

FOR NAT. BR.

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FOR NAT. BR.

TO : February 12, 1943

COLONEL WILLIAM J. BONGFANI

The attached memorandum to you concerning first steps in tighter coordination between OSS, State, Justice and OWI respecting foreign nationality groups has been written with a view towards its being read also by Berle, Smith and Cranston, and is intended to be an instrument in the work of coordination.

FROM: DEWITT C. POOLE

file
F. H. B.
NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF DENVER
DENVER, COLORADO

HARRY M. FIELD
DIRECTOR

August 27, 1943

Dear General:

You may have noted some remarks in the press regarding a recent survey we made for OWI among certain Polish elements in this country.

The following is from the Chicago Sun of August 21st and is one of the most interesting parts of this discussion that has come to my attention.

"An official of the Polish consulate described the questionnaire as a 'scandalous document full of arrogant questions from Washington.' The official said that the OWI was trying to 'create artificial pro-Soviet opinion', and went on to charge the OWI as being an organization 'completely in the hands of Communists, who, although they are not official members of the Communist party, have thought that way for years. The American Poles are stunned by this move.'"

Yours sincerely,

Brigadier General Wm. Joseph Donovan
Office of Strategic Services
Washington, D. C.

HHF:P

CONFIDENTIAL

Foreign Nat. Sec. 10,435
KS Title Dept.
** Cooperation*
** Committee, I. Tol. Agency*
 February 11, 1943

MEMORANDUM TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES:

Informal but important steps are in process looking toward closer contact and coordination among the Federal agencies having to do with the foreign-nationality groups. Some underlying differences of attitude may be involved. Hence complete coordination, always smooth and effective, is a good deal to hope for, but some very beneficial tightening up seems assured, for the present anyhow.

You will remember that for more than a year now an interdepartmental committee, informal and without authority of its own, has been meeting with Mr. Berle at the State Department to exchange information and views on foreign-nationality problems. Colonel Goodfellow and I have represented OSS. Particularly during the past six months the committee, always without formal sanction, has tended to take on momentum and usefulness. Attendance has been well sustained; the discussions of each meeting have usually run an hour and a half. The reality of problems connected with the foreign nationalities groups has been demonstrated and the need which the various agencies feel to consult.

The agencies regularly represented at the meetings, besides OSS, are State, Justice (War Division of the Attorney General's Office), OWI (Foreign Language and Intelligence Divisions), War (G-1). Others participating with some regu-

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larly include CIAA, OCD, Immigration Service, and earlier the President's Committee on Fair Practices in Employment. The representatives of the four agencies first mentioned have tended to provide the core of the discussions.

L. M. C. Smith, who usually heads a delegation of two or three from Justice, has for some months been reaching about for a more coordinated approach by the Government to the foreign-nationalities complex. He has been seeking some way to coordinate legal with political action. He and his colleagues at Justice have been frankly disturbed by some rather individualistic initiatives in the field of public morale-building undertaken by Alan Cranston of OWI.

At the same time some divergence has been felt between Berle and Cranston. Some of Cranston's initiatives have disturbed Berle too; and a bit of a climax was reached when Berle yielded to OWI's advice to cancel a speech he was on the point of making before a meeting of the American Hungarian Federation at Bridgeport January 31.

When the interdepartmental group met in Berle's office two weeks ago, Smith spoke openly and persuasively about the need for better understanding and team work. Cranston said that he would consult his superiors. Early this week Cranston phoned Berle, Smith and myself that he had done so and was ready to participate in some tighter arrangement. He renewed a

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proposal which had been mooted for some time. This was that the fortnightly meetings of the larger committee should be supplemented by more frequent meetings of a four-man committee representing State, Justice, OWI and OSS.

This proposal was discussed in a promising atmosphere of candor and good feeling at the meeting of the larger committee which was held on Wednesday of this week. The idea of a smaller inner committee was accepted without any express opposition by any of those present. It was agreed that the small committee would meet immediately after or before each meeting of the big committee and also on the intervening Wednesdays, and more frequently if needed. It would consist of representatives of State, Justice, OWI and OSS. Representatives of other agencies might be asked to sit in when this was indicated by subjects to be discussed.

