

Postwar Europe



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AS
SCANNED**

Shotwell, intro.

- 1) Less lip service to democracy in authoritarian Eur. than ~~from~~ 19th cent.
- 2) Latin countries copied US const, but found no idea of public spirit, were either tyrants or revolutionists if not or con
- 3) 5) In Rome, Greece & W. Eur., traders posed problems which broke down tribal blood ties, demand a govt to meet problems of exchange.

In Eng. the sea invaders were not numerous, est. small local communities independent (the 'tens') which preserved freedom during feudal period.

Rome developed law & contract to replace taboo & arbitrariness. Eng. tens unique, led to New Eng town meetings, elected officers for centuries,

Germans maintain tribal loyalties in 'stem duchies'.

- 6) 13th-17th, Eng king was bringing pol. unity, Magna Carta notwithstanding. At first ~~appeared to~~ unconnected with local govt, ultimately the 2 conflicted & merged in nat dem.

French kings located in most prosperous commercial part of France, ∴ could get more money than others who had only feudal dues. - 15th.

French law courts, created & subsidized by kings (Louis 9) later restricted king, 1650-1789. France still gives greater power to judges. Statutes tell spirit of law, judges apply ~~letter~~ & judge details for selves.

French less public spirit than Eng., remember ancient regime, associate all govt with it, evade.

- 7) Machiavelli said: look to your military before economic strength.
- 9) Montesquieu admired Eng & influenced American
- 10) Bismarck thought Prussian army spirit was what made German bureaucracy so good. p. 32

Present growth of interior Europe has the economic base that motor cars and r.r.s are making land communications feasible, lowering relative advantage of maritime position.

11) The English model

Spain, Scandinavia and Hungary also had parl. rep dating from middle ages. But evidently nothing significant.

In Germany, Bismarck after each of his wars had had to fight the military to keep control, but kept it. In France it was parlement that kept it, in Boulanger and Dreyfus affairs. German Reichstag lost control of purse to Bismarck, never regained it until 1920.

c. 1900, increased powers of govt increased need for efficient civil servants, and reform was the rule, merit replacing spoils. Over

12. Challenge of Dictatorship

Hegel said ideas controlled events, Marx turned him around.

Monk, 6 Feb.

Ass.: Govts of Cent. Europe, reserve, read Intro, 1-43
Sourcebook of European Govts

1526, Aust-H. formed to meet Turk danger, small states coalesced.

1922, Russian civil war ended. Then Pole War

1818, Bulgaria indep.

1937-8, Turkey got Alexandrette from Syria.

1935, Saar plebiscite

Monenegro went into Yugos., not Alb.

Yugosl. today a fed union of 7 states.

Slovenian (Sl.), serbo-croatian, & , 3 languages of Y-sl.

— 1919 map conformed to nationalities more than today's.

— Trieste is to become a 'free territory', now has no govt. Gy now has no govt, very unusual. Usually a puppet govt, & all our conquered enemies have puppets but Gy.

Norway: Russians took far north, evacuated.

Finland: Lost Petsamo, only access to Barents Sea. Lost Karelia, Hanko, nw of Lake Ladoga, reparations. Democr. coalition country; commies, soc., & left wingers coalesced.

Est, Latv, Lith.: U.S. recognizes them, but they are annexed.

Poland: E. 2/3 to Russia. White Russia & Ukraine. Poles in cities, the Russ in country. Then Poland got Perm. & Silesia. 8 m. Germans to be evacuated. Oder to Prague the boundary. We don't accept it, but Russians are going to get it.

~~But~~ E Prussia split to Poland & Lith. SSR

Czechoslovakia: Ruthenia part of Ukr. SSR. It is a 4th part of Cz, not Slovakia. Germans evacuated - 2 1/2 m. 15 m pop Cz. ~~the~~ No Sudetens remain. A few Hungarians remain.

Rumania: Helped Russians to fight Germans at end. Lost Dobruja, Bess., regained Transylvania. Keeps Danube delta.

Bulgaria: Also changed sides. Russian protégé, has gone farthest to Comm. got Dobruja

Yugoslavia: Status quo ante plus Istria minus free territory of Trieste. Torn apart during war. Tito reunited. Gy had changed all money & legal systems.

Albania: tribal, primitive. Tribal chieftains, recognized robbers.

German ~~land~~ returned?
arrangements, revised

Munk, 6 Feb cont

Greece:

Turkey: Fascist, Ismail Pasha

Hungary: Russ. occ., coalition of comm & disguised feudal reactionaries.
Land now divided

✓ Austria: 4 zones & 1 intern. zone in Wien.

Cy: Russ zone, Stettin to Erskelburg

✓ Italy: Voted out king. Lost colonies, Dodecanese Isl.
Venezia Giulia also Intern.

France: Pre 1944, se unoccupied, Vichy. Bourgeoisie collaboration-
ists, preferred Hitler to Comm. Disunited.

Spain:

Lowlands: suffered, but reconstruct better than all but Czechs.

Denmark: suffered little, good shape. Norway too suffered little.

Portugal: Benevolent Fascism, Salazar, Prof. of Economics.
1912 rev. outland king, nominal republic, still.

Iceland: During war, severed personal union with Denmark. Oldest
Parliament in world. New independent republic.

Switzerland: no change

Monk, 13 Feb.

Haircut today

Ass. Shottwell, Govt & pol of France, ch. 9 & 10, pp 227-273

1940, part of Poland incorp. into Grosse Reich, other part - east & s -
"General Govt of Poland", colonial administration.

Grosse Reich included: Eupen-Malmédy, Lux, Schlesung, Alsace Lorraine,
Know Versailles & later polit. boundaries. Memel, & larger units. Bohemia,
Aust, Poland?

Pole-Lith border sealed after Wilno, no traffic or anything. Russ.
returned it to Lith.

Constitutional Changes after 1918 - most were monarchies before
war. Then Gy, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, Lith, Finland, not
Balkans, but Turkey, Russia, Poland.

Now in 1947 many more Kings have toppled.

England & France were undisputed leaders in "affairs", 19th cent,
models of govt, leaders in change. - intellectual leadership, too.

Suffrage extended, feudal power reduced by bourgeoisie.

French Declaration of Rights & Citizens, 1789, very influential.
French thought & Eng practice, mixed cont. influence. Despite
loss of 1870.

Gy came to challenge their leadership. Mercantilism.

Aust, 1905, complete secret suffrage. But aristos, army, clergy
dominated. Because Parl. had no power.

Gy has highest suicide rate in Eur.

Gy's statism partly reaction to long disunity. - Eng &
France vice versa.

- Result of 1st war: to ^{unify it thus} Westernize Europe. Of 2d: splinter.
1918, all looked west for leadership. Now, for first time in
history, over $\frac{1}{2}$ looks east for lead.

1918, no one expected another war. Now we expect plenty.
Faith in Anglo-French leadership. Wilson admired greatly,
League trusted.

Fact that bourgeoisie of E. Eur. were less, without political power, maybe
explains in part Bourge. failure to take pol. power there. Anti-semitism is anti-
Bourge. in those countries. Probably more effect than cause

Shottwell (Good, U.Va.)

Ch 10, party development in 3d rep.

1) Heroin pd, 1871-9

Monarchists vs republican. Gambetta. 1871 Nat. Ass. 1876 first Parliament of 3d rep. Senate evidently elected by Nat. Ass, was slightly royalist. Pres. MacMahon roy. Chamber of Rep. pop. elected, $\frac{2}{3}$ Republican '76.

Seize Mai incident: MacMahon had appt. Jules Simon, from Right of Rep. maj., p.min. 1877, anti-clericalism in Italy, Pope tried to stir France to war on It. Simon went too far left, MacM. dismissed him & dissolved Chamber, 16 Mai. Dissolution merely called for a new election, but this was regarded as attempted coup d'état, i. French never use presid. dissolution anymore. Election went to Rep, MacM. resigned, never again have monarchists been strong. Grevy presid.

2) Republican division: opportunists vs radicals 1879-1893

Gambetta led opp. - slow reform. Radical aims: sep. of C & State, const. revision, prog. inc. tax, elected judges, communal autonomy.

Ferry, 1883-5. Educ. & empire. Educ. made free & compulsory (primary), non religious. Dissolved Jesuits from France, by much force, hard feeling.

Right regained strength, c. 1886-189?, slower tempo of reform 1892, protective tariffs raised (?)

Wilson & Panama scandals, Boulanger episode.

1886, Boulanger became min. of war. Made Bismarck back down once. Very pop. general, sought dictatorship. 1889, won great elect. vict. But some group scared him, were to try him for treason, he fled. 191 died.

1892, Panama scandal - de Lesseps named, with pol. & high finance finagling, to milk public.

1893, Rep. stronger

3) Moderate Bloc vs Left Bloc (Republicans) 1893-1906. 245

Leo XIII encouraged cath. to accept repub, reversing policy.

1884, Labor Unions legalized. Became more socialist. 1892, Parl. Soc. bloc party began.

Moderates were opp. + Cath. Rep. They dominated. Slow superficial reform. 'Radicals' & socialists were opposition.

Anti-semitic press already, 1890. Dreyfus case resulted in strengthening Left so they could purge army & separate C & S. 1899, Dreyfus pardoned, Waldeck-Rousseau gov't took over & reformed. Further dissolved religious orders, following Ferry. - the religious schools of the orders had more pupils than state schools.

Gooden, cont.

1902, further Left victory. Combes. 1905, C&S really separated, no more subsidies. Church possessions "allocated to ass.s of citizens".

4) Breakup of ^{Left} Bloc, 1906-10.

Left & Right parts separated. - Socialists went with new Marraige, radicals slightly to right.

5) Reforming Bloc, 1910-14

Union troubles. In 1905, 3 yr mil. service abandoned. 1913, reest, with soc. ists opposing. German attack lowered soc. prestige, the prewar 1914 election was unprecedented left victory.

6) World War, 1914-19. Right strengthened.

7) Post war.

National Bloc & Left Castel.

1919-24, only big break in leftward drift of 3d rep.

1924-36, Left in power. Financial troubles, Rightward drift until snapped back at each election. e.g. 1926 Poincaré was ~~at~~ taken, 'saviour of the franc', the fear to Right of elected Deps who made him pm. A Rightist interlude to 1932, Poincaré winning '28 election. Confusion 1934 Stansky scandal, riots. 1936, Popular Front of Com, Soc, Rad, victory.

Chap. 11 - Contemp. Pol. Org.

Shottwell, (Gooch) cont

Contemporary political organization.

Groups are organizations in the Chamber of Deputies which get things done--alliances of party sections usually. Parties are the electoral basis.

The Left:

Communists: 1920, Socialist split, left decided to join third international, take Moscow orders, advocate revolution. 1939, dissolved, due to Russian German pact. 72 Deputies, 1936.

Socialists: Adherents of the old 2d international (London), more evolutionary Marxists. 1936 Blum regime was theirs. It ended the sit down strikes with striking reforms. 40 hr week, restored wage reductions that had been made by Laval decrees, min. wage, paid vacations, etc. Franc devalued, Bank of France reformed to take control from a few major stockholders who used it to help monopoly, etc.

Radicals: "French Liberals"---old time liberalism of individualism. Stronger than English liberals. Petite bourgeoisie.

Comm org from top down, others bottom up.

Right more tolerant than left as party disciplinarians.

Freemasonry a strong anti-cleric leftish organization in France, secretive, anti-communist.

The Right:

National Republicans: Strongly nationalistic, clerical, "laissez-faire", etc.

Democratic Alliance: Neutral religiously, like American Republican party otherwise.

Popular Democrats: Christian socialism, small.

Action Francais: Dictatorship, religion, small.

Croix de Feux, Dictator organization, not a party. Dissolved, 1936.

Monk, 20 Feb.

— Today the traditional postwar 'reaction' ^{to right} is revealed to be a swing to authoritarianism, now 'left' communism.

France ^{govt} swings slowly to right, swiftly to ~~right~~ left in elections. Poles, entente, & (1935) Russia were allied to France. All drifted apart; Poles to Hitler, entente separated, Munich lost Russia.

No class next week

Carr, Conditions of Peace, 1-128, 2 week ass.

4 pds 1) 1918-24, liquidation of war. Reconstruction.

2) - 29 "consolidation" phoney, false optimism

3) - 33 depression

4) - 39 war preparation

5) - 45 war

Movement toward democracy throughout Europe.

Wilson

Great spread of education prewar, & suffrage. (Aust. 1905)

Industrialization spreading.

— Socialists had power, everywhere formed coalitions with bourgeois liberals. Conservatives on defensive.

Non-coalescing socialists split off into 3rd international.

By 1938, democracy gone. Great disillusionment in Eur., following childish high hopes in Wilson.

— Italian Fascism began with vet. org., anti-labor, esp. agric. labor. Latifundia organization of agriculture, Northern It. ind workers well off, but peasants revolted to seize land.

