BURGESS. The book was not yet written but PEACH had started writing it and it might be published by the autumn or by the end of the year. It might be that PEACH would be pressed by his publishers to sail as near to the wind as he possibly could in dealing with his official career and colleagues. I told [redacted] that we knew about this only from telecheck sources.

[redacted] It was agreed that there was no need yet to tell the F.O.

[redacted]

L.A. said that he had had previous dealings with André DEUTSCH, and that he doubted whether they would be an easy firm to deal with if there came to be a question of publishing borderline material.

G.R. Mitchell

G.R. Mitchell.

THIS IS A COPY
ORIGINAL DOCUMENT RETAINED
IN DEPARTMENT UNDER SECTION
3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS
ACT 1958 APRIL 2024

D.
8.4.54.

Copy in PF. 604.584/Supp.2.

SECRET

NAME: PEACH.

T.C. No.: 2510.

Tel. No.: Mountview 8325.

Date:

Responsible Section: D.I.a.

2.4.54.

3 APR 1954

Incoming call for CONNIE from DORA.
CONNIE said that KIM still had a temperature. They would telephone again that evening to see whether he would be well enough to come on the Boat Race party tomorrow.
08.54.

Outgoing call to HONEY from CONNIE.
CONNIE told him that the Agreement had arrived, and that everything was as it was expected to be. KIM was returning it, with the American synopsis. The cheque was the only thing that was missing, and CONNIE imagined that somebody had forgotten to enclose it. HONEY said that he had also got a letter, and read out the following quotation:

" Very many thanks for having suggested PEACH's book to us. We are immensely enthusiastic, and only hope that he will be able to deliver the manuscript by the end of the year. As soon as you have received the first batch from PEACH, you will be hearing from us; and we shall certainly ask for your help if we feel that PEACH is not letting his hair down sufficiently. "

HONEY then asked after KIM's cold. He was sorry not to be able to come up and see him, but had these friends around. The friends were going on Wednesday, then HONEY would have about a week before going away himself. He said that they must have a little party.
09.34.

Outgoing call to his Mother from KIM.
KIM's cold was not much better, so he thought it better not to come to the Boat Race tomorrow. DORA had wanted to have this party as a celebration. (something to do with Abdullah). So KIM and CONNIE invited her to come and spend the evening with them afterwards. KIM told her how to get there.
18.51.

Outgoing call to AILEEN from KIM.
(Call reported on Line 2 I93.)
19.02.

Incoming call for CONNIE from KIM's Mother.
DORA had thought things over, and said that it would be too far to come out to their place after the boat race. She would like to come another time. CONNIE would telephone in the morning if KIM's cold was better, and they could come to the boat race after all.
20.45.

----- P.M.S. -----

444A

SECRET

NAME:

HONEY I.

T.C. No.:

2589.

Tel. No.:

GRE 4462.

Date:

Responsible Section:

D.I.a.

I.4.54.



2 APR 1954

Seen by D.1 } on 2/4/54.
D. }

Outgoing call to CONNIE from HONEY.
(Reported on Line 2510.)
16.55.

(Welbeck 6518)

Outgoing call to DEUTCH from HONEY.
DEUTCH told HONEY that the Contract had been sent off to Highgate that day. In order to make up for the delay, DEUTCH was sending both copies of the Contract together. He was sending (KIM) a cheque for £40, dated 1st April, and after May 1st (KIM) would receive it through a Banker's Order. DEUTCH was sending HONEY a copy of his letter to KIM, but not a copy of the Contract. HONEY said that KIM had made some alterations to the synopsis, and would be sending that and an extra copy back with the signed Contract. DEUTCH said that he was going off on Sunday, but that NICK BENVILEY would keep in touch with HONEY and would contact him in Majorca as things developed. DEUTCH himself would be seeing HONEY in August. HONEY wished him a wonderful time.
17.11.

Outgoing call to CONNIE from HONEY.
(Reported on Line 2510.)
17.13.

P.M.S.

SECRET

NAME: PEACH

T.C. No.: 2193

Tel. No.: Chorley Wood 97

Date: 30.3.54.
(PART ONE)

Responsible Section: D.L.a.



30 MAR 1954

Incoming call to KIM from CONNIE for a morning chat. She promised to ring again later.

09.29.