Berle spoke to the larger group in a forthright way about the fundamental hindrance to cooperation resulting from divergences in basic attitude between two agencies. He was referring, though this was not explicit at the moment, to the State Department's, or his own, proper emphasis, as he and many others see it, upon the need for expedient action to win the war as contrasted with the more ideological insistence upon principle current among some in OWI (which its exponents interpret as longer-term expediency). He was troubled, it was plain, by the problem of how to get pulling together in double harness what might be called the old-line American viewpoint

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and the newer political orientation associated with the epithet "fellow traveler." Berle's remarks were not only forthright but adroit, and Cranston showed, I thought, equal statesmanship. He said little and refrained from direct issue.

Formal action is not taken at these meetings but it seemed clear to me that the sense of this particular meeting was comprised in the following main points:

(1) The foreign nationalities problem-complex is of first-rate importance; the larger fortnightly meetings heretofore held have been useful and should be continued; and it would be well to supplement these by weekly meetings of a smaller group representing the four agencies most continuously concerned.

(2) Organization and procedure should be informal. However, L. M. C. Smith introduced the suggestion that it might be desirable later on to obtain some basis of authority, and it appeared to be agreed, moreover, that in this whole business the central position of the State Department should be recognized -- "not necessarily a leading position," it was remarked, "but a central position."

(3) Initiatives to be taken regarding the foreign nationalities groups, or lines of action to be developed in that regard, by the several

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individual agencies would be brought forward and discussed at the smaller or larger committee meetings but nothing in the way of positive action would be undertaken by either committee. Action would rest always with an individual agency. If other affected agencies agreed with what was proposed to be done, that cleared the way. If serious disagreement developed, there might have to be reference to higher authority on the situation would be dealt with as judgment dictated.

The first meeting of the smaller committee followed the break-up of the larger group. This smaller committee consisted of Berle, Smith, Cranston and Poole. The meeting went off well. There was some further discussion of ideologies and attitudes but ready acceptance of the idea that progress would best be made if discussion were on concrete problems rather than abstractions.

A basic concrete problem, it was suggested, was the formulation of certain guiding principles. The press release put out by the State Department in December, 1941, was recalled. This expressed the ideas that active work on foreign problems should be left to the foreigners in our midst; that American citizens ought to stick to their American knitting but, having in many cases a natural sentimental tie to par-

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ticular foreign situations, they might serve as advisers to their foreign cousins. This ought to be reviewed and perhaps a new formulation agreed upon.

All concurred apparently, though not without reference to the possibility of an opposite view, in the thought that in the Government's dealing with the foreign nationality situation positive action was needed in addition to the negative measures of control and repression which the Department of Justice was in a position to exercise. The foreign nationalities groups presented problems, of course, but here also were stores of political vitality which could be hitched to the war effort in various ways and to the cause of good citizenship generally. If some simple directive principles were formulated these could be frequently reiterated, for example, in addresses by public officials at foreign-nationalities conventions and the like.

Cranston, who has borne the brunt of positive action in the foreign nationalities field, spoke of the difficulty of direct contact by officials with particular groups and organizations without being drawn into internal politics and accused of taking sides and playing favorites. Discussion then turned specifically to the American Croatian Congress which is scheduled to be held in Chicago February 20. Should OWI find a Government speaker? Or should it have someone working quietly behind the scenes as was done with success at the Slovene Congress

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at Cleveland December 57 And so on.

Berle and Smith felt that they needed more information respecting the Croatian Congress before participating in these decisions. Cranston and Poole said they would endeavor to supply it. The small committee would meet again at the State Department at 2:30 Saturday afternoon.

Since I expect to be in New York Saturday Professor Reynolds will take my place at the meeting.

This memorandum records my own understandings and impressions. In order to assure a meeting of minds, I am taking the liberty of sending copies also to Messrs. Berle, Smith and Cranston. Corrections and amendments will be passed on to you.



Director
Foreign Nationalities Branch

Copies to:

Deputy Director-Services
Assistant Director, OSS
Deputy Director (Goodfellow)
The Honorable A. A. Berle, Jr.
L. M. C. Smith, Esq.
Alan Cranston, Esq.