D'Annunzio anti-democratic; a poet. Thought Italy lost peace, by not getting promised Dalmatia. D'Annunzio seized Fiume from Yugos, Allies let it keep it. Yugos ruined Fiume with new city. Fiume was old Hungarian port. Yugos boycotted it.

In 1920s, s. & e. Eur. gradually went fascist. Baltic states too. Poland. Few democracies left, n.w. & Czechoslovakia. Clerical Fascism in Austria.

Monk 20 Feb p. 2

Fascism rejected "economic values", substituted heroic, organicist state theory, with hierarchy. War desired.

Clearance of heroes & have-nots.

Russia now has only Galicia & Ruthenia beyond 1914 bounds. & Lachis Central Poland.

Eur. Milliard = Am billion

Eur. Billion = Am trillion

Inflation wiped out savings in central Eur. Middle classes fatally weakened. - were proletarianized. Tried to regain security by getting into uniforms. Fascism was a movement of the higher & middle classes in objection to levelling, labor unions. Finally the middle class took over, ran fascism, to keep up their superiority.

2 m. chronic unemployed in Eng., but on the whole good times in Eur. Steady inflow of Am. loans.

Unusual Amer. psychology of wanting to be middle class - not so in Eur. Affects voting, ~~outside~~ influence outside actual ec. status.

Nationalism - middle class in 30s, labor now. Fascism & anti-democracy invariably accurately measured by anti-Semitism.

Selene, French anti-democratic author, typical mirror of his times.

Wealthy classes not too friendly to fascism, which was dominated by middle class. Old conservatives originally supported fascism, later changed. Aristos, generals, old monarchists opposed fascism when they learned it was such a mass movement.

In frustrated countries, fascism won out. Other factors curiously coincided. - ^{economic success, democratic tradition,} military success, lack of inflation.

In Europe, workers very class conscious, much greater class cleavage. Workers felt their strength. Fascism was the only means of organization for middle class, their defense.

1906 given as date when Eng became a 'social service' state. Bism. in Gy.
 After 1918, political rights, even in Eng, lost their excitement. No one cared - they
 wanted deeper. 23

In Eng, the split of the rich into old landlords & new traders weakened them.
 Traders often allied with poorer. c. 1890, Home Rule Crisis, ~~rich~~ traders went
 conservative. But then, to defend free trade, they had to join Liberals, in 1906
 brought unprecedented sweeping victory of liberals. 1920, traders became
 protectionists, conservatives became solid. But by this time unions were
 strong, & Cons vs. Labor became the key. Eng. never knew a Marc
 Hanna era.

With 1920 clarification came an end to individual politician. Pol.:s
 were party stooges. It became $\therefore$ difficult to get good administrators from
 among them, so, in war, businessman must be recruited as executives.

Whom army obeys has real power. In Gy, army did not obey
 Reichstag, its power $\therefore$ small.

Pope - speaking pops, in several 1919 plebiscites, voted for Gy. Never
 did Germans vote Polish.

Gy took advantage of export fallacies of others to acquire wealth.
 Dr. Schacht's genius.

Democracy in Eng. successful because her econ. position made
 agric. unimportant, weakening Feudalists. Classic ec-ists decried
 landlords.

1926 Eng. general strike. 1931 Labor election.

1914-18, 2d Int. shattered. Ind. + trade unions?

One of earliest demands for ^{int.} production restriction was at
 Intern. Miner's Congress, Berlin, 1894. - I gather there were
 labor unions.

1923 Am. immigration block hindered Eur. democracy greatly.

Progress comes from the dissatisfied.

1920, Brit. only wanted to keep stat quo, in armament as in all.
 Wanted to outlaw new weapons, so they could keep their superiority
 without changing.

'Geneva Protocol' outlawed war, a 'political Maginot Line'.
 Carr is socialist. '19th cent. ideals outmoded' line, 'must find new synthesis' etc.

Carr

- 1 War & revolution: War is stage in revolution, we march on, return never to status quo ante. Current rev. is nat. self det, liberal dem, laissez faire.
- 2 Crisis of democracy
(Who fights the labor unions? Those whom they exclude! - in Gg, these became comm. & Fascist.)
Democracy is regressive today, failing.
- 3 Crisis of Self determination
Small states lack power. Econ. problems unsolved. Nonsense of self det. became apparent.
- 4 Econ. crisis - depr.
- 5 Moral crisis - search for a purpose

Munk: 6 March.

Who got Jews property finally.

Legacy of Nazism, ch. 1-5

Changes during war:

Democratic govts destroyed, from inside as well as out.

Unification.

Pre war constitutions junked. Never since Nap. so many & so great.

Frontiers changed everywhere.

Expatriate govts. confused subjects.

Collaborationists. - (greater fear of Gestapo ^{by civilians} than found in action battle.)

Mass migrations.

Bombing effect on govt. They can last amazingly, but when they go they're gone.

Slovenia divided between Italy & Gy. Croatia puppet state of Ustashi, anti Serb anti Orthodox, fascist. Yugoslavia torn in bits. Montenegro separated. Dalmatia & w. Croatia just occupied. Serbia & Banat kept 'indep', German puppet. Macedonia to Bulgaria. N. Banat to Hungary, all Magyarized. Macedonia land tenure based on Turkish law. In one generation you live under 5-6 different laws.

Difficult to put constitutional fragments back together.

- They couldn't declare all legal actions of occupation invalid, for most of them were 'normal'. - tho they said they were going to.

Wealthy collaborated more than poor, in general. But this may be just because they were more conspicuous, & communists wanted to tag them.

- Middle class now again eliminated by inflation & socialization. Upper class that would not collaborate hit by Germans; collaborators by nationals. ~~the~~
- govt corps ~~have~~ replaced, under Gy, when they collapsed all was indefinite. So now govts have taken them over.

European socialists, I judge, are socialists in a practical, inevitable sort of way. They see socialism as something forced on them, by circumstance, they fit into it. Not doctrinaire nor enthusiastic, but world weary. Govt regulation is a stop gap, which they hope will keep disaster from them while they live, at least. Emotions suppressed. - dull, hopeless.

I am to be prepared to swing either way: I have my current thesis approach for the right, & my socialist approach for the left. Both arrive at the same conclusion, but one satisfies the left censors, the other the right.

The Legacy of Nazism - Munk

Chap 1 - Impact of totalitarian economy
30 yrs war left Czechs with no leaders. The greatest phenomenon before Nap.

Fascism is a more radical departure from capitalism than is communism. Because it really takes seriously this lust for power idea. It is more than the Marxists & capitalists label it. I disagree, but not on tests.

Chap 2 - Industries in flux

- By wearing down surpluses of slave countries Hit got great advantage
- Hit built too many autobahnen, insufficient r.r.s.
- Markets lost.
- Synthetics encouraged, basis for new rebuilding. 24, trade upheaval etc.
- 1928-38, German Balkan trade from 16-34% Balkan trade. Gy intended to be the industrial center, surrounded by rural areas.
- Large interwar Hungarian industrialization. Farm mechanization takes peasants from land.

Germans used occupied factories to wear them out.

- No German inflation. Hence no free market flows of goods to Gy. (?)

F Prewar, govt controlled marketing of crops in most Eur. countries. Nazis simply took this over, unified it. Socialism had prepared Eur. for Nazism.

- Eur. will doubtless remain antithetical post war. Nazism was in agreement with general trend on that Agric will be fostered to do it.

Food self-sufficiency in Eur.:/ G.B., Norway, Switz, Belg, Holl, Aust, Greece
25%

F29 - more on Sw. says they export food net

Gy, France, Sweden, Italy, Spain, Czechos (100%) USSR, Denmark, Poland
Yugo, Bulg, Lith, Rum, Hung (121%) Europe esp had to import

'Feedstuffs', fat & veg. oils.

- Prewar, c. 10 m to 20 m Polish peasants were superfluous. Either the estates had to be broken up, industries take them over, or emigrate. Same problem thru out e. Eur. with farm mechanization.
- Germans moved industry east, Aust, Czechos, Silesia. To avoid bombs. Important effect on those economies.

In war, Gm. production actually declined. J.S. increases are exceptional. - allies tended to increase, Gms to decrease.

Legacy Nazism, 2

Ch. 3 Removal & destruction of pops.

- .. 1900 German industry was growing so that emigration almost ceased. Seasonal gangs of Polish labor, like our Mexicans, came to harvest.
- Tremendous slave labor influx into Gg. Much expropriation of Polish land. Germans planning to export all Dutch, Slovenes & Czechs, give area to Germans.
- Pre-war eastern Jews were 'pre-imperialistic' - religious, politic. German historian & Czech Jews were secularized, assimilated, & of lowest birth rate in Eur. Perhaps because they were rich. Never since expulsion from Sp. & Port. have Jews been so decimated.
- Intelligence of enemy given priority in exterminating. 70.

Chap 4 - The New Nationalism

- Nationalism, collectivism & democracy stand vs. Nazism. In that order.
- Collectivism has only succeeded on national.
- Czechosl. invested abroad. Was center of German war industry.
- He thinks tariffs are only small nuisances, small nations very desirable. Internal trade restrictions more significant, small nations unduly blamed. He reveals his bias here.
- Small states had slightly higher tariffs than large. 1913, ave 20%; 1927, 25%.
- 1931, c. 35%. Low countries: Switz, Bgm, Aust, Sw, pre 1931 Gg; high ones: Poland, Rumania. Some variation in countries over years.
- British 1932 tariff comp. to our '30.
- He ~~thinks~~ says Wall St Oct '29 started depr. I thought it had started earlier elsewhere, at least in fundamental causes. 80
- According to Bank for Int. Settlements, 1929-37 brought even greater structural changes in Eur. economy than 1914-18!
- Chamberlin-^{Joan}Robinson, developed imperfect comp. theory, c. 1933, it won rapid acceptance.
- I have recorded above only that of Munk which is new to me, or unique to him. But mostly his analysis agrees with mine. - remember this when writing tests.
- Political 'bloc-competition' replaces market comp. 1930 a tough timing.
- Competition among officials replacing that among entrepreneurs.
- 1941, Funk complaining that German entrepreneurs would take no risks, all demanded guarantees.

Munk, Legacy Naziism cont.

German controls are not usually directly over goods, but over money. Hence economics remains ~~at~~ the free market ~~if~~ partly goes. Consumption is regulated, savings channeled as state directs.

Naziism the full development of cartelization. Not so out of sympathy with general Eur. trends. Current trends will continue to reflect this, strengthened by Naziism, instead of reacting from it. But the peacetime "I'm rich, leave me be" attitude, and the social welfare attitude, may motivate it, rather than fascism. But I think we can be sure that among the 'have nots', among any progressive industrial nation (with military tradition pref.) which is threatened with poverty & communism, that militant fascism will be the reaction. This is a plunge in that political prediction which is much harder than economic. If so, why didn't Czecho-go fascist? No mil. tradition?

Munk, 13 March

H. H. Fisher, America & Russia in the World Community. Pol 26 or 31 resume.
Ch. 2, 5, 6. Test next Thurs. Better review Carr's viewpoint.

No stable govt in Greece ^{for 50 yrs.} ELAS, mil. org. Gen. Zervas ran other org. 2 factions violently opposed, & both opposed Nazis. ~~ELAS~~ Zervas, reactionary.
1943, EAM leadership went partly comm. British agents infiltrated in order to reconnoitre. Churchill wanted to invade Balkans instead of France, to stop Russians & Germans simul. Papandreou, moderate socialist.

British racial superiority complex in middle east, Tory & Fascist. Deliberately sabotaged Papandreou. Wanted rightist monarchy. Greek civil war, Dec '44, British wanted to eliminate both EAM & ELAS, put in safe rightist monarchy. Nominally EAM started war, due to communists, just after liberation. British found war more difficult than anticipated. Armistice, promised to leave EAM in provinces, Brit. had Athens. Then they moved out - a war, GB & rich vs other Greeks. Great econ. inequality in Greece. Fighting continues.

Greeks traditionally fear Slavs, like Eng. No indication that guerrillas are helped from Russia. They have wartime weapons. British subsidized rightist leaders with gold, just to fight EAM. Present govt is puppet, supported by British & Am force. (Yugoslav govt supported by its own force.) Despite Truman's calling it democratic elected govt. 'Spurious' elections. UNRRA discontinued, an error. U.S. is just underwriting British policy at its worst.

Turkey went to highest bidder in war.

Greek ruling classes of today are 'eaten alive with corruption', would not stand alone.

Truman's move not connected with any Greek change. No change in situation. A prelude to Moscow conf. of foreign ministers.

Destruction in e. incomparably greater than w. Psychic as well as physical. Less destruction associated with 'race-entrapment' destruction.

Industries of most small e. countries owned by foreigners, ass. with foreign pol. control.

British delayed invasion e. 1 yr.

1926 Pilsudski Putsch, Fascist. 'Colonel's Clique'. Beck. 1934 pact with Gy, first to break anti-German bloc. Stopped Teschen from Czechs after Munich.