Outgoing call from KIM to HONEY. He told him that he was at Heronsgate and that he had been reading through his synopsis. He could not see any objection to it going to the States in its present form. He asked if HONEY had any memories of anything which ought to be altered. HONEY thought it had not been a question of altering it but perhaps on reflection he (KIM) might have been able to lengthen it or "hotted it up in any way." KIM said he could not see any particular reason for that - "after all you see, the principal chapters of the story are all perfectly well known over in the States. I mean, Austria and Spain and the war and then afterwards BURGESS and Turkey and everything else." HONEY said the only point was that "he" wanted to sell the American rights of the book on that synopsis and it would help if KIM could elaborate on it. KIM said he understood but he rather doubted it because he would find himself writing the book in synopsis form and afterwards having to do it all over again. They agreed that "his" basic requirements were one and one and if KIM could add some cayenne pepper - all the better. "He" would send of the synopsis to the States as soon as KIM had signed the contract here. KIM asked when DEUTSCH was leaving. HONEY was not sure but he thought on Friday. KIM said if he had to type it out, one and one, he could probably deliver it by hand, with the contract signed, on Thursday morning, or early afternoon. HONEY said that would be perfect. He asked if KIM had managed to get started. He said, yes, he was beginning with his Cambridge days. He would run, concurrently, the Cambridge, Spain and War periods, hopping about as the ideas hit him. HONEY asked if he was satisfied with the way it was going. KIM said no but he genuinely never was. HONEY said he would be thrilled to see something a little later. KIM would like to show him some small bits soon in order to get an independent view. HONEY said he would be delighted but laughingly said he could only read 10 or 20 pages. KIM agreed to ring him if there were any difficulties over the contract.

09.57.

Incoming call to KIM from AILEEN to ask if everything was all right. KIM assured her that everyone had slept well etc. AILEEN said she was not going down to Sussex because Harrods had made a fine old mess. It seemed that they could not make up their minds whether the house she wanted to see was sold or not. She said that meant she could come back tonight or tomorrow morning, whichever he liked. KIM said it was the same to him. AILEEN would get back at lunchtime, or soon afterwards. KIM told her that he had some good news at last, he was expecting to sign a contract tomorrow with some publishers for a book of memoirs. They were giving him an advance

He = Andre Deutsch

an advance of £ 600. AILEEN, who had been disinterested up to that point, asked him to tell her all over again. He told her that it was with ANDRE DEUTSCH, who had offered him that sum in respect of royalties for a book of his memoirs. DEUTSCH was also trying to sell the rights in America and in serial form. AILEEN asked how much he could write. Could he put in the last 12 dead years? KIM said he would have to handle it awfully carefully obviously and he was proposing to keep, as far as possible, to absolutely neutral subjects. He would probably simply do a series of sketches of Spain, Austria, Germany, Turkey and possibly also America. AILEEN congratulated him and asked if he was expecting it or whether it was out of the blue. He said he had only been nibbling at it for about a week. AILEEN said it was the most astounding thing she had ever heard. KIM told her that it was rather amusing because he (DEUTSCH) had said he would not be in the least interested in ABDULLAH's. AILEEN thought that that was what was so funny. She congratulated him again. KIM said he would have to finish it in 6 to 9 months and he had asked to be paid in instalments. AILEEN agreed that that was a good idea. She sent her love to the children and asked KIM to tell Josephine about the book - she would be so thrilled. KIM asked her not to spread this news around the place. If anyone asked, she should say he was writing a travel book. He said that everybody was naturally fussed that he had no job and so if it would relieve them to know that he was earning something, he was all for it. He agreed that she could tell her Mother and the sum involved. AILEEN would not tell anyone else. She thanked him for telling her.

11.52.

JW.

440a

SECRET

NAME: PEACH

T.C. No.: 2510

Tel. No.: MOU 8325

Date: 28.3.54.

Responsible Section: D.l.a.



29 MAR 1954

Handwritten notes:
20/3
To see
JH
3/3

Outgoing call from KIM to HONEY to tell him that he was feeling fine today. He hoped HONEY was all right after yesterdays excitement. HONEY said they were very tired - they had got back last night at 2 a.m. (from GERALD TOOTH's.) They had had an American for drinks this morning and JOHNNIE GOLDING was expected any minute. KIM remarked that that was interesting. He went on to say that his morale was extremely high after the conversations yesterday - he was very pleased. It was up to him now. He added: "It's awfully important for me, actually, to have had a slight deviation on the financial side, it gives so much more time to play around in." HONEY said it was absolutely certain that it would work out. He had told GERALD, who was the only person he proposed to mention it to, and he was thrilled. HONEY had told him that it was to be kept very secret until it was actually published. GERALD had agreed that it was a question of how far one could go with the best discretion and taste. Nobody but KIM could decide those points. KIM agreed. They both thought it most exciting. HONEY said Mrs. HONEY kept coming up with new titles every now and then. KIM told him to make a list. He had not thought about it yet - he would probably wait until the book was finished. HONEY asked him to let him know when he received the contract. KIM said there was also the synopsis for the American chap - he would send it off with the signed contract. HONEY told him to ring him if the contract looked a bit odd and they would go to see GERALD. KIM said he would be back on Wednesday afternoon. He was off tomorrow morning to Heronsgate.