FNB
Handbook
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 24, 1943

MEMORANDUM FROM THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
26. F.N.B.

The attached paper is one section of a handbook being prepared by this Branch as a survey of foreign nationality groups in the United States. The purpose of the handbook is to give briefly a general background picture of foreign nationality groups in this country, including information on immigration, population statistics, leading organizations and newspapers, and a summary of the foreign political activities within each group.

The accompanying section on the Polish community in the United States is forwarded as a draft. Suggestions and criticisms as to content and form are cordially invited.

Drafts of subsequent sections will be circulated as they are completed.

DeWitt C. Poole
DeWitt C. Poole

Colonel Donovan
The Honorable A. A. Berle, Jr.
Elbridge Durbrow, Esquire
L. M. O. Smith, Esquire
Mr. Jesse MacKnight
Alan Cranston, Esquire
Brigadier General John Magruder
Whitney Shepardson, Esquire
Dr. William Langer

For Nat. Br. H. 121
* Handbook

April 1, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR: Colonel William J. Donovan
FROM: G. Edward Buxton
SUBJECT: Foreign Nationalities Handbook

On reading DeWitt Poole's memorandum to you concerning the Handbook for use within both the Branch and OSS, it seems to me very useful. I have some reservations as to the wisdom of any general distribution in the Government.

As DeWitt points out, the census figures are in some instances far below the claims of leaders of foreign Nationals in this country. This affects their standing and prestige and in the hands of such leaders might be subject to unnecessary controversy.

I am also impressed with the necessity for keeping this Handbook objective and free from any expression of opinion. In fact, it would be hard to make any statement concerning the political factions and rivalries within the same National group without giving offense. We should only state that the racial group has within the United States the following major organizations.

Red.
GEB

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES *Handbook*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Foreign Nationalities Branch

March 29, 1943

MEMORANDUM for Director of Strategic Services
Assistant Director - OSS
Deputy Director - Intelligence Service

The Handbook for which the Foreign Nationalities Branch is now actually preparing copy has been projected almost from the time the Branch was started, and theoretically should perhaps have been the first job put out, since it is basic to all the information and interpretations which we are endeavoring to supply. Practically, however, it is plain that a work of this kind could be undertaken with any feeling of assurance only after a large body of data had been collected and a certain amount of experience had.

There was sent to you the other day a first draft of a proposed chapter on the Polish Americans. This draft chapter was selected to serve as a pattern. The purpose, in the case of this and other chapters which will be circulated similarly in draft form, is to obtain as much correction and advice as possible in advance of the printing to which we hope to come in the end.

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There is now submitted to you a draft of a foreword to the Handbook which it is suggested might take the form of a memorandum by the Director of the Foreign Nationalities Branch to the Director of Strategic Services. This would preserve for the Handbook the character of an internal document; copies would be supplied to agencies outside of OSS confidentially and simply as an accommodation.

The proposal is that the Handbook should be printed in booklet form. It is not believed that reproduction in any other way would make it nearly so serviceable. The Budget Bureau has allowed the Branch, in the current budget, \$4,000 for printing; and the understanding was that if our production of printed material of this sort proved its worth, the Bureau would consider further budgetary requisitions.

The whole project is, of course, in an early stage and no commitments of any kind have been made in any direction. It is all subject to your approval.

If the Branch is to carry on its work of report and appraisal on a sound basis it must prepare something like this proposed Handbook for the internal use of its own staff. Indeed we already have something of the kind in rough form. The question is whether a small edition should be printed and put at the confidential disposal of a carefully selected list of others in the Government. Nothing of the kind is available

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at present, and it seems to me that careful distribution of a Handbook of the sort described in the attached draft of a foreword would be a public service.

We are also preparing for printing a series of monographs, each devoted to an extended account of a particular foreign-nationality group -- its composition, organization, attitudes and activities, all viewed from the foreign political angle.