Lublin govt of Poland, Russ. sponsored. 'Peasants Party' willing to compromise. At Yalta, was agreed to recog. Lublin, if free unfettered elections would be held. - never more.

Munk, 13 March, cont.

Poles inhabit cities, esp. Lwow, in e. Poland, where Russ. peasants predominate. Interesting contrast to ~~Russ~~ Poles & German, in w. Poland.

Warsaw govt has trouble because no Russ. supported govt is popular. Strong underground opposition. Peasant party is waning, communist dominated dict. is growing.

Czechs are realistic about being dominated, would not fight Gy. Poles, remain hot heads, always fight.

Benes came back to Czechs very popular. Russ. did not communitize Czechs, it has 4 ind. parties, 2 center.

Germans only had cities & ~~no~~ ^{export} ~~leaves~~ of Yugo, Tito had rest. Mikhailovich had become inactive. Traded Germ. prisoners for lt. gasoline.

Bulgarians, who formerly oppressed Serbia for Germans, later liberated it for Russians.

Tito most authoritarian. Roots out opposition.

Even in Czechoslovakia, no party can criticize Soviets. No censorship, but a tacit agreement it would be bad for country. In other countries, censorship.

Noted in recent 'The Economist': its publication has been ^{restricted} suspended indiscriminately with that of pornography, comics, etc., due to shortages I presume. Socialism does not raise the level of consumer taste - ~~the~~ either majority, or dictatorial minority, will control.

Fisher, Russia & America.

Revolutions are rough, unexpected. pre 1914, real ec. rev. caused pol. trouble. Post, a pol. change superficial, economy unchanged. Bull.

Modern physics weakens deterministic arguments.

Most Eur. investments were govt bonds. Again, in this war, destroyed by inflation. For 2d or 3d time in 1 generation, savings wiped out, middle class destroyed. Prediction - Fascism.

E. Eur., Jews were most of middle class, which was weak. By destroying them, Hitler destroyed middle class.

Thruout, Nazis destroyed small enterprise, which cannot recover, for some reason. Coops replaced much of it. What remained of 'capitalism' 1939 linked to Nazis, now all destroyed.

No longer are 2 small powers = 1 big one, as in past. Only big ones count. (?) ('Crisis of self-determination', - Carr)

March '45 Act of Chapultepec, system of w. hem. regional defense & consultation. vs. Russia's sphere. - regionalism supplanted by 2 large blocs.

V. Comintern

1st int, Marx & Engels, 1864-72, broken by internal strife. London, then U.S. hq.
2d int, 1889, fed & soc. parties. War I, destroyed by nat-ism. 3d int, 1919-43,

Losing W. Eur., Russians turned east, supported comm. nat-ism to plague imperialists. But nat-ism won out, e.g. Chiang's bloody defeat of Borodin's communists.

In depression, Russ. had to doubt their int. payments abroad, as exch. changed. Accused of 'dumping products of slave labor'.

threat in 1930s, so Eng.'s tolerance of Jap aggression cannot be attributed to fear of Russ. Purges greatly weakened int. position of Russ. Peters points out they were no

VI

Enslavement & liberation of Europe

Apr '38, Litvinov dismissed as Commissar of Foreign Affairs, signaling Russia's giving up trying to stop Hitler by diplomacy with west. Aug 31, '38, pact ratified. Sept 1, Poland invaded. (or was it '39?) Russ-Am. relations at low ebb in this pd. Apr '41, Jap-Russ pact.

In Spain, Stalinists fought Trotskyites bitterly, prestige suffered.

1930s, communists refused to participate in Blum pop. front; now they work in coalitions, demand posts. De Gaulle opposes them, gives no foreign affairs posts, for they will compromise France to Russia in foreign affairs.

Fisher, cont.

Socialists differ from communists in refusing to follow Moscow or use force. Same ec. program, more dem. spirit.

We don't recognize Bulgaria because 'not popularly elected', but we recogn. Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Fascist states, etc.

- 1) From 1918 to 1939 democratic government in Europe passed from unprecedented success to near extinction, ~~in what~~ a process which may be loosely labelled a 'crisis'. The causes were characterized by ~~empty~~ uninspired complacency, ~~and~~ failure to recognize and meet vital shortcomings of the existing system. In reconstruction and boomtime progress, democracy appeared successful; in depression and preparation for war it appeared weak.

The military crisis, like all aspects of the crisis, did not become serious until the depression. In World War I the democratic allies showed ~~un~~ unrivalled military prowess, which ~~in~~ effectively supported their government form, and led to respect for it and imitation of it throughout Europe, even in the traditionally undemocratic east & south. They did fail to conquer the Bolsheviks, and this was a harbinger of the lowered prestige to come. Their attitude, like that of victors generally, was of smugness. They met the challenge of new weapons by outlawing them; they even thought they could outlaw all war at Geneva, & keep what war had brought them by peaceful means. While no one challenged them, they were secure. But with the depression the fascist states became militantly discontent. Being dissatisfied, they improved military arts; wanting to expand, they perfected the offensive. Smug democracies sought safety behind Maginot lines and old navies, but the new weapons were too strong for them. Realizing their weakness, they capitulated diplomatically at Munich, and the military crisis was at hand.

The political crisis ~~was~~ manifested itself in undemocratic governments' success. First Russia, then Italy, ^{& Poland} and finally, in the depression, ^{especially} all of south & east Eur. except Czechoslovakia & Finland became undemocratic. For a time they paid lip service to democracy, but rising fascism stopped this, made idols of the bestial super-state & the soldier. Democracy, reeling from the depression, was on the defensive. Only totalitarian governments were curing unemployment. Even solid democratic countries had strong

Fascist & communist movements. Finally as the war started these 5th columns helped the undemocratic states overthrow France, ~~Spain~~ Denmark, Norway, Czechoslovakia.

The economic crisis was an aspect of the general crisis which probably pervaded minds more than any other. While democratic government could provide employment & prosperity, it succeeded ~~while~~ in N.W. Eur., where the bourgeoisie was strong, democracy of their stamp survived. In the S.E. where landlords & peasants were the majority, democracy failed, because there its economic power ability was least. Even in bourgeois countries it was threatened when it failed to prevent unemployment. So democracy rode a triumphant wave in boom times, especially with disgruntled exceptions in the ~~non-industrial countries~~ s.e. countries, with their greater economic inequality. But in the depression people turned their destiny to dictators, especially in the s.e. The crisis of democracy ~~was~~ was that it had no answer. The depression raged unabated by anything the democracies ~~can~~ did. They needed to somehow revise their economies to prevent economic catastrophe. They failed, and democracies lost prestige to Russia & the fascists, who had no unemployment.

The moral crisis is behind all the others. Democracies in their success, & lost the progressive spirit. They became rich old women, jealous of their possessions, careless of the suffering world. They lost political, military & economic leadership.

2)

The governments of Nazi Europe were of several kinds, depending on the status of the territory. The administration of all the govts had in common its purpose: to exhaust non-Germans for the benefit of Germany; and its form: ~~the~~ German guides instructing local puppets to guide the economy with govt. corporations to support Germany.

The governments of Nazi Europe were: Germany and 'Grosse Reich'; the satellites; the puppets; the 'occupied zones'; and the unconquered enclaves. Within Gy, economic life was administered by the state, but ~~the~~ money & price were still used as rewards. ~~The~~ Administration took risks, and ~~direct~~ partly by direct control, partly by ^{Economic} channeling money, it directed war effort. Private enterprise was replaced by govt corporations largely. In the Grosse Reich areas the subject populations posed unique problems, for it was intended to ~~replace~~ ^{as in Poland & N.W.} them with Germans. Administration here had a problem of extermination. Actually, in the war, non-Germans moved into Gy more than the opposite, & were administered there. The satellites of Gy still 'chose' their own govts, which were Fascist, as in ^{Italy} Rumania. They dared not cross the Germans, whose omnipresent armies were the real power. These countries had the advantage of maintaining their own systems of law, for everyday affairs. Other Nazi Eur. countries had complete new govts and the governmental phase of everyday living was altered radically, & irrevocably. The puppet states, as Denmark & France & Norway, & ~~the~~ Bohemia-Moravia, kept some semblance of their old legal systems, tho much changed in administration. These were ~~the~~ govts that had opposed Nazism & were defeated & occupied outright, and had succumbed. The occupied zones were the most affected. They were still in active or potential revolt, so that no puppet govt was setup. The German army was the nominal as well as actual authority, and law was the German will. A hodgepodge of different legal systems was imposed on different parts of what had once been discrete nations, which created vast problems of legal reconstruction for today.

The unconquered enclaves were not Nazi-administered, but ~~usually~~ had their own military governments, sometimes more than one, as in Yugoslavia. These further complicated the tangle of legal ~~and~~ systems.

Naziism contributed a superficial unity to Europe, but the ultimate effect has been disuniting. Germany's unity was one based on exploitation to feed Germany & exhaust the capital & population of Europe, which of course struck no roots. At the same time she gave Nazi Europe a new set of complications in government. ~~The~~ Legal systems were changed freely, contracts & marriages were performed under the German system that cannot be revoked, and the systems cannot be quickly forgotten.

- 3) Europe's govt.s ~~must~~ had to remove the 'legacy of Naziism'; deal with Russia and the western Allies, reconstruct their economies, reconstruct their governments, and determine their future policies. They did not completely remove the legacy, they have mostly gone with whichever of the 2 dominant powers was brought more pressure, they are slowly reconstructing, their governments are unstable, their future unsure.

'All who collaborated must go' ~~is~~ proved ^{an} 'unattainable' ^{goal}. The most notorious collaborators have been purged. Germans have been shipped out ~~by~~ millions. Displaced persons have been returned, ~~who~~ with friction. The Jews, ^{who} have returned have not been welcomed, especially in the east, and they are still an unsolved legacy. Only Britain & unoccupied Russia have no German belongings to dispose of. The occupied countries are not doing a good job; they are vengefully destroying their own liberties by relentless persecution, as much as hurting Germans.

New governments of occupied countries are subjected to great pressure to be pro or anti-communist. The Mediterranean Sea & N.W. Eur. have ~~been~~ succumbed to western influence, eastern Europe to Russia. But this is only the broad picture. The eastern countries must deal with democratic minorities, which they suppress with considerable force. The western countries must deal with communist political parties. The CP now will cooperate in

coalition governments, as in France, ~~put~~ a new policy related to dissolution in 1943 of 3d International. They differ from the dominant Socialists in attitude toward Russia & method of reform.
 American financial subsidies to anti-communists are a factor in the west's attitude.

~~The~~ Economic reconstruction must be physical, & in trade relations. Germany left a vacuum which will be filled, & offers opportunity, but so far ~~any~~ progress is slow. America has taken much former foreign trade, which must be regained or replaced.

Political reconstruction was difficult, for different governments competed. Nazism & then range of collaborators destroyed leaders. New boundaries had to be determined.

Finally future policy had to be determined. Compromise between communism & capitalism, with strong nationalist ~~to~~ connections, is the dominant tone of current thought.

Gatney, Mason

Pol. 44



Munk, 3 Apr.

'Nationalization of Key Industries in Eastern Eur.' - skip appendices. pp 1-52.

3 parts of Eur. - Eng & western; occupied - Gy & Aust, Hung, Italy, Greece, Rumania; Eastern Eur.

Finl. pop. 4 m.

Oder & Niesse R. w. bound. Pol.

All e. govts but Greece are rev., have changed ec & social structures friendly to Russia. But great individual differences.

Totalitarian to Democratic: Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Finland, in that order. Greece about like Rumania, but on other side. Comm. paper published in Athens.

In totalitarian govts, more divergence between de facto & de jure. Communists regard U.S. govt as only puppet of monopolists.

The totalitarian & communist influences go together. 37% Czech vote is comm.

Russian communists feel superior to foreign commies, are more reasonable, but take selves very seriously.

Once all occupied by Russians. Now Finland, Czech, ^{Yugosl.} Albania & Bulg. free. Rum, Hung, Poland partly occ. Tito comm., he & a few colleagues are best.

'People's Democracy' a regional catchword. 'Demos' the 'citizenry', not slaves, so they don't like idea of 'democracy', which means rule of rich to them. They think of economics, care not for politics.

Ec. Nationalization of industries, political communism, intellectual Marxism, but they know little of Marx. Stalin is being pushed. Pushing hard to find a new Führer. Tito is one par excellence. He parades with policemen, fears assass. Beres is very plain. Tito plasters pix over Yugos.

Dimitroff, dict. of Bulg. He was tried for Reichstag fire, was so clever he got away, dominated proceedings, made fool of Goering, acquitted, sent to Russia, now sent to Bulg.

Monk 3 Apr. cont.

Enver Hoxha, Dict. of Albania, Turkish name. Bold. - sunk Brit. ships with mines.

Hungary, Rakosy, comes nearer to Fuhrerdom.