16.01.

Outgoing call from KIM to AILEEN. He asked after the family and said he would be down tomorrow morning as arranged. He asked if there was anything he should or should not do. AILEEN briefed him with regard to the children and puppies etc. KIM asked when she would be back. AILEEN thought Wednesday morning but she would ring him sometime. KIM said he should be back in London early on Wednesday evening. He wished her luck with the houses in Sussex. He asked if the typewriter was working. AILEEN said yes but it was rather odd on capitals.

19.16.

JW.

Handwritten initials: JH
25/4

SECRET

438^a

NAME: PEACH

T.C. No.: 2510

Tel. No.: MOU 8325

Date: 27.3.54.

Responsible Section: D.I.a.



29 MAR 1954

[Handwritten signature]
29/3
copy on man vol.

Outgoing call from (CONNIE) placing bets. 13.47.

Outgoing call from CONNIE for CHARLES, who was at the shops. She had a long, friendly chat with OSCAR about their systems for betting. They wished each other the best of luck for this afternoon.

13.53.

Outgoing call from CONNIE to CHARLES. After a brief chat, he asked where KIM was. CONNIE told him that he was lunching with his publishers at HONEY's house. She added that she had said this morning, HONEY really behaved like a true friend. CHARLES agreed and said he had never known a friend like it, "except myself towards other people and he's even better than I." CONNIE repeated that HONEY was really marvellous - it was so much nicer for KIM to meet them for the first time in the atmosphere of HONEY's house, with a nice lunch and wine. She then said: "Do you know how much they're giving him? £300." CHARLES said he was so pleased, it overcame his envy.

CO: They said the most they had ever paid was £500.

CH: I've never heard of these figures. I honestly haven't. Except to established authors.

CO: M'm. But they've been quite sensible. KIM's told a story - he said to his sister last night - he said: 'I've got a nice family joke here' that HONEY told him. He said what an unknown quantity autobiographies always were. He said, 'for instance, take PEACH's father,' he said 'a man of his' - I forget what he said - and he said 'and his autobiography, I wouldn't look at it.' KIM said he thinks it is his worst book.

CH: Yes, yes.

CO: But he is going to have to work very hard, obviously. He offered to go away today.

CH: What for?

CO: He said he thought it was going to be extremely difficult for me in the next few months and if I'd like him to, he'd go away.

CH: Well, I respect him for that because he is quite right.

CONNIE had said it was a pretty poor reflection on their relationship, if he had to go away to write a book. If it became too much of a strain, then they must think again. She would like to try it - she thought it was almost her duty to try and look after him for a bit.

/It would Jc/DIA
29/3/54

It would probably mean that she would go out more, after giving him a meal in the evening. CHARLES said that was the way to handle it and maybe she would go down to Brook Farm for a week-end. CONNIE agreed that she might.

They went on to discuss JOHN DOUDNEY's marriage problems. It seemed that he and his wife wanted to go down to CHARLES' cottage for a week. CHARLES was not at all keen about it. (It transpired that OSCAR was CHARLES' wife.)

14.54.

Incoming call from KIM to ask CONNIE if she had won anything. CONNIE had not but it had been the most wonderful race. She asked how he had got on. KIM said he had had an extremely pleasant interview, it was all organised and he was receiving a contract on Wednesday possibly. He repeated that it was all fixed and everyone had been marvellous. It was the best lunch he had had for a hundred years. She told him he was a lucky thing - she had guessed there would be a good one today. She asked if he was settling down there. He said he would be off in about quarter of an hour and would be home about 5.

15.39.

Incoming call to CONNIE from HONEY, who said he was sorry he could not come up. CONNIE said she was sorry too. HONEY had had to dash back - he was just going out now.

CO: Isn't it excellent news HONEY?

HO: Lovely. I'm very delighted.

CO: Oh, you have been good.

HO: I'm very happy.

CO: Well, it's terribly nice of you.

HO: I'm very happy it's come off.

CO: Do you want your KIM?

HO: No. Tell him Mrs. HONEY suggests - she's found the title: 'Let's face it.'

CONNIE laughed and said she would tell KIM. She had gathered that they had had a simply superb lunch. HONEY had thought it was good because it was successful from the other point of view. CONNIE said KIM had thought it was good from all sorts of reasons. They agreed that it was very thrilling and exciting. CONNIE thought HONEY was an absolute sweetie. She would tell KIM about the title.