Under this general program the output of the Branch takes on the following structure:

I. A Handbook, to be revised perhaps annually or biennially.

II. A series of particular monographs which would cover the whole field group by group.

III. The timely memoranda and reports of a miscellaneous character which we have been putting out for a year or more now and which we feel we have brought into good working shape.

It is felt that I and II should be accomplished as quickly as possible. They ought to be of much use in connection with psychological warfare and in the work of MIS and ONI, the State Department, the Department of Justice, et cetera. They should be of practical value in connection with peace making and when it comes to relief and rehabilitation.



DeWitt C. Poole

Enclosure

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

INTEROFFICE MEMO

General William J. Donovan

DAN. 14 April 1945

Mr. DeWitt C. Poole

Subject: Handbook

With an eye particularly to the San Francisco Conference the Foreign Nationalities Branch has put through, with much labor and care, a revised edition of the Handbook of Foreign Nationality Groups in the United States which was first issued in June 1943. As the preceding edition, the work is unique in its field. It supplies in the most convenient form needed information of practical use in the conduct of American foreign relations. It will facilitate the understanding and handling at San Francisco of the unofficial claimants whose pressures will inevitably be felt here and, quite apart from this immediate business of San Francisco, the Handbook will long serve as a helpful reference source for several branches of OSS, the State Department and American diplomatic missions abroad and various offices of the Army and Navy, also the Department of Justice and others. One who we know will welcome it is Colonel Biddle at SHAEF.

Mr. Braatoy joins me in sending you the attached copy, number 1.

DeWitt C. Poole

CONFIDENTIAL

**FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS
IN THE UNITED STATES**

A HANDBOOK

Prepared in the Foreign Nationalities Branch
for use in the Office of Strategic Services

REVISED EDITION

**COPY
NUMBER**
1

OSS
RESTRICTED
FNB

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: Major General William J. Donovan
Director, Strategic Services
FROM: DeWitt C. Poole, Chief, FN

DATE: 28 February 1945

SUBJECT:

You will be interested in the attached bit of work FN was able to do recently. A request reached us through Major Gore's office from G-2 for a list of members of the Yugoslav Parliament in 1938-40.

Through contacts in New York and Washington the desired list was located on the fourth day following receipt of the inquiry. The list was in Serbo-Croatian, however, and G-2 was apparently not in a position to cope with this. The attached translation was, therefore, prepared in FN within three days and supplied to the interested quarters yesterday.

DeWitt C. Poole
Chief
Foreign Nationalities Branch

Enclosure

cc - General Magruder

DEPUTIES ELECTED TO THE YUGOSLAV PARLIAMENT
ON 11 DECEMBER 1938

099
RESTRICTED
PNS

[Source: Službene Novine (Official Journal), 11 January 1939]

Result of the elections of Deputies to the National Skupština [Parliament] held on 11 December 1938 on the territory of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

On the basis of paragraph 64 of the law concerning the election of Deputies to the National Skupština, the Supreme Electoral Committee, after it completed its work in ascertaining the electoral result, has divided the mandates among the lists, which according to paragraph 61 of the law concerning the election of Deputies could participate in the division of mandates, and makes in the Official Journal this brief report:

I

Total number of electors according to the permanent registration records -- 4,080,286

II

Total number who voted in the election -- 3,039,041

Percentage of electors who voted -- 74.48%

III

Individual lists of national candidates confirmed by the competent Court of Cassation in Belgrade received votes as follows on the day of elections, 11 December 1938:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1) List of Dr. Milan Stojadinovic: | 1,643,783 votes or 54.09% |
| 2) List of Dr. Vladimir Machek: | 1,364,524 votes or 44.90% |
| 3) List of Dimitrije Ljotic: | 30,734 votes or 1.01% |

IV

The following were elected as Deputies:

Election District (Srez)

Names

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) Belgrade | Dr. Milan Stojadinovic |
| 2) Zagreb | Dr. Vladimir Machek |
| 3) Province of Belgrade, Zemun, Pancevo | Dusan N. Trifkovic,
Senator and secretary of the
Executive Committee of the
Yugoslav Radical Union from
Belgrade |