Rumania, woman's power, but can't be further, still looking.

Bierut, Poland, head of People's Rep., not colorful enough, put in by Russians.

Czechs, Gottwald being built up by commies

Get test back.

— Communism ~~depends on~~ ^{demands} 'charisma', leader with it. They develop them if they don't have them.

Comm. leaders listen closely to grassroots opinion.

Yugosl. before war was highly centralized, bossed by small group of Serbs from Belgrade. Orthodox Serbs, Cath. Croats, use Greek & Latin alphas resp. Slovenians 3d major group. Macedonia (Skopje) always separatist, full of bands, bandits & parties. Cities manage to keep order, country full of bandits. Dominated Bulgaria at one time. Women work in fields, men eat Turkish coffee all day, fight for their living at night.

— Tito decentralized Yugosl. govt. Overthrew King. 'Federal People's Republic Yugosl.'. Slovenia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia, & another. This gave Macedonians no one to fight, they are doing better.

Czech prewar centralized, certain feeling between Czechs & ~~Czechs~~ Slovaks, but not like Serbs & Croats. Latter very quick on the trigger, big & handsome. Zurich.

Czechs nominally Cath, Slovaks very poor, objected to Czech anti-clericalism. Czechs more western, Slovaks under Heng.

Czechs no nobility since 17th, Hussite wars. Slovaks more feudal, hierarchical. Czechs uniform, 'drab' ^{important} middle class. Slovaks more colorful, etc. — so military need not dominate other culture.

— Slovaks did good job of administration in war under Germans, so now they are given more independence, prewar, Czechs dominated.

Munk 3 Apr Cont.

Germans & Hungarians expelled.

~~Poland~~ Bulgaria

& Yugosl. now getting along better, always used to fight.

Rumania & Greece only remaining monarchies. King Michael of

— Rum. kept because he cooperated - with fascists, Germans, then Russians.

— Balkans friendly to Russia, but not do not want to become part of it, because have higher living standards, esp. Czechs. Even Czech & Pol. communists want separatism.

— Finns, Bulgars, Rum, & It. all fought on both sides in war.

Rightist parties underground. Leftist liberals, usually small peasants, are farthest right allowed. Anything Right of Henry Wallace is illegal. - even Cath. party in Czechs. is left of him.

— They are still moving Left, we right.

French have everything from Comm. to conserv. with some power

Peasant party losing in Pol.

All pretend to have free elections

Sharp.

After war I, trend to nat-ization, all Eur. e. Eur., insur. acc. of private surpluses, borrowing, foreign ownership, encouraged nat.

Pre-war Poland, e.g., much ind. govt owned.

German 'churning', Jew disappearance, Russian influence lead to collectivism.

- Germ. govt corps took over most

c. 1.5 b. Jew. prop conf. Pol.

Harriman-Anacanda controlled Pol. zn + the Gm. 'Giesche' ind.

- Germans controlled much banking & ind. + throw out s.e. Billions invested, pre-war.

Only Bulgaria suffered no confisc., & was mostly owned legit.

Jews relied on their bus. accun rather than bureauc. connections.

Czechs nat-ize most big stuff. "Key industries". Compensate patriotic owners only, & not nec. in cash. They will be corps, managers state appt, subject to taxes etc like private ind. Will a corp nec. behave differently, if state owns stock?

? Yes, but it is a great improvement on army or c. service.

Wages not civil service, but 'civil law', just as in private.

Poland: tremendous penury here, as in Czechoslovakia, so apprentice administrators.

Necessary to penalize removal of nationalizable prop, or concealment. Sphere left for private enterprise, but confiscated & confiscatable arbitrarily at any time not satisfactory to authorities.

Yugoslavia:

On 'collaboration' grounds they confiscate ^{most} but foreign. 82% ind.

nat.
Hungary; Bulgaria, Rumania:

Russians delay nat. so they can conf. Non-comm. run Hung. - "Small holders party". Hung. oil & bauxite ind. forced to form joint co. with Russ., to avoid nat.

But nat. anyway, small holders gave in.

- Rumania returned prop to Jews. 85% ind. foreign owned, Russ. conf. in doubt.

Bulg., too, allows scope for private ent. So we have a change more of degree ~~more~~ than kind.

- Production rate of private mines higher than public - they claim.

Sharp, cont

Bulg. govt suffering financial burden from land reform. (?) delaying its expropriating.

— Most prewar Czech ind owned by few families.

— Prewar Poland owned from outside, too. c. 60%. Nationalized ind. un-
popular.

Workers in nat. ind. continue slow up they used on capists.

This ease on private cap. may be analogous to NEP of 1921, which was only temporary, & followed by 5 yr. plans '28, liquidations.

We let Mexico confiscate our oil. Other foreign inv. !! at own risk. But we insist on 'proper compensation'. — & usually we & others got it.

Soviet ~~for~~ countries recognize ^{duty} need to compensate, but qualify it by low valuations, collaborationist accusations. Unsettled, great pol. pressure.

— Land reform ~~under~~ swept e. Eur. en liberation, too.

— U.S. allowed prop. in enemy countries to be written off tax bills as total loss.

Memk
10 Apr.

1,00 to 405 W. 117 St, NY 27

International Conciliation, Carrege endowm. for int peace.

David Fellman, Postwar govts of Eur.

Foreign Policy Reports, 'Czechoslov. Road to Socialism' - & more.

Changes in govt: ~~more~~ Less centralization, more nationalization, less democracy, less monarchy, more Soviet influence, expropriation of western capital, eliminated ethnic minorities,

Almost All Germans e. of Oder moved - c. 5 m. E Pr. divided to Russia & Poland on s.

US & Russia 'bidding for Germans', trying to get Gm. support by giving good deals.

Czech Silesia is what Aust kept from Prussia in 1763. Now combined with Moravia. Slovakia more primitive & agric.

Slovakia was Hungarian, Bohemia Austrian, different cultures developed.

1526, Boh. entered personal union with Aust, thus came under Habsburgs.

Slovaks never at all self governing til 1918, Czechs were. Czech army in France, Italy, Russia, thus recognized as indep. belligerent.

1st republic, very democratic, 7 yr pres, 2 term max except Masaryk, who went 3 terms, '18-'35. Benes then. Resigned '38 after Munich. Hacha elected, German took. Benes now back, re-elected. Joint session of Nat.

memor 2 - Ass. elects pres. Bicameral, 6 & 4 yr. terms, but frequent dissolutions, re-elections. P.R., encouraged small parties, all govts were coalition.

Right to left parties: Small Fascist, weak; agrarian ("Republican"). Controlled more by rich farmers, ~~the~~ the great conservative party; People's or Catholic Party, led by clergy; Nat. Dem. Party, bourgeoisie, wealth & education; Nat. Socialist Party (no relation to Hitler, he stole its name, organized in 1896 by nationalistic socialists.) Menk was a member. Benes is leader. Close to British labor; Social Democrats - 2d International; Communists. There are Czech parties. 35% were Germans & Hungarians. They had similar parties until Hitler when they went Nazi.

Monk 10 Apr (cont)

Czechs & Germans lived side by side for 100s of years, with little mixing. Ernie Bennighadi says Austrians intermarry. Czechs. German & Czechs had each a separate party, but they were counterparts, & worked together. Also Poles & Hungarians. 22-60 parties in elections.

Economics, religion, ideology (of how to reform), degree of nat-ism, & ethnic groups differentiated parties.

In normal PR you don't vote for people, but parties. This means parties decide what individuals are on top of lists, & inevitably get in. Irish system avoids this.

No such thing as primary election in Eur.

Dominating coalitions: All, then social Democrat, then split over food tariffs & brightening outlook, 1928 Gen. Coalition returned, but this time (Pres. Seymour of Yale helped draw 1918 Czech boundaries) with agrarians in lead. ~~shifts~~ Center, left, right, then further right. strength of parties c. 1938
Agrarians, German Fascists, Social Democrats, Communists (but this includes all nationalisms)
40 40 35 30

Nat. Soc

27

- As in other Eur., upper chamber dominated by lower.

- Party org. great power, made major decisions, both chambers just rubber stamps. 5 man group of party leaders had more power than Parliament.

"The Commonwealth"

Munk, 24 Apr

Fellman, Postwar Gents of Eur., ch. 2, 3, 4, 5, 10

Wanklyn, Pt 2 on Poland, Pt 4 on Yugoslavia

Comm., Nat Soc, Soc. & People's Party.

38%
- including Slovak comm.

Carth.
Dem.
15%

(agrarians & nat. dems Kaput)

Nat. Ass. ~~elects~~ premier is nominated by pres., must have majority in tes.
presid. elected by nat. Ass.

100% behind Gottwald, National Front coalition, includes all 4 parties.
No opposition.

— Comm + Soc. Dem are left wing, $38 + 15 = 53\%$, slight majority.

Nat. Soc. & People's Party: are purely Czech, comm & ~~not soc. dem~~ ^{Soc. Dem} include Slovaks, but a split in them, ???

Comm. 40% in Boh., 30% in Slovakia. Due to Slov. catholicism &

over

? agriculture.

Comm. hope to industrialize Slovakia & i: make it more amenable to comm. - a gross error.

~~Primer can only~~ 6 yr. minimum Pmt. reelection, usually they have more frequent reelections.

— 2 parties in Slovakia - 30% comm, & 70% "Democrats", the conservative group.

More Protestants in Slovakia than Boh. More progressive. May split from Slovakian Cath.
Democrats on religious lines.

So 5 parties in Pmt.

$\frac{7.5}{3.5}$ pop ratio, west/east. - now Sudetens have gone. Note - as many Sudetens as Slovaks.

— Anti-comm. growing.

Comm. hold finances Interior, Education, War, Agric.

Soc Dem Ind, Food

Nat Soc

Education, Foreign Affairs

(Jan Masaryk, son of founder)

Carth - health, posts & telegraph

If ~~primarily~~ ^{soviy} is Czech, under soviy is Slovak, v.v.

USA casts further light on agric. anomaly. Our farmers with populism, McNary-Haugenism, have been very radical when squeezed. Yet farm states are more conservative as a rule. Perhaps farm politics fluctuate between wider poles than city.

Munk, 24 Apr, Cont.

- Institution of vice premiers. 5, one for each party. Inner cabinet, who settle political problems, while general cabinet handles administration.

Benes was leader of Nat. Soc., until '35 election he severed connection. Key to govt power, has much power & popularity. Chief obstacle to comm.

Right wing praises old republic, left wing criticizes. Neither wants to return to it.

- Only those parties that signed the Kosice principles may function. Must believe in coop. with comm. & socialization.

- 11 big combines of nat. ind., with gen. managers, & 4 ass^{stants}, one for each party. Many unqualified. You must be party member, esp. comm. Comm. party joined by professional joiners, to an extent, tho they keep some high standards. Easier to get in than stay in - you must work hard.

- Many of old managers were Germans, some Jews, all gone now. Managerial problem would have occurred anyway, is aggravated by politics.

- Young workers who were slave labor have acquired bad working habits, must be retrained.

143 Russ - Czech pact - had Benes not done it then he might never have been able to get back.

Bad behavior of occupying Red army - rape & loot. Became unpopular. Dec '45 they left, a 6 mo. occupation which prevented their becoming as unpop. as otherwise. Czechs consider Russ primitive. Czech comm. do not

- want Russ domination. Friendship with reserve. Arms & equipment being standardized with Russ.
- Zapotoč^{ky} has more power than Gottwald. Union comm. dominated

- & must approve managerial appointments. Comm. regard key ind. positions more important than govt.

Now they consider costs as well as production. New managers being created. Skill is one criterion of manager, but politics is another. Munk thinks skill will come to top.

- Importing unskilled labor from Italy & Balkans.

Monk, 1 May

1. Where do Slavak 'Democrats' fit into party coalitions. In Nat. Front? Yes. There are 5 parties.
2. Why were not Polish landowners dispossessed, as were Boh. in 1620? They were used to rule thru - a matter of local convenience, evidently.
3. When was Albania formed.
4. From what tax are returning Russ soldiers exempt? Why does Russia need taxes?

Yugoslavia

- Istrian pen & Zara to Yugo, & n. of Istria to Carnithian border.
- Alb. & Yugosl. recent customs union.

1388, Turks got Serbia.

1817, practical Serb (Seradija) independence

1877, Russ-Turk war, broke the last ties with the Turks.

Croatia-Slavonia was Hung. Calls Voivodina all Banat

Macedonia now an "autonomous" state. - one of PRs

Many Slavs in Greece. Greeks & Alb. now border disputing, GB vs Russ involved.

Rumanian cultural sympathies all to France. French still cultivated language of entire Balkans.

Until '27, rep.

King Peter of Yugo in exile, Karaageorgievic.

Original Black George a pig dealer, 1812, successful, led revolt, successful.

1902, Milan Obrenovic, last of line, murdered, Karaageorgievics in since.