17.??

JW.

SECRET437^a

NAME: HONEY II

T.C. No.: 2594

Tel. No.: GHE 4462

Date: 19.3.54.

Responsible Section: D.L.A.

20.3.54.

21.3.54.


 22 MAR 1954

Incoming call to HONEY from NICOLAS (BENTLEY). HONEY told him he was lucky to get him - he wasn't normally on this number. He gave him the other number. NICOLAS said he was sorry but he was not well, he had some sort of kidney trouble and was to stay in bed for two or three days. He would have to cancel today's luncheon appointment. He would be seeing ANDRE over the week-end and so it was agreed that HONEY should post (KIM's synopsis) to him today. HONEY said he was not going off until the 18th and so there was plenty of time. He wanted to introduce KIM to them before leaving. They could all meet here for a drink. NICOLAS would like to see HONEY alone first - with ANDRE. HONEY asked him to bear in mind, when reading it, that KIM had always wanted to write a book purely on the Spanish Civil War. NICOLAS presumed there would be quite a lot of that in this present venture. HONEY agreed to send (the synopsis) to 44, Queen's Gate Gardens. 09.27.

 Nothing of interest to report.

20.3.54.

 Nothing of interest to report.

21.3.54.

JW.

 JE/DIA.
 23/3/54.

SECRET

431b.

NAME: PEACH.

T.C. No.: 2510.

Tel. No.: MOU 8325.

Date :

Responsible Section: D.I.a. ○

13.3.54.

14.3.54.

15.3.54.



Copy on:
PF.604.584
Supp 2.

18 MAR 1954

16/3 Main file

Copy for HONEY.

Nothing of interest to report.

At 431b: I have
checked with Harry
sup 2 where (three lines
from bottom) "Barbara
Haytings" is redacted.
So need to redact here &
also handwritten note LHS
(both names not releasable)
P

Nothing to report.

15.3.54.

Incoming call from HONEY to KIM. (The call was taken by CONNIE who asked after Mrs. HONEY.) KIM said his week-end away had been very pleasant - they had played bridge all the time. HONEY commented that that kept his hands away from a glass. HONEY told him that the name of (NICOLAS BENTLEY's) firm was ANDRE DEUTSCH. KIM had heard of it - it was an extremely go ahead firm. HONEY had talked over the project (of KIM's autobiography) with NICK and had also shown him KIM's notes. NICK had said that there was no possible doubt that they would be interested. It would only be a question of financial arrangements. He could say they would be interested, at that stage, without even consulting his partner. He had also said they were interested, in general, in biographies with a view ~~also~~ to selling newspaper rights. Most books in that class did not pay on their own - one had also to sell the serial rights. He thought that this would appeal to the newspapers and also saw the possibilities of it leading up to something else. HONEY had mentioned the Child's History of the World (which KIM had been writing in conjunction with JOHN JUSTIN,) to NICK. The latter had said that just sticking to that title alone, he could sell it. HONEY was meeting him and his partner on Friday. After that meeting, they would like to meet KIM in order to discuss whether there would be some sort of basis for a financial "post." From the little he had seen, he could tell that KIM knew how to write and that the subject would be interesting enough. He (NICK) would like KIM to amplify his notes, if possible by Friday, so that they could read it over lunch. KIM said he could do that easily. HONEY said that fortunately his wife used to be in the office and so it made it rather easier from all the points of view of discussing the past. KIM asked her name. HONEY said she was and had been his secretary for a while before being DICK BROOMAN-WHITE's. She used to be with BINGHAM. KIM repeated that he would /do a fuller

17.2
D
est
(This is being listed to by EMLB.)

16/3

6/67

24/54

4316

SECRET

NAME: PEACH.

T.C. No.: 2510.

Tel. No.: MOU 8325.

Date :

Responsible Section: D.I.a. ○

13.3.54.

14.3.54.

15.3.54.



13 MAR 1954

Copy on:
PF.604.584
Supp.:

PF.604.643.

16/3 Main file

Copy for HONEY.

Nothing of interest to report.

13.3.54.

Nothing to report.

14.3.54.