- 4) " "
- 5) " "
- 6) " "
- 7) " "
- 8) Maribor Levi Breg
- 9) Maribor Levi Breg
- 10) Ptujški
- 11) Celjski
- 12) Maribor Desni Breg
- 13) Ljutomerski
- 14) Šmarški
- 15) Murskosobotski
- 16) Slovenjgradski
- 17) Breziški
- 18) Lendavski
- 19) Laški
- 20) Konjiški
- 21) Gornjegrajski

Vlado K. Xlio,
Industrialist, president of
Belgrade city council and
president of the Industrial
Council from Belgrade

Mihailo Stojadinovic,
Coppersmith and former deputy
from Belgrade

Nedeljko E. David,
Merchant and city councilman,
president of Union of Commr-
cial Associations from Belgrade

Božidar Dj. Nedić,
Pensioner and president of
the Central Committee of the
Association of War Invalids
from Belgrade

Franjo Žebot,
Vice-mayor from Maribor

Josip Spindler,
Mayor of St. Ann of Slovene
Gorica

Marko Kranje,
Secretary of Yugoslav Radical
Union from Maribor

Alojzij Mihelčič,
Insurance director, Breg 18
from Celj

Franc Koban,
Farmer from Polskava

Franc Snoj,
From Gornje Radgone

Dr. Anton Ogrizek,
Lawyer from Celj

Fran Bajlec,
Lawyer and member of banking
world from Murske Sobote

Ivan Teuerschun,
Director of public school
from Slovenj Gradca

Josip Tratnik,
Judge and banker from Rajhen-
burg

Dr. Franc Klar,
Physician from Donje Lendave

Mirko Bitenc,
Professor from Celj

Dr. Maksim Sevssek,
Municipal councilman and
physician from Slovene Gorica

Martin Steblovnik,
Judge and banker from Smartna
by Paki

- 22) Dravogradski
- 23) City of Ljubljana
- 24) City of Ljubljana
- 25) Ljubljanski
- 26) Ljubljanski
- 27) Novomeški
- 28) Kamniški
- 29) Krški
- 30) Litijski
- 31) Kranjski
- 32) Kočevski
- 33) Radovljanski
- 34) Škofjeloški
- 35) Logaški
- 36) Črnomeljski
- 37) Korenički
- 38) Donjopoljački
- 39) Gospički
- 40) Gračaki
- 41) Otočaki
- 42) Brinjski
- 43) Perušički
- 44) Senjski
- 45) Rabski