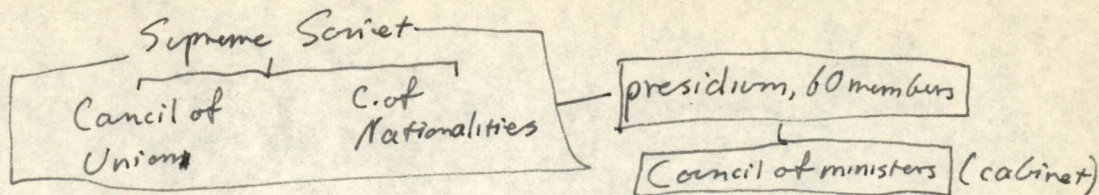
1918, Peter I; then Alexander. 1927, internal conflict great, Rad. shot, pmt shooting, Croats left, Alex abrogated pmt, took over. '34 Al. murd, Peter II took over, 6 yrs old, old king's brother Prince Paul regent. ^{III} March '41. Stoiadenentz, prime min. Collaborated. Serbs revolted, made Peter II King, 12 yrs old. Signal for invasion.

Subordinate commanders of Mihailovitch probably cooperated with Axis to fight partisans, occasionally.

Allies gradually switched to Tito, even Churchill. Tito a comm.

1946 Constitution. Peter II dethroned. a republic now, federal people's.

Nov 11, 1 May, cont.
Constitution of Soviet Union.



^{or 'soviet'}
Council of union is ~~is~~ elected by entire pop, $\frac{1}{300,000}$, p.r. Nationalities, by 16 aut. republics.

Stalin is pres. of Council of Ministers. Kalinin was, Shvernin is pres. of presidium.

Yugosl. - constit. declares loose fed. ^{- power of separation, as does Russian.} Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bos-Herz, Mac, Montenegro. Serbia includes Vojvodina & Kosovo-Metohijan

16 Russian union republics, or constituent rep. Some of these have within them inner auton. rep., the 2d degree of aut. rep. Then there are in them aut. territories or regions; further division into — — — ?

In Yugo, const^{ituent} rep. are People's Republics. Only Serbia is divided on Russian pattern into auton. provinces, auton. regions.
(Russ rep) (russ. territories)

Yugos. follows Russ pattern.

Kosovo, 1388, Turks beat Desan. Kosovo Metohijan contains it, ne of Alb.

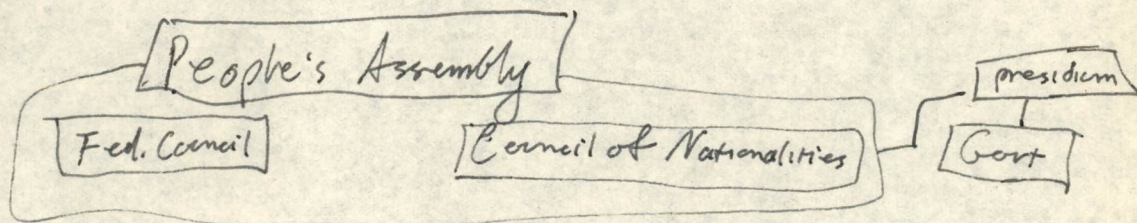
1st part of Soviet const lays down ec. basis. Also in Yugosl. ^{Public} Collective, private & ^{cooperative} kind prop. 'Coop' is under gen. control. Public prop. is mainstay of state. Private prop & initiative 'guaranteed'. You can own anything unless it is prohibited by law, & all large bus. is prohib.

Monk, 1 May, cont.

Money forbidden. Expropriation, & extent of compensation, (& money have been) by due process of law.
^{not comp.}

No big land agric.

Fed. citizenship has priority over ~~the~~ province, as in America.



Fed Council elected, 1 dep/50,000. Nats elected by fed. units.

'Govt' is admin., apptd by Ass. - not presidium, note.

Ministries are either Fed or Fed rep., latter administer indirectly, thru provinces. Like Soviet Union & Union Rep. Ministries, latter work thru organs of republics.

Soviet const. declares how constituent republics shall be setup. U.S. const says all powers not specifically given to Fed or not forbidden, are for states or people. & State must have republican form. No other restriction.

Yugosl. const also puts in each province a miniature of fed govt. - but different.

People's Republic govts, & Fed P.R. govt.
Comm. party is govt in fact.

Ass. Rebuilding Yugosl., Constitution of FPRY

Rights of people. National minorities have cultural autonomy.
No propagation of religious discord, etc.

Munk, 8 May

What are Russian reps divided into after aut. rep. territories & regions.
Is representation in Yugosl. Council of Nationalities & Secret Secret of Nat.
a pop? - No.

- Unicameral systems in PRs.
- In between sessions of Ass., presidium is supreme authority.
- Members of 'govt' are in ass & resp to it, resembles pres. system.
- 'Presidium' is an old Russian custom, collective chairman.
- Tito is Chmn of Council of Ministers, under Presidium, same as Stalin's position.
- No division of labor between houses.
- Small Fed. units have more rep. purposes in ~~the~~ Ass of Nat. than large.
- = no. of reps per Fed. unit. Same is true in Russia.
- Aut. Province has 20 reps, aut region 15, PR 30.
- Voivodina ethnically complex, that's why they made it aut.
- Yugoslavs do not expel minorities, as Czechs & Poles do. They are colonizing Voivodina by breaking up large estates.
- In Russ. const they mention CP, not in Yugosl. Much real autonomy exists in everything except the things that matter: police, army, foreign affairs, finance, etc. Tito is head of politbureau.

Czechs are now drafting a new const, present legisl. is 'Constitution'. Present clash, west vs. east, in drafting new Czech const.

Bail is purely Anglo-Saxon. Habeas Corpus can be revoked under mil. law. 3 day arrest is not unlike our law.

The real statement that revokes civil liberties is that they cannot be exercised for 'anti-democratic' purposes, which means opposing CP.

Doctrines of judicial review is purely Anglo-Saxon. (Purely American^{Montgomery vs Madison})
Except some Eur. countries have special constitutional courts.

~~Monk, 8 May~~ cont.

- Poland. New constitution still being drafted. No minorities - amazing.
- Unicameral ass., no need for repres. compromise. Compromise between west & eastern constit. likely.

Wartime, 2 competing govts, Russian one took over, the 'Lublin' gov't. London gov't. joined Moscow gov't at Lublin, as Peasant Party of Mikolajic.

Gov't not as red as Yugosl.

- 'Democratic bloc', 80% vote. Peasant Party, 10%. Only peas. party openly criticizes comm. Repres. of peas. p. is greater than pop vote, by far. Polish Workers Party is CP
- Patents still used, even in Russia.

- Ass. Poland of Today, Dec. of Const. Diet, Pope prop. Reconstructing energetically. All e. Eur. is reconstructing much faster than w., people back govts, opposition decreasing.

Recent amnesty to underground, of 50,000, successful. They emerged from forests, became equal citizens. Our attempt to keep Poles from Gy strengthened backing of CP.

Foreign Affairs, Apr '47, Pertinax, New French Const.

At Yalta, Moscow gov't pledged to hold free unfettered elections. Am & Br. officially declared election not free, Poland has broken Yalta pledge. ~~Poland~~ Lane resigned in protest.

- Probably elections not free. Need for strong gov't & the excuse.
- Poland unfriendly to Russia. Nationalistic Comm-ism. Russian Army withdrew, at their insistence. Even Pol. comm. objected to Russ taking east.

All comm. now going nat-ist.

Fear of Gy everywhere main cause of int. friendship for Russia. They remember Munich.

Lange, Economist of UC, is delegate of Poland to UN, Socialist. Able man.

Munk, 8 May, cont.

West. Eur.

Only in Bulg & Yugosl. is only one party. In all e. Eur. comm cannot always do what they want, but no one can ever do what they do not want.

X Now we are going to see strengthened cp, because of increasing industrialization. But a paradox. What is answer?

? Russia recently came out for united Gy. Am. proposal is for Fed. Gy.

Const. of Yugoslavia

Resolution of Constituent Assembly, FPRY. Fed. Ass & Ass. of Nationalities.
Constitution was not voted on, just passed by const ass & proclaimed.

1. Fundamental principles

Right of self det & separation.

PR Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herz, Macedonia, Montenegro.

PR Serbia includes Autonomous Province Vojvodina

" " Region Kosovo-Metohija

'People's committees', freely elected, local up to Fed., are the govt.

Universal, =, direct suffrage, secret ballot.

Recall of reps.

Govt acts must be founded on law.

Sovereignty of PRs only limited by what const. gives to FPRY - the poor people have nothing reserved!

Free use of own language.

Const. for each PR, in accordance with main one.

"prop of entire people"

3 kinds prop: state, coop, private.

Underground wealth, waters, natural power, r.r., airplanes, tele & radio comm, & foreign trade, state owned & controlled.

State directs ec. life after general plan, labor unions expected to help.

~~Administration & disposal of prop~~

Private prop & initiative guaranteed. inheritance.

Small peasants to get special assistance. Land belongs to cultivators (no collective farms?) ('World Report' says the old big estates are some being turned to collective farms.)

Over 18, vote & be elected.

Women & minor workers esp. protected. Women must get men's pay.

Child bearing to care with pay.

Church sep from state.

Religious schools to educate priests are free & state supervised. Religion free.

Marriage valid only if done by state. People's courts rule divorce.

Bastards obligation of parents.

Usual civil liberties guaranteed. May be arrested 3 days arbitrarily, indefinitely if court orders, but imprisonment as punishment must be by law. - no habeas corpus

Search warrant & 2 witnesses required.

Asylum for foreign citizens persecuted for democracy.

→ Every citizen must work according to his abilities.

→ Universal mil service.

Const Yugosl, (cont)

Social service.

Freedom of science & art assured. Copyrights OK. (Patents not mentioned)

Free compuls. non relig. educ. State owned schools, private allowed only if state reg.

— Taxes by ability to pay.

Illegal to use civil rights to be undemocratic.

2. Organization of State

Patents & trademarks used. Lists 24 Fed powers, others given to ~~states~~.

PRs. No inter PR trade restrictions.

Single Fed citizenship.

People's Ass. - Fed. Council & Council of Nat. ^{- 150,000}

Presidium's decree opens & closes sessions, but regular sessions come anyway, once a year.

Majority is quorum. Equal powers of houses.

— When 2 houses cannot agree, Ass. dissolved, reelected. No provision if they still disagree.

Ass. amends const by majority.

— Presidium elected at joint meeting. c. 36 members. It rules on constitutionality of laws on own initiative, or on request of various bodies. Controls, dissolves, orders elections, interprets laws, proclaims them, pardons, decorates, ratifies treaties, appoints foreign service, mobilizes. (including when ally is attacked)

— Pres. ^{him} resp. to Ass, & recallable. p. 29

'Govt' means administration. Resp to Ass. Just the big shots - presid, ministers etc.

Federal & Federal-republican ministers.

— Interior ministries are fed-rep., foreign are fed. fed-rep. ministers do not act thru own organs, but ~~states~~. PRs!

Poland Today The New French Const. - André Girard (Portman)
Foreign Affairs mag, Apr 47.

Oct. 13¹⁴⁶ referendum approved new fr. const.

1875 const was a disgusted compromise, no one liked it, it lasted. Previous masterpieces had fallen. Universal satisfaction, compromise, the key.

Eng. cab. can dissolve Pmt, French not - so what? 1877, MacMahon dissolved in dict. attempt, lost subsequent election, dissolution stigmatized thenceforward. He thinks dissolution upon nonconfidence, as in Eng, would break patronage power by which Senate^{was} controlled.

Senate prevented pop. Ass from going crazy to one man. Also blocked other action.

A clique of parliamentarians managed country. Usurped ministries. Vague. Neither a 'regime by assembly' nor 'real pmtary'. Cross.

Executive needed right of dissolution to lead strong action. This is a means of disciplining pmt - just threat of reelections.

If exec has power of dissolution, it leads to dictatorship. Yet he just praised it! Separation of powers works in U.S. because we have no crises. Not tolerated in Eur.

Oct '45, voters rejected return to '75 const. It stood for peace & vice.

Sieges planned a new const of 'what ought', all was enthusiasm for perfection. ~~Present~~ '46 deliberations evoked no interest.

New electoral laws are p.r. in which you vote for party, it names individuals. Machines in power. Comm.^{unist} discipline used by others now. P.r. has come to mean strong few parties! Docile & repres.s. party leaders real govt.

Soc-Com. favored govt by Ass, supported by 64 overseas delegates (32 of them black)

Property provisions of const of May '46 caused its rejection

by small farmers.

Senate, elected by limited suffrage in '75 const, reduced instability of exec, which resulted from its inability to dissolve pmr & its subservience to pmr. But Senate brought extra problem: govt action & govt control 'confused', when they clashed illegal solutions found.