Incoming call from HONEY to KIM. (The call was taken by CONNIE who asked after Mrs. HONEY.) KIM said his week-end away had been very pleasant - they had played bridge all the time. HONEY commented that that kept his hands away from a glass. HONEY told him that the name of (NICOLAS BENTLEY's) firm was ANDRE DEUTSCH. KIM had heard of it - it was an extremely go ahead firm. HONEY had talked over the project (of KIM's autobiography) with NICK and had also shown him KIM's notes. NICK had said that there was no possible doubt that they would be interested. It would only be a question of financial arrangements. He could say they would be interested, at that stage, without even consulting his partner. He had also said they were interested, in general, in biographies with a view ~~also~~ to selling newspaper rights. Most books in that class did not pay on their own - one had also to sell the serial rights. He thought that this would appeal to the newspapers and also saw the possibilities of it leading up to something else. HONEY had mentioned the Child's History of the World (which KIM had been writing in conjunction with JOHN JUSTIN,) to NICK. The latter had said that just sticking to that title alone, he could sell it. HONEY was meeting him and his partner on Friday. After that meeting, they would like to meet KIM in order to discuss whether there would be some sort of basis for a financial "post." From the little he had seen, he could tell that KIM knew how to write and that the subject would be interesting enough. He (NICK) would like KIM to amplify his notes, if possible by Friday, so that they could read it over lunch. KIM said he could do that easily. HONEY said that fortunately his wife used to be in the office and so it made it rather easier from all the points of view of discussing the past. KIM asked her name. HONEY said she was and had been his secretary for a while before being DICK BROOMAN-WHITE's. She used to be with BINGHAM. KIM repeated that he would /do a fuller

15.3.54.

17.3
D
K
L
16/3

(This is being listened to by EMLB.)

16/3

6/67

5-15-54
24/54

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3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS
ACT 1958 *April 2024*

do a fuller synopsis in readiness for Friday.

H. There was another thing I mentioned; that obviously you could give a great deal more than you could put into this book, were it not for the Official Secrets Act.

K. Yes, quite, yes.

H. And that you wouldn't under any consideration, I mean, go to them and say to them, 'Look here, would you release this or would you release that' because you just don't feel - you're not that kind of person, you don't -

K. Yes, quite.

H. - like asking favours.

K. Yes, I see, yes.

H. He said that doesn't worry him in the very least - it would be adequate without it. But if there were points, he did it with CHAPMAN, he had the first option on the CHAPMAN thing.

K. Oh, did he? I see, yes.

H. And he said that he found they were quite co-operative.

K. Oh, I see, yes.

H. And he knows the ropes of getting (?? permission) on anything. (KIM was saying yes, yes, yes, all the time!) I mean, if there was anything which you think should come in, you can mark that 'Subject to release.'

K. Yes, O.K.

KIM said he would have to fly now or he would miss his train. He repeated that he would amplify his synopsis - he would get straight on with it and ring HONEY on Tuesday evening or Wednesday morning with a progress report.

H. And whether it might be worth while meeting - if there are any points that you think would be worthwhile bringing up that subject to release you could -

K. Oh, yes, I know, yes.

H. With the Truth (??) thing which is obviously/interestingly

K. Yes, quite, yes.

H. And that you were on that and yet because you knew BURGESS -

K. Yes, quite.

H. - the other happens.

K. Yes, quite. I know. Yes well er -

LA
~~CS~~ might be
intended.

If this is the
reason "Truth"
we have to know
that P is connected
with it.

?

H. Anyhow, you can think that over.

K. Yes, rather. I can indeed.

H. Good, KIMMIE. Well, I'm optimistic in a way. If they're big enough, that is the only thing.

KIM knew that they were an extremely go ahead firm. He repeated that he would telephone with a progress report.

09.21.

Outgoing call from CONNIE to CHARLES for a chat. She had just called in to see the HAMMONDS; they had been rather short with her. She asked CHARLES advice - she had had a sore throat for a month. She would ring him, as usual, from the office tomorrow.

18.59.

Outgoing call from CONNIE to KIM. (Call reported on line 2193.)

19.12.

JW.

For reasons which I will explain to you orally, I have come to the conclusion that I ought not myself to see HONEY.

If he is to be questioned on the Majorca brief and asked to help on that aspect of the problem, I think this ought to be done by one of your case officers with whom HONEY can then keep in touch. I should be very ready to provide the introduction for this if you do not know HONEY well enough yourself.

D.G.

_____ D. G. WHITE

15.3.54.

Copy on PF.604584 vol.9, serial 431a.

4306

SECRET

NAME: PEACH

T.C. No.: 2510

Tel. No.: MOU 8325

Date: 12.3.54.

Responsible Section: D.L.a.