Karel Gajsek,
Notary Public from Maribor

Dr. Anton Korošec
Pavle Maslo,
Railway clerk, Ljubljana

Dr. Anton Korošec
Milos Stara,
Lawyer, Ljubljana

Dr. Franc Kulovec,
Senator, Ljubljana

Ivan Stroin,
Real estate and judge,
Kaplja Vas 35

Dr. Miha Krek,
Minister, Belgrade

Dr. Jozse Lavric,
Secretary of farmers union,
Ljubljana

Janez Brodar,
Real estate and banker from
Hrastja near Kranj

Alojzij Nigler,
Veterinarian from Ljubljana

Dr. Albin Smajd,
Lawyer, Radovljica

Ivan Dolenc,
Director of University,
Ljubljana

Franc Gabrovsek,
Priest

Dr. Jure Koco,
Secretary TOI organization,
Ljubljana

Dusan P. Letica,
Minister of Finance from
Belgrade

Stevo J. Radjenovic,
Merchant from Serbia

Josip Cvetic,
Publicist and former deputy
from Zagreb

Dr. Uros Trbojevic,
Notary public from Sombor

Dane Miletic,
Former deputy from Otočac

Dr. Vjekoslav Miletic,
Ex-Minister from Belgrade

Ivan Sigurnjak,
Farmer from D. Kosinje

Matija Moguš,
Inn-keeper from Senj

Dr. Ivan Andres,
Lawyer from Zagreb

- | | | |
|-----|----------------|---|
| 46) | Udbinski | Savo Mamula,
Publicist from Zagreb |
| 47) | Slunjski | Ing. Svetozar Drenovac,
Pensioned Counsellor of
Directorate of Forests,
Dreznik Grad |
| 48) | Vojnicki | Dr. Milovan Grba,
Pensioned professor of Teachers
College from Zagreb |
| 49) | Ogulinski | Djuro Mikasinovic,
Director of Serbian Savings
Bank from Zagreb |
| 50) | Susacki | Dr. Vinko Mikulicic,
Lawyer from Susak |
| 51) | Krcki | Dr. Dinko D. Roki,
Pensioned head court of
appeals, Krk |
| 52) | Vrbovski | Sava Jaksic,
President of Municipal Council
from Srpska Moravica |
| 53) | Kastavski | Luka Kostrenic,
Publicist from Crikvenica |
| 54) | Delnicki | Dr. Ivan Subasic,
Lawyer from Karlovac |
| 55) | Crikvenicki | Franjo Boric,
Merchant from Crikvenica |
| 56) | Novljanski | Griga Macimovic,
Professor from Ogulin |
| 57) | Cabarski | Dr. Ante Civildini,
Zagreb |
| 58) | Glinski | Bogdan N. Krcegovac,
Pensioner from Belgrade |
| 59) | Kostajnicki | Dr. Djordje Markovic,
Notary public from Sisak |
| 60) | Vrginmostski | Dr. Radivoje L. Vorkapic,
Lawyer from Belgrade |
| 61) | City of Zagreb | Ing. Nikola Kabalin,
Minister of trade and industry
from Belgrade |
| 62) | City of Zagreb | Dragutin Grbic,
Artisan from Zagreb |
| 63) | City of Zagreb | Dragutin Domainko,
Engineer, Zagreb |
| 64) | City of Zagreb | Franjo Kukuljevic-Sakcinski,
Former senator from Zagreb |
| 65) | Petrinjski | Dr. Simeon Krunic,
Lawyer and notary public
from Petrinje |
| 66) | Sisacki | Stanko Dragosavcovic,
Pensioned professor from Sisak |
| 67) | Karlovacki | Zvonimir Celikovic,
Professor from Zagreb |
| 68) | Zagrebacki | Franjo Malcic,
Farmer from Slanovac |

- 69) Sv. Ivan Zelina
 70) Velikogorički
 71) Jastrebarski
 72) Samoborski
 73) Dugoselski
 74) Pisarovinski
 75) Čakovečki
 76) Preloški
 77) Ludbriški
 78) Varaždinski
 79) Ivanečki
 80) Krapinski
 81) Klanječki
 82) Zlatarski
 83) Donjostubički
 84) Novomaroški
 85) Pregradski
 86) Grubisnopoljski
 87) Bjelovarski
 88) Bjelovarski
 89) Garešnički
 90) Koprivnički
- Andrija Papi,
 Farmer from Gaj
 Ivan Robić,
 Farmer from Busevac
 Franjo Novosel,
 Farmer from Reka Pljasevidka
 Djuro Spanović,
 Farmer from Samobor
 Nikola Srdović,
 Farmer from Zaklepla
 Karlo Mrak,
 Farmer from Kupinečki
 Kraljevac
 Dr. Bogdan Stopar,
 Lawyer from Zagreb
 Dr. Lavoslav Dj. Hanzek,
 Pensioned minister and notary
 public from Križevac
 Djuro Grljenica,
 Inn-keeper from Ludbreg
 Dr. Bogdan Stopar,
 Lawyer from Zagreb
 Stjepan S. Novaković,
 Pensioned city senator from
 Varadin
 Milan Dobrovoljac,
 Writer and former deputy
 from Dugo Selo
 Milan Dobrovoljac,
 Writer and former deputy
 from Dugo Selo
 Dr. Josip Torbar,
 Notary public from Zagreb
 Djuka Kemfelja,
 Farmer from Sagadovac
 Dr. Tomo Jancikovic,
 Lawyer from Zagreb
 Mato Domovic,
 Farmer from Stupnik
 Dusan Buić,
 President of Municipal Council
 from Grubisno Polje
 Dr. Stevan Bubić,
 Lawyer and notary public
 from Bjelovar
 Ante Kovac,
 Newspaperman and former
 deputy from Zagreb
 Vasilije Dragas,
 Proprietor from Veliki Zdenci
 Adam Marin,
 Pensioned professor from
 Koprivnica