- Rejected const provided dissolution in last $\frac{1}{2}$ of 5 yr leg. only, ^{after 1st} ~~in 1st~~ crisis only, but on diss. Chamber leader became exec! One chamber. Pert. approves Senate princ. of limited suffr.! Weak exec.

Colonies to be virtually indep. - Pert. shocked.

Barring Senate & De Gaulle main objects.

- Oct const same dissolution provisions.
- A 'Council of the Republic' with no power setup. Nat. Ass has power.
- Senate used to support Cab. - now nothing. Govt by legist. (victory for left)
- Colonies federated. Varying levels of citizenship. Ass. of French Union elected by Nat Ass, Council of Rep, & colonies. - a consultative body on empire problems.
- Econ. Council, draws up nat plan.
- c. 9m for new const, 8m vs.

Note: French MRP & Polish peasant party both find strength in big cities. So, the city labor is more vocal, yet rural peasantry is what ultimately must be numerous for communism to succeed. When city org. is widespread, strong middle class commercial conservatism is anti-communist. Urban Eng is least communist.

Poland Today, March '47

Feb '47, first postwar Diet convened, constituent. Elected pres. of Poland, Boleslaw Bierut. Called itself a Nat. Ass. Osobka-Morawski, heretofore premier, resigned. Bierut appt. Cyrankiewicz premier, of Polish Socialist Party PPS.

Polish Peasant Party (Mikolajczyk) not in cab. Soc., Workers, Peas., Democr. ^{Labor} parties. Most of them underground workers - cab members. Cyrankiewicz pro Semite.

9/11 m. votes to Dem. Bloc, Jan. elections. PSL, Polish Peas. Party,

1040. Labor, & 'New Liberation', & Cath the others, they coop. Only Mikolajczyk's 28 dep. are opp.

Romalski, Diet presid, novelist, compromiser.

Within Dem Bloc, moderate divergences. ¹¹⁹ ~~Lab~~ Soc, ¹¹⁹ Com, peas 108, Dem 38, Labor 17, Pol. peas 28 seats. This is app. a ~~area~~ left to right arrangement, too. Pol. Peas. pty invalidated by electoral commission in many distr, M.K. called for polls boycott, little effect.

PSL highest in cities, middle class & landowners. - here we see the conservative rural areas going communist faster. ~~2 or~~

2 vice premiers, key positions.

'Recovered territories' to be kept.

3 yr plan - nat., land reform, school & self govt extensions.

Present const from '21. Upper chamber already abolished by referendum, 1946.

Poland Today, Apr '47

'The right to work & to periods of rest' assured. ^{in temp. const.} Implying you must work. Socialism has not developed as Lange proposes, but has forced labor.

Civil rights may not be abused to overthrow the dem. form of govt.

- Diet has issued 'provisional const' for now.

(Little const) Amnesty excludes bad collaborators, is for anti-Russ underground.

Exec. is Pres., State Council, Cab. 5 yr Diet. State Council
must approve ^{some of} Diet's decrees before they become law. Diet Cab or S.C. originates Bills. Diet exclusively jurisdictions Const, Budget, draft, int.,

Diet elects Tyrprus.

State Council unique to Pol. Pres, pres of Diet & dep pres., Pres. of Supreme State Controlling Board, & Com. in Chief in wartime. Controls local govt, ratifies decrees, proclaims emerg law.

- Pres. decrees have power of law when Diet recesses.

Feb '47: \$28 m gold loan, Russ repol., & equipment & mil supplies on credit.

- 50% reduction coal shipments to Russ., return to Pol of rolling stock, Gun ships, etc.

Brakow-Katowice-Przemysl r.r. to be made medium gauge to fit Polish system, from present wide gauge Russian use.

Older Nisa boundary.

- Treaties with France & Czechs, vs. Gy.

Yugosl., (cont)
constit.

PR's supreme auth. is People's Ass. - 4 yr elections. Unicam. Apprs
presidium. ~~PR~~ R const. Defines presidium's powers. Apprs govt.
Govt resp to presidium when legist. not sitting. It also must carry out
orders of Fed Govt. It has fed-rep ministers to do so, & rep min. to
do other things.

People's Committees are organs of state auth. in regions, towns, etc.
FPRY has a 'People's Prosecutor' who is agent for prosecuting
unsatisfactory administrators in law courts - agent of Nat Ass.

Presidium can also annul govt acts.

Comm. in direct selected at joint Nat Ass mtg.

Promulgated Jan 31 1946

9 AM Fri, Munk

Munk, 15 May France

Eng. ministers are chosen from pmr members.

'Electoral list' is name of p.r. voting method.

- Socialist party is weakest of 3 major.

Council of Republic elected indirectly by local bodies.

- Local citizenship in empire is primary, federal is secondary.

- Underground split, De Gaulle & left, comm. came to dominate underground at end.

MRP is Catholic

Jan '46 coalition lasted until last week, save for Blum interlude. New MRP-soc. coalition is govt.

Auriol replaced Govin. as president

Ramadier's first govt, then his 2d govt, now in.

Issues: 1) Security 2) Middle classes - threatened from right by nouveau riche black marketeers, from left by com.

3) Econ. rehabilitation 4) Orientation - know they are no longer great power. Act as intermediary between w. & Russia.

2 kinds com.: Marxians & French. The French com. are peasants in s. France, never heard of Marx. Successful com. is agrarian reform. Also org. labor is com.

Ramadier govt boot out com, same day got loan from int bank, removed U.S. loan conditioned on it.

Econ. situation terrible.

Socialists everywhere splitting, pro com vs anti com.

r.r.s nat, biggest banks & finance, munitions, some industrial, coal, mines. c. 15% Munk est. Size & collaboration of owners criteria. Premier, air & ships nat.

Eng. discussing nat. steel now, ahead of fr. a bit.

Munk, 15 May cont.

Rassemblement Gauche Français, fr. party
between MRPP & socialist.

No other great reforms. in France.

c.f. France & Italy

~~Recently~~

Parties of Italy: ^{Togliatti} Com, ^{Nenni} Soc, ^{de Gasperi} Christian Democrats (cath), monarchists;
New Party, 'Uomo qualunque' ^{paper} (Everybody), suspected of fascism, formed by
Giannini, 'Qualunquisti' party, up & coming.

Coalition until yesterday, 3 big parties, de Gasperi & Starza at
head. de Gasperi resigned yesterday, same thing that doomed
Ramatier. - anti-infl. controls, but govt doesn't control black
market. Com split from Christian Dems on wage-price
issue. Issues 1) Treasuries 2) Econ rehab. - worse than France,
more infl 3) Orientation.

This party pattern is universal in non com non fasc non Swiss countries.
Ass - remainder of Fellmann

Munk, 21 May

Be familiar with Fellman for test. All questions modern. Know structures, forces behind, major parties & dynamism. After 1944. Only the countries covered thoroughly.

Occupied Eur. ~~Star~~ International Law of Occupation exists, on which Gm occup. based.

✓ Eur. Advisory Commission under ST & LEF, determined zonal boundaries, early. Russian zone extended w. of Elbe in exchange for joint 4 power Berlin occupation, Russ given Saxony & Thuringia. West wanted it for prestige in Gyr.

Potsdam agreement: Allied Control Council est, 4 powers. 4 zones. Ec. unification when possible. Basic neces. for Gyr, no milit. Reparations divided, 25% from w. goes to Russ, all from e. E of Oder - Nisa to Pol.

Bremen is US - Brit. E Pr. to USSR & Pol. Königsberg to Russ, named it Kaliningrad, only 100% ice free. Vapawa, Riga, Krenstad & harbors. Koen. made part of Russ SSR, not Lith.

✓ Rep. ec. unity, power of ACC, bones of contention. Potsdam changed: No ec. unity; Repar. in abundance, west ceased to deliver 25%; ^{ceiling} level of permissible industry raised, all 4 powers trying to increase it, no real ceiling.

✓ Ec. unific. of US & Eng zones, joint US Brit Gm admin. France may join (Saar & environs. Eng has Ruhr).

✓ Byrnes Stuttgart speech Sept 46, promised Gms autonomy, ultimate return of govt.

^{Länder}
Power to 'states', who delegate much to communities & counties.

Zones cut across some Länder. Pre 1914, King of each Länder existed, kicked out 1918 rev. 3 Länder reorg in US zone. Greater Hesse newly org, old Bavaria, & Württemberg - Baden. Govt for each Länder, 'Minister President' at head. In other zones autonomy not so far along.

Socialism is the future govt in Eur.

Eng. outsocializes Fr, yet has no cp.!

Monk 21 May, cont.

Special body for ec. unification, US-Brit zone, with ~~the~~ secretaries of small ec. admin.

ACC, com. Gen of each zone. Clay replaced McNamara.

'Coord. Comm.' is cab. under ACC. Various 'directorates'. A whole 'pseudo-govt' structure.

Legal fiction of Moscow pact that Aust not an enemy. Actually as high a % of Nazis there.

Neither Russ nor Fr is now shipping Gy. Now Russ zone is ahead of west. They are leaving industry, taking products.

French desire to keep Saar is overweening, they will give everything for it. But before war Fr. got more coal than now they get by caving Saar, from Ruhr. Now Brit. get most coal.

French obstruct ec. unity more than west, but greatly improved recently.

- All w. will be unified soon. Soviets nationalize ~~much~~, progress faster.

~~The~~ French obstructionism due to Comm, now comm one cert.

Silesia & Pom to Poland.

- Comm. not gained in Gy. 20% max. Prewar pol. & opinion pattern retained. If free, conservatives would dominate.

- In Russian zone, Gm desire to do as told makes things ok.

8 m outside Gms dumped in, but shortage of labor. Much raw M, but strict price control. $\therefore$ people don't work - they get M, no goods. But pressure to work, says Benighadi. Shortage of skilled labor is crux he says. But still Gms work 30% prewar efficiency. People learned to loaf in war industry, world over. & dislike of occupiers. Bad food. Postwar reaction to work.

Gms admire Am production, detest them as barbarians of w.

Fellman, Postwar Govts of Eur.

Rebated Red Army men get some dough, clothes, food, trip home. Local soviets organize reconstruction. Civil law replaces martial law.

Local residents are to prepare for treat returnees, who are tax-exempt. What tax?

Univ. mil tr retained. - deferments to vital students. 2-5 yr hitches.

State Comm. for Defense had been set up upon Nazi invasion - supreme over Comm party, Komsomol, govt & army. It acted thru old channels. Stalin at head. When it was liquidated, Sept 45, Council of People's Commissars of the Union took its jobs.

casualty?

June 45, 'Generalissimus' of USSR created, Stalin apptd. He is also Chmn Council People's Commissars, since May '41, Commissioner of Defense, '41; Supreme Commander Armed Forces, '43; & St. Com. Def. '41; & Com Armed Forces, '41.

In '36 const, 8 'All-Union Commissariats', 10 'Union Republic Commissariats', Split, so in '41 25 & 16. e.g. Heavy Ind, Def. Ind & Mach. Bldg Ind into Coal, oil, power, elect, R&S, etc. Further postwar splits, to 52.

16 Union Republics. 1944, they were made nominally indep, with rights to have independent treating with foreign nations. Result: Ukraine & Byelo Russia send delegates to UN. ~~Each U. Rep. has its own military.~~ - they really have considerable autonomy, in some ways - tho presumably they are subject to many general laws. More autonomy than Am States, he says. I suspect they may have more powers than Am States, but are subject to still more Red rules.

G Mill says strong govt lessens power to make decisions. Another factor is how many decisions must be made. Govt personnel, in a situation where they have much important to do, may become as decisive as entrepreneurs, with more limits. Laborers have fewer ec. decisions - they cannot move at will. But the difference is not as great as I once supposed, esp. in of with a ~~big~~ big-corp economy.

'Commissar' changed to 'Minister'.

Oct '45, election, first since '37 for Supreme Soviet - they were to have been in '41. 23 yr olds eligible - it was 18 before. eligible for office, i.e.

Soviet of the Unions, & Soviet of Nationalities are elected bodies. New decrees on how army men should vote, decreed by Presidium of Supreme Sov, not S.S. itself as it should be, & finally ratified by S.S. Thus elected! How l. the law must mean.

Fellman, cont.

X? Nationalities elect a fixed # for each 300,000 pop; Union p.r.

No. of electoral dist. increased, new territories allowed to vote. Also soldiers abroad were districts.

'45, Central Electoral Comm est. Set up committees in each region, to whom nominations are reported. One name on ballot to a position. Many are nomin., committees confer with local parties & select the one. They see that cross section of people is nom. 99.7% vote. They vote for Sec of Unions, & of Nat-ities. 8% disagree.

c. 1,500 elected positions in S.S. Elected, it considered new Sympson, amended

Const some, named members of govt positions. Govt resigned & Stalin apptd new one.

CP grew in war. Entrance req. eased, membership grew from 1.6 to 6 m. Youth, women, & workmen increased in party. Educated also increased, so now 400,000
6,000,000

had Univ. trng.