18 MAR 1954

Handwritten: 15/3 main file

Handwritten: [unclear]

Handwritten: [unclear]

Handwritten: 15/3

Outgoing call from KIM to tell CONNIE that he was home again - he had spent two perfect hours in the sun. He had done his synopsis in pencil. He would type it out now and get it posted. She asked how long it was. KIM said 3 pages - it was awfully scrappy and disjointed. HONEY only requited a hurried gist of his experiences - he could not expect any more in one day. He had originally given him a week to do it. KIM assured CONNIE that NICOLAS BENTLEY would realise this. He had enclosed a covering note with an explanation. He added, "I think I will call HONEY anyway and hammer it in."

12.36.

Outgoing call to HONEY's (No. 1.) number. No reply.

14.34.

Incoming call from CONNIE to KIM, who said he had done all the packing. He would see her at Victoria about 6.05 p.m.

16.42.

Outgoing call from KIM to tell HONEY that he had posted off the synopsis. He explained that it was an extremely hasty, scrappy thing and it would probably put him (BENTLEY) off publication, as it stood. HONEY said he would not show it to him. KIM said he had enclosed a covering letter explaining that it was only to give a rough idea of the kind of experiences he proposed to write about. HONEY said he only required it for his own purpose so that he did not give lines of his experiences which he did not want to write about. KIM had indicated, more or less, that emphasis was to be given to early life, Spanish Civil War, Foreign Office activity and all the rest of it. HONEY imagined that the general influence of Marxism on the education of the upper classes of England in University life would play quite a big role. KIM agreed that it would. He added that he thought that that would come into Chapter 4 which was a discussion of the impact of the world crisis on undergraduates politics. At that stage, he would obviously introduce GUY. KIM agreed that he would not mind HONEY showing it to (BENTLEY) in it's present form, as long as he pointed out that it had been produced inside of an hour.

KIM said he was going away for the week-end, returning on Sunday evening. On Monday morning, he was going to Chorley Wood and so he would telephone probably on Monday morning.

In the meantime, HONEY would find out the name of (BENTLEY's) firm and the name of his partner. The latter had previously been an Austrian publisher.

16.57.

SECRET

D, all this is interesting
JH
9/3
430A

NAME: PEACH

T.C. No.: 2510

Tel. No.: MOU 8325

Date: 7.3.54.

Responsible Section: D.I.a.



8 MAR 1954

[Handwritten signature]
8/3

Copy - PF 604.643
~~RECEIVED~~
HONEY
+ PF. 604.584/Supp.

D.I.
You may like to see conversation between Honey and Connie - very long I'm afraid but interesting.
[Signature]

Incoming call to CONNIE from KIM. He said he had had a late night - the guests had not gone until 12.30. a.m. CONNIE told him that she had spent last evening with his Mother. The latter was very worried about KIM and his inability to get a job. They had talked about him and the family a great deal. CONNIE would tell him about it when he got home. KIM said he was out now buying some typing paper so that he could get on with his review. CONNIE asked if ALLEEN had been all right last night. KIM said no, not really; she constantly interrupted everyone. KIM would be home tomorrow afternoon or evening - 7 p.m. at the latest.

09.36.

- Incoming call from HONEY to CONNIE, who remarked, how funny she had been going to ring him. She told him that KIM was in the country. HONEY would not ring him there. He asked how KIM was getting on with the book - the autobiography.
- C. Oh, my dear, he hasn't started it yet.
 - H. Do you think he'll write it, seriously?
 - C. Yes, I spoke to him the other day. When was he going to and he said, 'Oh, I think I'll do it on Monday afternoon,' - facetiously you know but er - yes, I think he is HONEY.
 - H. Yes. I think it would be worthwhile. Anyway, getting out a synopsis and seeing -
 - C. Yes, well, I said something about a synopsis and he said he thought you had changed your mind about that. Did you?
 - H. Well, I haven't really. I had another thought about it which I was going to discuss with him.
 - C. Well, in any case, HONEY it would better for you to have a word with him, wouldn't it? Because I, honestly, don't know how seriously he's thinking about it.
 - H. No, I don't either. Only I'm only going to be here for another 4 weeks and if he was going to do something I think it is a question of getting going and then trying to get somebody - I mean, first of all getting him enthusiastic which is the most difficult thing. You see, once one can get him enthusiastic, I think he'll do one thing or another - he'll do something.
 - C. Yes.
 - H. So, the difficulty is to get him out of this slightly despondent frame of mind.
 - C. Yes.

JUSTIA
9.3.54

- H. That nothing is worthwhile and nothing is any good and nobody really cares a damn; which I feel he is really suffering from although he would never admit it.
- C. I think, HONEY, what he is really suffering from is er - I think if he could get some permanent job, I think all these other things he would do with that much more enthusiasm.
- H. Quite, quite.
- C. But I think he is worried to death about not having a regular income.
- H. I quite agree - absolutely with that.
- C. I think if he got that, he would do all these other things as well.
- H. Yes, yes, I dare say that's quite true.