- 91) Križevački
 - 92) Djurdjevački
 - 93) Čazmanski
 - 94) Kutinski
 - 95) Okučanski
 - 96) Pakrački
 - 97) Vinkovački
 - 98) Daruvarski
 - 99) Brodski
 - 100) Požeški
 - 101) Novogradiški
 - 102) Županjski
 - 103) Novski
 - 104) Vukovarski
 - 105) Osiječki
 - 106) Osiječki
 - 107) Slatinski
 - 108) Našički
 - 109) Džakovački
 - 110) Viroviticki
 - 111) Valpovski
 - 112) Donjomiholjski
 - 113) Gradiški
- Luka Ilković,
 Farmer from Šandrovac
 Tomo Vojković,
 Farmer from Illovački Klomčevac
 Andrija Pavlić,
 Farmer from Hečida
 Mijo Stuparić,
 Farmer from Vidranjak
 Djuro Mikaslinović,
 Farmer deputy from Zagreb
 Ignjatija Ciovara,
 Proprietor and inn-keeper
 from Pakrac
 Dr. Pajo Šimunovac,
 Notary public and lawyer
 from Vinkovci
 Tošo Hadžosavljević,
 Merchant from Daruvar
 Dr. Dragan Damić,
 Physician and former deputy
 from Slavonski Brod
 Dr. Emil Tanai,
 Lawyer from Sl. Požega
 Josip Palaić,
 Farmer from Krapje
 Antun Babić,
 Farmer from Gradiste
 Ignjac Terihaj,
 Farmer from Pakračka Klisa
 Miloš Vidaković,
 Former deputy from Zagreb
 Ing. Nikola Krbalin,
 Minister of Trade and Industry
 from Belgrade
 Djura Janković,
 Ex-Minister from Belgrade
 Života Milanović,
 President of the Union of
 Agrarian Associations from
 Osijek
 Dr. Milan L. Stijic,
 Pensioned professor and former
 deputy from Osijek
 Stipe Balentović,
 Farmer from Garčin
 Martin Mesarov,
 Farmer from Koriža
 Dr. Stjepan Hefer,
 Lawyer from Osijek
 Dr. Ivan Majcan,
 Lawyer from Donji Miholjac
 Dušan Subotic,
 Clergyman from Bosanska Grad-
 iska

- 114) Tesanjski
- 115) Teslićski
- 116) Prnjavoraki
- 117) Derventski
- 118) Gradačaćki
- 119) Banjalučki
- 120) Prijedoraki
- 121) Novljanski
- 122) Dubički
- 123) Maglajski
- 124) Gračanički
- 125) Dobojski
- 126) Dvorski
- 127) Kotorvaroški
- 128) City of Banja Luka
- 129) Sanski
- 130) Ključki
- 131) Bos. Grahovski
- 132) Krupski
- 133) Cazinski
- 134) Jajacki
- 135) Glamočki
- 136) Bihački

Bedir Djonlagic,
 Merchant from Tesnje
 Milan Gnjatovic,
 Proprietor from Teslie
 Dr. Petar Kostic,
 Lawyer from Banja Luka
 Lazar J. Orlic,
 Merchant from Derventa
 Dr. Drafer Kulenovic,
 Minister without Portfolio
 from Belgrade
 Dusan R. Milosevic,
 Economist from Piskavica
 Dr. Bogdan Miljuc,
 Lawyer-apprentice from Belgrade
 Ferid Ceric-Jablanica,
 President of Municipal Council
 from Bosanski Novi
 Dr. Branko Cukrilo vic,
 Physician from Banja Luka
 Aleksa M. Jovanovic,
 Merchant from Maglaj
 Dr. Hamid M. Efendic,
 Lawyer-apprentice from Gra-
 danica
 Dr. Miloš Tupanjanin,
 Former deputy from Belgrade
 Milan J. Durman,
 Pensioned engineer from Dvor
 Petar R. Zivkovic,
 Pensioned premier from Bel-
 grade
 Dr. Petar Kostic,
 Lawyer from Banja Luka
 Dr. Branko Miljui,
 Former deputy from Belgrade
 Milan Dj. Mijic,
 Municipal secretary and former
 deputy from Ključ
 Bogoljub K. Kujundzic,
 Senator and Minister of Forests
 and Mines from Belgrade
 Petah Krupic,
 President of Municipal Council
 from Bos. Krupa
 Nurija Pozderac,
 Merchant from Casin
 Simo S. Marjanac,
 Farmer from Trojica
 Vojislav Stanisic,
 Pensioner from Glamoc
 Abdulah Ibrahimasic,
 Proprietor from Bihać