Principles of Lenin at 1905 Party Congress - small party of hard workers, opposing Menshevik principle of broad membership. Now, even I have been asked to join party.

20% S.S. nonparty - but loyal.

Regular 3 yr party mtgs not yet resumed, Central Comm. has chosen successors to itself. - 1 of 4

'Political Bureau' is an agency of CP Central Committee. Members: Stalin, Molotov, Zhdanov, Kalinin, M. Koyam, Krushchev, Andrejko, Voroshilov, Bagamontch, Beria, Malenkov.

'Organizational Bureau' another.

New membership allowed by test of ~~govt~~ govt be effic, mainly. But leadership not affected by war - long loyalty & service required. Standards not down - which means kicking out many new ones soon, I guess.

Com. of Interior jursdicts civil law in mil. zones. in war. - leaving assigned job, moshky, is the crime which must be punished.

Overtime, which had been paid 1 1/2 & made 11 hr day normal, abolished. But

migration & tardiness still punished. Amnesty at war's end for war offenders, & lesser ordinary criminals.

Subsidies for children. - since '36. ~~for~~ Easy divorce ended at that time too. - but still it is easy. One owns some property, which has to be split at divorce

time. One has internal passport.

144, unregistered cohabitation declared not legal marriage, which it had been since '26. Divorce removed from reg. bur., to courts, who instructed to discourage it.

Fellman, cont.

With rev. inh. abolished, social sec. replaced. '23, 10,000 rubles allowed.
high advance tax.
'26, no limit, but direct line required. With war, others had to be allowed.
Inh. tax abolished, in war. But, regardless of prop, all must work. You can only
consume it, too, I guess? - or buy govt bonds.

To advance in CP you must scorn religion. But religion allowed, not persce., due to
church support of govt in war.

Rewards to heroes of production etc freely given. This tends to evolve into
rank, as everyone gets into military attire. Cars etc to good managers.
In war, some managerial insobence & potential stratification was tolerated, but
now they may be disciplined.

In Baltic, nat-zation proceeds slowly. Small enterpr. & coops, given 'kennay'.
Kurile & Sakhalin nat-ed. immediately.

7 m killed, 25m homeless.

Antenor, Chief of Staff. Much demobilization, eldest first. Executive bodies of
Republics & their subdivisions resp. for employing vets in 1 mo of return, ensuring them
housing & fuel. Where no houses existed, vets assigned forest lots to use for
building. Could borrow 5-10,000 rubles for this, 5-10 yr term. - which
would mean, I judge, they would use them to employ resources unplanned by
state, in a small sense. Tho in a sense the state plans to allocate resources
by the loans for specified purposes.
Russians use only gold, not rubles, in foreign exch. - Connie Lee

A Gene by Hazard, Colombia.

England Under Labor Govt. Eugene Chare, Lafayette. (Eastern Pa)

July '45 Labor govt vict. Surprise to all. 1906 ~~sum~~ previous greatest
left turnover. Last election in '35. 2-1 Labor majority, only a small pop.
mag. Prima Donna & useful uniting prime ministers. Labor govt is competent &
still united.

Before Dec '45, Labor mps "had to" vote with party. Now discipline relaxed.

Lords cons, but impotent.

Becin a nationalistic Labor leader, probly representative.

Civil service consens, but enjoys new functions, supports ~~bureaucracy~~ enters into
new functions sh. Mostly upper class people.

Continued pop support of Labor - success in bye-elections.

2 CP in Commons. Labor wishes to affiliate.

Program: nat. Rel & power, Aviation & telecom, R & steel maybe, Finance &
foreign trade.
Support agric & control land use thru local committees.

Fellman (Chate) cont.

- Bank Eng stockholders comp, but they said they might not comp others.
- Beveridge Plan effected - Nat. Health Ins., & Nat. Ins.
- 9 man board under Min. of Fuel & Power runs coal.
- War linked 'Commonwealth' closer, alarmed 'empire'. (not only the war, but trade desirability of power, too) frequent PM conferences. Labor plans to keep empire, but give more democracy to ~~dominions~~ dependencies.
- Traditional friendship to Italy restored.

Launching of 4th French Republic - Charles Micaud, U. Va.

Nat. Resistance Council. '44 charter - socialism & freedom aims. Vichy had react. agrarian policy. Resist. groups absorbed by pol. parties, but they had been first successors of Vichy, started reconstruction. Very influential. Incline to left, despite De Gaulle. Left split from him, criticized his leniency to collaborationists. Wanted big official purge, not forthcoming. Lynching common. Let Black Market go. Mendes-France resigned when they rejected his deflation policy.

Socialists at first tried to maintain nat. unity around nat. hero De Gaulle, but gradually he went too far right.

- Electoral system favors country over city - cf. Conn. Eng before 1832, etc.
- De Gaulle tried to (& succeeded?) keep FFI & Patriotic Militia from joining reg. army.

"Consultative Ass." & press opposed govt plan to ^{i.e., executive} ~~make~~ limit power of 'Constituent Ass' ^{-legisl.} during '7 months interim'. Govt yielded. The 'new Ass, the Const Ass' could not initiate exp, nor overthrow govt without special vote of non-confidence, other proposed limits not imposed.

Oct. '45 'referendum-election', put above topop, they accept. The referendum was to determine if body elected on same ballot was to be a 'const. ass', & if it should accept these limits.

Nov '45, de Gaulle resigns

3 = strength parties: Comm, Socialists, MRP. Rightist parties represented appeasement, defeat, Vichy, & had lost control of press went down, the allowed. Middle classes ruined by inflation & wear lost faith in ec. liberalism.

MRP success a surprise. Brittany, Normandy, Champagne, Alsace, the conservative provinces, its stronghold. Also big cities!

MRP wants to keep a large free sector, emphasizes leadership need, production rather than distrib.

'Radical Socialists' line in past - the old anti-clerical radicals. Indignant at being seated Right of MRP.

Fellman (Micaud) cont

Comm. gained strength by absorbing left wing of soc.; soc. kept strength by abs. left wing of Radicals. Petit bourgeoisie now ~~the~~ bulk of soc. 'Sinistrisme' Govt failed to get ec. wheels going.

Comm. stress individual freedom, patriotism! Proposes to protect little men vs. trusts, etc, 'middlemen'. Not too small holdings, but credit & middlemen, hurt French agric - they say. Coops, not collective farms, their solution. Which reveals that Comm. is no longer Comm. Query: is this just a means of getting support, while disciplined party core is still Marxist? Or a real compromise? When comm-ists start ~~now~~ working within the ~~the~~ channels of current govt, they are less comm. What a remarkable phenomenon CP is! Only possible to an authoritarian philosophy. But I ~~now~~ have not seen enough fanaticism to know what it can be, on N. shore. Suffering, hungry people behave differently, probly CP is what one should expect - combination of modern social philosophy & propensity of starving to go military. The party's vigor, which at times has puzzled me, is not intellectual vigor, but the same vigor one finds in an army - a reaction to threatened survival. Goals are plain & undoubted, one needn't think, but just obey lustily. What is most unique is the form it takes - its social welfare concepts, stress on education (that's not amazing, for the education is more indoctrination & technical - all armies do the same) It combines characteristics that are incongruous here, but the incongruity is particular, not general.

Why could not W. Eur. civilization decline & stagnate perfectly? As China? Ind. rev. perhaps got us beyond stage where that is possible - certainly it is a new condition which modifies analogies between us & previous civilizations. Russia is a new departure - unique variation. Stagnation is almost impossible because the less stagnant one becomes the more. Despite many factors driving each civiliz. to stagnate, general stagnant condition unlikely, natural selection. If all declined simul, harmoniously, it might be. Chance forbids that. A worldwide uniform culture might do it, but that is hardly to be obtained unless the conditions of stagnation were overcome first, so again stag. won't occur.

Key Ministries: Interior, War, Foreign. Nov 45, Comm demanded one, got $\frac{1}{2}$ one. Super-cabinet of Auriol (soc.) Thorez (comm) Bay (MRP) Jacquinot (Mod'ere)

Pellman (Micard) cast

Legisl. commissions did much reconstr. work efficiently. Conciliating

Soc.

Jan 46, De Gaulle resigns, ^{as pres.} he opposed majority. 3 party coalition, Govin
new Pres. Right of MRP objected to its coalitioning with comm.

Govin shifted stress to internal. Pres., evidently, has much power now. Deflated.

Dec. 145 prod. $\frac{1}{2}$ prev. Coal esp lacking. 4x prev. M. c. 36\$ 146 est
deficit. Taxes had to be raised - indirect, war gains, & capital. André Philip

min. of Finance & Nat Ec, Agric, Supply, Reconst, & Ind prod. Now a program of

industrialization, sacrificing current cons., under State. Nat planning council,
reps of ind, labor, govt. 5 yr plan of 75b\$ inv. proposed, Am loan essential.

Credit nat. ^{industrialization} underway. - shares of Bank of Fr & 4 largest banks traded for
govt bonds. New directors, govt apprd. Ins. nat. Most ind. still private. Coal, Renault &

Gnome-Rhone ind., gas & electricity nat. General directors apprd, consultative
committee of workers, technicians, govt delegates.

C G T (Confédération Générale de Travail ~~France~~), comm. dem., want no
cap. interests in managing nat ind.

Immediate econ. agreement of MRP & comm, but distrust each others' ultimate
aims. (as Poland in Danzig, Serbs in Thess.) ~~New~~

New const. rejected at polls, May 46. - right victory. Right wants checks &
balances, left single powerful ass., as in rejected const. Too great stability feared by
rejectors.

Bill of Rights, classical, but free speech 'it not violate freedoms', which
might mean not oppose govt. New ec & soc rights: free educ, justice, empl. &
good pay, management partic. Ownership inviolable, inher. not mentioned. Monop.
or utility may be confiscated.

3d Rep instability when comm. Senate clashed with progr. Chamber.

Small parties of yesterday giving way to large disciplined ones today.

P.R. helps party discipline - the listing method, pretty.

1875 const had Senate elected by elect. college.

Inclined to sacrifice nat sov. to peace, where required. But int. Ruhr,
French Saar & French mil. in Rhineland insisted on, even by Comm. Get coal
for France & weaken Gy their aim. ~~Let~~ Try to prevent central
adm. of Gy. Friendly to Russ than Eng, because of Com policy.

Brit. & noncom. French want W E or Union; Russ & comm. oppose.

it says in constitution.

Fellman, cont.

Nationalization of Banks of Eng & France - Karl Bopp, FR Bank Philly

The reason that a certain bank was central to begin with was certain privileges it had. It was therefore inconsistent to leave it privately owned all along. Nat-ization so far has been rather a vague and vindictive step with little actual change made except private owners no longer get profits. Bagehot had insisted that many small private banks keeping their own cash reserves was the satisfactory method, instead of keeping reserves with central bank, I guess. (Bajut pronunc.) It seems that Bank of England somehow managed the currency of Eng., yet was privately owned and considered to have no legal public responsibility.

Often govt wanted to have easier credit than central bank was disposed to grant, they clashed. Gladstone enemy of Bank of Eng.

Banks acted as fiscal agent for govt often.

Bank of Eng. founded 1694 because Wm and Mary needed credit to fight Louis 14, and govt credit was not good enough. Bank of France founded in 1800 because Nap's credit not good enough. Each was made a private inst. because of distrust of govt finance by lenders. At various times banks central have yielded to pol. pressure and inflated; Nap and Pitt, in Nap wars; all countries in w.w. 1. Called "banks of issue". Definitely under pol. pressure.

Great prestige of central banks---more than the govt.

Frequently in 19th, in depressions, govt got banks to have liberal credit policies. So, the govt borrowing in depressions is new, inflation as a proposed remedy is not.

'35, Bank of France refused to inflate. Not that it was not subject to pressure: Nap designed laws so he could control bank, and it still operated under them. But Deputies substantially did not want to inflate, the govt did.--cabinet, i.e. But perhaps control had passed to shareholders by '35.; it was so charged. 200 largest shareholders elected a Gen. Council, whose policies had to be signed by govt appt. Governor.

'30, control went to public in reorg. Recent changes have not been great.

Bank of Eng. run by shareholder elected council. But, starting with 1920, with no legal change, under Montagu Norman, Bank inclined to obey govt. This is perhaps just the English way of doing it: creating a new custom, instead of law.

Debates show nat. was based on a naive theory of business cycles, that it was rushed thru as the first and easiest step in nat., meant little.

Most "philosophy" is quibbling over definitions and confusing categories.--together with assertions about facts beyond the current range of empirical knowledge.

New laws have some provisions for limiting the power of the administration of the "day" over banks. But I daresay any strong govt could get the power when it wanted it. Checks and balances hardly can be reconciled with socialism.

In g.s. days, Bank of Eng could regulate currency ok by just following own interest. Now, to regulate currency on modern principles as desired, control needed. Evidently central bank notes were legal tender?

Fellman, cont:

"Continuity and Change in European Govts", JG Heinberg, Ux. Mo.