CONNIE said she never quite knew what to say to KIM herself. She did not know whether he should follow "these things" up more than he did. She said he had had recently, various interviews and talks with people. She quoted his talk with FRANK WATERS of the News Chronicle. He (WATERS) had said that, at that time, no decision could be made until the Editor returned in about 3 weeks. In the meantime, he was going to ask someone on the Foreign desk to ring KIM. The latter had come home quite hopeful about the outcome of the meeting. They agreed that as the 3 weeks was up and KIM had nothing at all, he should get into touch with the News Chronicle. His temperament was that if they had wanted him they would have contacted him. He did not realise that they had other things and people to think about - WATERS might think of him in two months time when a position, which would have suited him, had been taken by someone else. HONEY thought CONNIE should keep at him to follow things up, as a general principle. CONNIE did not want to appear to be nagging him because he had no job. HONEY had tried to intimate that if he wrote this book it would please him (H.) They were sure that KIM had seen through that but HONEY felt that he had helped to revive KIM's self-confidence. CONNIE was sure that HONEY did KIM a lot of good. ~~CONNIE~~ She said she had never said anything to KIM but she often wondered whether "this blooming BURGESS business" would stop him getting a good job for all time. HONEY had put that to him and had asked if he should make enquiries in order to find out because he thought he was in a position to do so. KIM had said leave it for now. HONEY, also, did not like to chivvy him too much. However, he thought it would be a good thing to get the position clear - there was no point in his wasting time in certain directions if there was no possibility of his being allowed to take the job. If "they" were going to pull the curtain down why should "they" not mention it as man to man and then KIM could get that section out of his mind. CONNIE thought it would be most helpful if HONEY could get the answer.

They discussed the B.B.C. job. CONNIE said KIM had heard nothing further since receiving a formal note saying that they waited for all applications and it would be some weeks before he heard from them. She said nobody could be more suited for the job than KIM, the only snag being that he would have to broadcast. HONEY thought that could

/heard

DG to see

9.3

be overcome. CONNIE agreed that he did not stammer whenever he read aloud to her. HONEY was sure that his personality would come over anyway and listeners would not mind it. He could not, of course, say what the B.B.C. would think about it. CONNIE had asked KIM if he could get a reference from the Foreign Office as the B.B.C., presumably, would want to know why he had left it.

C. He said, "Oh, yes. My boss said he would give me a reference." But he said, "If the B.B.C. asked my boss for a reference, I think that the Foreign Office would be absolutely obliged to say - 'Look, if you intend PEACH attending any International Conferences, you must be prepared for - ' "

H. Yes, he did go into that. He did go into that.

C. Yes, well, that's one thing where this BURGESS thing may b----- him up again.

H. I personally feel that for that reason the air ought to be cleared. And I think that if there was an interview and it came down almost to a job, I think he ought to go straight round and say, "Look here, I am getting this job subject to your giving me a good reference and I hope you're going to give it." Because there is no doubt that personal contact means a tremendous amount and in everybody there is a human element. When a problem comes up to you and you've got to give a reference, you're in two minds - you say now what shall I do, I suppose I ought to bring this up and then you say no, to hell, years have passed I am perfectly happy about it in my own mind - I'm not going to do anything about it. You can sway the balance by personal contact. If he hasn't seen him for 5 years he'll say I'm not going to bother but if he's seen him the day before and KIM's in at the right psychological moment, the whole tone of the reply might be different. I am sure those things influence enormously in life.

C. Yes but he's not very good about making these personal contacts.

H. No, he's not too good about it. But, you see, obviously, his stammer does impede him quite a lot and when he gets on the 'phone he gets nervous and probably goes through a switchboard and the man keeps him waiting and then he probably gets a bit worked up. I shouldn't be a bit surprised, I mean, I don't know what a person does when they're on their own but he probably just slams down the 'phone at the end ~~of it~~ and says 'To hell with this, I'm not going to do it.' I don't know.

They agreed that his stammer was a tragedy. CONNIE said she teased him about it and there was no shyness about it. They could not understand why he had never done anything about it. CONNIE said his excuse to her was that he was afraid that if that was cured it would be at the expense of some other faculty. They agreed that his stammer must hinder him in life, but it was a thing he had to decide for himself.

A discussion on Antonio and his Spanish ballet followed.

CONNIE told him when KIM would be back tomorrow. HONEY doubted whether he could ring tomorrow evening - he would be with Mrs. HONEY at the

hospital. CONNIE invited him to come here after for dinner. He thanked her but said he had promised to go to his sister. He asked that KIM should ring him on Tuesday sometime. He would like to chat with him to see how he felt about the autobiography when he had not had wine. HONEY had omitted to tell KIM that his oldest friend was a publisher. HONEY had forgotten about him but had run into him today - he had always wanted HONEY to write a book. He did not think that KIM knew him. The call ended quite abruptly here because there was a knock at CONNIE's door.

10.58.

Outgoing call from CONNIE to CHARLES. He agreed to come here for the rest of the day. He would arrive about 1.30.

11.38.

Incoming call from CHARLES to tell CONNIE that he was home. They agreed that they had spent a very happy day together.

23.54.

JW.

SECRETOriginal in PF. 604643
Copy in: PF. 604,643/Supp. A.

4288

NAME: HONEY I

T.C. No.: 2589

Tel. No.: GRE 4462

Date: 5.3.54.

Responsible Section: D.I.a.



6 MAR 1954

Outgoing call from HONEY to GERALD TOOTH. Their conversation, at first, was of no interest. HONEY then asked if GERALD had seen "this woman" (MAE MURRAY). GERALD said, yes and she had taken KIM's script to read. If she thought it had possibilities, she would pass it on to HETTY HILTON of Curtis Brown. In this event, GERALD had suggested she should meet KIM. HONEY said KIM had been here to dinner last evening and after about the 4th bottle of wine, HONEY had got him to sign an undertaking to produce for him an autobiography. "This would be, at this particular moment, if he got it out quickly, of extreme interest because of his youth and close tie up with BURGESS, you see, during the whole of his life. That, I think, would make it topical and of considerable interest. The general attitude of the, sort of, young Communist Party - the education of 20 years ago, it comes to. I mean that tremendous move of the young intellectuals towards the left; it's reaction internationally; how it leads up to the BURGESS thing and then the World events from the time of the Hitler invasion of Austria, the Spanish Civil War and leading up to the F.B.I. and McARTHUR, you see, which he knows a great deal about." HONEY added that it would make a book of limited public but it would be very much of an inside story. GERALD thought it would have quite a large public. HONEY said KIM was very enthusiastic about it and had said he could make something of it. GERALD felt that, with regard to the history of the world, KIM was rather doubting his own ability. HONEY agreed that he was a little frightened of it. GERALD reverted to MAE MURRAY.

They then spoke about getting the lease of PETER WILSON's part of Garden Lodge tied up. HONEY told GERALD about the "things" of his brother.

17.40.

JW.

4288
57

Original in PF. 604643
Copy in: PF. 604.643/Supp. A.**SECRET**

4288

NAME: HONEY I

T.C. No.: 2589

Tel. No.: GRE 4462

Date: 5.3.54.

Responsible Section: D.I.a.



6 MAR 1954

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17.40.

JW.

45
5
5
7

SECRET

428a

NAME: HONEY. I.

T.C. No.: 2589.

Tel. No.: GRE 4462.

Date: 3.3.54.
(Part One.)

Responsible Section: D.I.a.



8 MAR 1954

I/c to HONEY from PEACH whose cough was not so good so was spending the day in bed to get rid of it. PEACH said he was seeing Dick ELLIS at the club tomorrow and would be along with HONEY about 7.30. HONEY told PEACH he had seen GERALD last night and PEACH's stuff was exactly what he wanted, and GERALD was seeing 'this' woman this afternoon, he hoped, and would give HONEY a ring either this evening or tomorrow.

HONEY asked after the children. PEACH said all well and on their best behaviour, he had spent an extremely pleasant 48 hours there. PEACH said CONNIE would be coming as well tomorrow evening.
10.29.

I/c to HONEY from David SUTCLIFFE, whose parents appear to live in Majorica and whom the HONEY's met. Distant and his wife were to come in for drinks on Tuesday next at 6.0.
10.53.

U.J.B.

Jc/DIA
5/3/54

425a
426a.
427a.

THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT
RETAINED IN DEPARTMENT
UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF
THE PUBLIC RECORDS
ACT 1958.

✓ 424A

PF 604584 .. PEACH.

NOTE.

In view of the possibility raised by the sidelined passage of 423a that either PHILBY or HARRIS might approach Captain Liddell to discuss PHILBY's security clearance, I warned Captain Liddell about this yesterday evening. It was agreed that he could not possibly give any guarantee that PHILBY would be cleared for a B.B.C. post, or even undertake to ask the Security Service about it. He could, however, be encouraging and sympathetic and would listen to any representations that either of these men might decide to make to him.

G.R. Mitchell

G.R. Mitchell.

D.
17.2.54.

J/RED.
17/2/54.