No new constitutions, yet.

The new has to cooperate with the old, to ~~let~~ keep things going while it improves and changes.

Comprise means comprehend or include, consist of. So never say "comprised of", but just "Comprise".

Security Council is bound by "Liberum Veto".

Prewar nat in Eng: Port of London Auth, Forestry Commission, Central Electricity Board, BBC, Longon Passegner Transport Board, Coal Commission. French tobacco monopoly, and to some degree r.r. nat. consent. stronger

Locally as well as nationally, Labor has won in Eng. - *while in France ~~that~~ stronger in local elections.*
Oct. '45 elections in France were to the "Constituent Ass."
18 Parties, 3 of them won 3/4 seats.

Radical Socialists did better in local than nat elections.

Perhaps indicating approval of anti-clericalism locally, disapproval of conservatism nationally.

Radical Socialists were in the middle of 3d rep. as Socialists are in middle of 4th.

Italian govt now powerless, but citizens are lawabiding regardless.

France and Italy recently gave women suffrage.

Radical Socialists dominated old Senate of 3d Rep.

French to elect new Nat Ass, June '46, and try to frame a new const.

Political Reconstruction in Italy - Max Ascoli:

July 25 '43, admin. fell apart when Muss fell. He planned it so. ^{when Italy fell} ~~Muss. fell~~ for 6 weeks
Gm armies poured in because allies feared a trap, stayed out.

In Gy, govt destroyed. In Italy, we worked thru it, used fascists. The weak govt Muss left accepted by allies, incl. King.

Spt 43 surrender of Italy. Germans enter. Anti fascists rise. They allied with allies, but now are anti-fascist vs. fascist govt of allies!

- Jan '44 Bari formula, union of anti fascists. Xian Dems, Com, Soc, Lib; ^{tetanic}
- Dems of labor. Concluded party coalition in shadowy new govt. Allies preferred
- to deal with fascists, for anti-fascists were impractical, inexperienced, idealist.
- Parri govt failed, represented failure of resistance leaders. 325
- Action party was of resistance groups; dissension & final inactivity. Return to pre fascist condition.

→ Deflation, '45-6 winter, as peasant blackmarketeers hoard proceeds.

Only 3 major parties now - Chr. Dems, Soc, Com

Mr Xian Dems considered Vatican party, fear to right of Soc. Not democratic.

June '46 orderly elections. King deposed.

Am. Mil. Govt in Gy: Harold Zink, De Pauw

Civil Affairs Div. of War Dept commands all such, Joint Chiefs of Staff direct theatre commanders. State, War & Navy Dept Coord. Comm., Ass't. Sec'y of War, active.

War Dept oper. resp, State Dept basic policy formulation. Theatre com. takes major initiative.

'44, Eng est. 'German Country Unit', US & Eng joint. Summer '44 national division decided, US Group Control Council for Gy est. Involved Army administrative confusion, jealousy of generals emphasized. Lander, Provinzen, Stadtkreise, Regierungsbezirke. Rural landkruse. Germans had units for

- all these, American army had to learn to adapt to them. A confused job of counter-orders, etc. Regular military channels required, direct channels not allowed. This finally ended with 1945. After peak numbers of officials reached, more & more withdrawn, supervision came to be at higher & higher levels.

At Stuttgart Am. formed Lander-rat, States' council. Of Bavaria, Baden & Wurttemberg, for central problems. Province of Hesse also Am.

US Group CC, US FET, OMGGUS the organizations. OMGGUS was later name for USGA. ^{orig. top} US FET was rival, finally broken.

The New Austria: Notes on 1st yr. Pearl Street, UCh.

Aust. got there first, formed Renner Govt, not interesting too much. Coalition of usual 3 parties. Allies came in, Nov 45 elections, new govt. Renner had repealed Nazis laws, etc, shaming of Austria. In '34, comm. very weak. Now stronger, but evidently less than elsewhere. Renner the only outstanding Socialist - a large but not vital party. Socialists anti-clerical, no good positive program. People's Party of Right is vigorous, clerical. has clerical remnants but soft pedals clericalism. Church quietly took lead. People's the dominant party. Middle class & farmers. Bureaucracy. Bauernbund, Farmers' League, Cath & Prot, party bullbore. Fight heads party.

Aust Nazis, orientation, & Anschluss are issues.

People's Party champions little Nazis. Little vindictiveness.

Here we have a very over industrial country, & it is most conservative.

Vote: People's 50%; Soc 45% Cath 5%. Fight govt.

4 zones.

Sweden & Austria, the most conservative countries, send most economists to U.S.!

Northern Eur. - Bellqvist, Calif U.

Sweden. Unity, National Coalition, 1939, due to Russia in Finland. Replaced Soc. Dem - Agrarian Cab. Per Albin Hansson Premier, Soc. Dem

- dominated. 3 other large parties. 5 yr cab., longest in 20th cent. '45, Soc. Dem straight cab. formed. (G. Myrdal, Soc. Dem. Brain Trust, became Commerce Min.)

Myrdal announced industrial expansion, simul. try to stimulate agric. with more cons.

- Upper house chosen by City & City Councils. 1944 elections, Comm. gain, but still ^{10%} minority. Soc. Dem, who had achieved abs. majority earlier, back to 50%. Wages had been frozen in war, comm. gained on this score. Nazi party small, corp. with Conservatives. Agrarians, who also gained postwar.

- Finland - '34-9, great progress & stability. '31-9, 3 ministries. Wartime coalition under Risto Ryti. During war constitution never revoked, Germ. influence not universal. Nov 39 - March '40, winter war. '41-44, Russ War. Then Finns drove out Gms. Paasikivi broad coalition govt. March '45 elections, Comm gain, agrarians lose. Unicameral. Soc. Dems lose. But conserv. parties still have 74 may. New Paasikivi govt. Soc. Dem, Dem Union, & Agrarians coalesce, 3 largest vet groups.

- March 26 '46, Pekkala becomes PM. - member of Social Dem. Union, formed of Sixlings & Oppositionists who are dissident members of Soc. Dems, Leftist. 12% pop. resettled from Sovietized areas.

- Norway - prewar Nygaardsvold Labor govt., minority. Minimized nat. defense, was extravagant. June '45, Gerhardsen new coalition govt. Labor still strongest, Comm. cutting in. Agrarians tinged with Collaboration. Right receded, but Christian People's Party rose. Founded 1933. Religious rural regions of W. Lutheran.

Denmark - least affected by occupation, & parties same postwar.

Denmark

Least injured. Most prosperous, of any Eur. country but Sweden.

Dane govts always more stable. than Scand ave. 1913-20, Zahle ministry.
1920, Neergaard Liberal Min. 1924, first great Soc. Dem victory, Stauning
Socialist cab. 1926, Madsen-Mygdal Liberal cabinet. 1929, Stauning
coalition of Radicals & Soc.-Dems, til 1939. Then new const referendum, lost.
80% turnout.
Apr 1940 Gm. occupation.

Aug 29, '43, Gms declare martial law. Previously, Dane govt, non-
~~Quisling~~
~~cooperating~~, had been in power.

Resistance Movement well organized, new govt takes over immediately
Vilhelm Buhl. heads cab, weighted with Soc. Dem. 2 com. Nov. 45
elections, Liberal Govt in, Knud Kristensen. A single party cab,
formed by party not having largest no. of seats! Soc. Dems have most
seats, refused cab. responsibility! Conservatives & Radical Left refused to
coalesce, so Liberals had to go alone. Liberals are gaining on S. Dems,
'39-45, still behind.

1943 elections, free, 89% turnout, 98% anti-Nazi!

Soc. Dem, Liberals, Conservatives, Radical Left, important parties in that order.

Postwar, return to prewar bickering. Socialization a bone. Soc Dem &
~~Comm~~ Comm on Left vs. Lib & Cons. on right. 'Liberal' is 'Agrarian'.
Soc Dem & Cons lose, Comm & Liberals gain. Lands ting &
Folketing. Rigsdag.

6 Only country of N. Eur. in which bourgeois parties stay ahead of
labor. (?)

Conservatives & Radical Left support present Liberal govt.

Soc. Dems in Denmark want to socialize. (Swede Soc. Dems are more
moderate.) Doubtless that is why Soc. Dems refused to form cab. But Soc.
Dems refuse Comm. cooperation, they Left latter undemocratic.
Liberals trying to find common ground with Soc. Dems. (over)

Soc Dem & comm vote heaviest in cities. (I'll bet there's some very simple reason why some rural areas are cons, others comm. Probably ~~that~~ ~~that~~ a dispossessed peasantry is communistic, but its communism is not apparent while it is dominated by react. landlords, then it suddenly breaks thr. But in more settled agric regions, a truly cons. peasantry of small landowners remains so - except when badly exploited by city finaglers, as populists.

Soc. Dems beginning to support Liberals. A confused party.

N. Eur. notably has kept democracy.

Foreign Policy Reports 15 Feb 47, Czechoslovakia's Road to Socialism Winifred Hadzel.

- ✓ Klement Gottwald, Comm. Premier, peaceful road to Comm.ism.
Nazis killed 250,000. \$11.5b material damage: 4b milit. destr, air raids & underground; .7b lack of maintenance; 7b "occupation costs" - what are they? - what Czechs refrained from consuming. So only c. 5b. was really lost from surplus, remainder from pleasure. ^{& potential production} Reconversion more than reconstruction. The problem. Nazi currency manipulations. Other countries worse off. Why do most admirable pre-war countries suffer least from occupation? Czechs, Denmark, Holland?
- ✓ Lack of capital given as reason for nationalization. Why? Nationalization does not create capital. Security is the real reason. Private owners would not save much in present insecure conditions.
- Leftist resistance groups were well aware that Nazi nationalization was their opportunity.
- Slovakia more industrialized by Germans.
 - Glass, glove & jewelry industries left for metal.
- Sudetens, even if anti-Nazi, insisted on postwar autonomy, under Jaksch. So expelled. ^{3m} Were skilled workmen. At Slovak demand .6m Magyars expelled.
- 8m Czechs, 3.5m Slovaks, latter resented centralized Prague Czech rule. Since 10th cent., separated, due to Magyars.
- - Old agrarian party had collaborated after Munich, big rural landowners. Now outlawed, with other Rightists.
Nazis strengthened Czech Slovak separatism. / Only because some Cath clergy were anti-Nazi is Cath ^{People's} ~~People's~~ Party now allowed, of old conservatives.
- ✓ Beres only prewar ruler ^{of Eastern Eur.} to return without revolt. Russian support, after 1946.
- ✓ Comm never got > 10% pop vote prewar.
- Oct 45, socialization decree, 65% total ind. capacity, one of 4 leading socialist nations of world. Nothing under 150 workers, all over 500.
- Farm communities unaffected. - small hand-craft industries.
Most nat. ind. operated at a loss. - much of which was cap. expansion. ^{Workers not} very eager, despite exhortations, prizes, etc.

Hadsel, cont.

- Productivity 70% prewar.
- ✓ Resistance leaders maintained as managers, despite inefficiency.
- '2-year plan' of increasing surpluses
- 73% UNRRA funds from U.S. May '45 liberation, Dec 31 '46 end of UNRRA, \$.27 b stuff to Czechs. Govt allowed to sell it, to get revenue & keep money from people.
- X Int. trade a mere trickle now - agreements negotiated individually with 25 countries.

Crowns (Koruna)

- ✓ \$.15 b loans from U.S., Canada, Sweden. But U.S. cancelled ~~it~~ due to pro-Russ attitude. ^{1/3, says Monk below. F29}
- ✓ Prewar, 1/90 trade with Russia - now most of it, on barter basis.
- ✓ Labor shortage, due to Sudeten expulsion. A nice new frontier for Czechs.
- ✓ 27 acre homesteads sold. Communists administered sale, & new areas are comm. strongholds.
- ✓ Slovakia conservative, defeated Comm. in elections. So before comm left office they ~~are~~ subordinated Slovakia to Prague, which is 40% comm.
- Pres. Benes, Premier Gottwald.
- When Germans left, comm. organized workers committees to run industry.
- ROTH, United Revolut. Trade Union Org, Zapotocky, comm. group, decree requires all ind. workers to belong to unions, giving comm. control of industry.
- ✓ For security vs. Gg, Czechs stuck with Russians.

Monk's address to Commonwealth Club. -

- Exports now 40-50% of prewar.
- ✓ Industry would have stagnated if private, because no investment, because of insecurity.
- ✓ First postwar, most trade was with west. But costs too high, couldn't compete, turned to barter with Russia. But still 2/3 trade with west, roughly the prewar situation.
- ✓ 4 opposing parties joined in (National Front)
- ✓ Prices 3 x prewar. / German synthetic gasoline plant produces $\frac{1}{2}$ country's needs now.
- ✓ / More people wanted / Mechanization in agric. will increase as result. / In many countries UNRRA funds wasted - not in Cz-Sl.