- 137) Petrovački
- 138) Mrkonjićski
- 139) Benkovački
- 140) Biogradski
- 141) Brački
- 142) Đurđevski
- 143) Duvanjski
- 144) Kninski
- 145) Korčulanski
- 146) Konjički
- 147) Livanjski
- 148) Ljubuški
- 149) Imotski
- 150) Makarski
- 151) Metkovićki
- 152) Mostarski
- 153) Mostarski
- 154) Prozorski
- 155) Prečki
- 156) City of Split
- 157) Splitski
- 158) Splitski
- 159) Sinjski
- 160) Stolački

Dušan N. Novaković,
 Clergyman from Bosanski
 Petrovac
 Dušan P. Mranković,
 laborer, Krimina
 Dr. Vuk Vujanović,
 Physician from Kistanj
 Jovo Šest,
 Merchant from Biograd
 Iven Peter Wladinec,
 Merchant from Pucić
 Dr. Milan Ulmanški,
 Pensioned Minister and general
 director of "Šipad" from
 Sarajevo
 Dr. Jure Šutej,
 Lawyer from Sarajevo
 Dr. Niko T. Novaković,
 Minister Without Portfolio
 from Belgrade
 Dr. Josip Berković,
 Physician from Split
 Dr. Hrvatska Gavran-Kapetanović,
 Lawyer from Sarajevo
 Ivan Čelan,
 Laborer from Oguz
 Dr. Barisa Smoljan,
 Lawyer from Mostar
 Dr. Mihovio Vuković,
 Physician from Imotski
 Ante P. Mastrović,
 Minister of Physical Educa-
 tion from Belgrade
 Dr. Niko M. Bjelovučić,
 Lawyer from Metković
 Husain Čičić,
 President of Municipal
 Council from Mostar
 Jovan Radulović,
 Professor from Mostar
 Dr. Jakov Grigurić,
 Lawyer from Livno
 Dr. Karlo Žunjević,
 Physician from Prek
 Dr. Vlado Matošić,
 Lawyer from Split
 Dr. Tomo Mimica,
 Lawyer from Omis
 Niko Čipiko,
 Proprietor from Kaštel
 Milos Tripalo,
 Proprietor from Sinj
 Avdo Rizvanbegović,
 Bank clerk from Stoc

- | | | |
|------|------------------|---|
| 161) | Hvarski | Dr. Josip Berkovic,
Physician from Split |
| 162) | Šibenički | Dr. Slavko Grabišić,
Physician from Šibenik |
| 163) | City of Sarajevo | Dr. Mehmed Spaho,
Minister of Communications
from Sarajevo |
| 164) | City of Sarajevo | Dr. Branko Kaludjerić,
Ex-Minister, Sarajevo |
| 165) | Čajnički | Ismetbeg Gavran-Kapetanović,
Pensioned Bureau Chief of
Trade and Industry from Sarajevo |
| 166) | Zenički | Mesir Spahić,
Laborer, president of Municipal
Council of Oranović |
| 167) | Višegradski | Engineer Asim Severić,
Pensioner from Sarajevo |
| 168) | Visočki | Dr. Sefkija Behmen,
Ex-Minister from Belgrade |
| 169) | Sarajevski | Dr. Savo Besarović,
Lawyer from Sarajevo |
| 170) | Pojnički | Dr. Niko Ljubidžić,
Lawyer from Banja Luka |
| 171) | Žepački | Dr. Džafer Kulenović,
Minister Without Portfolio
from Belgrade |
| 172) | Travnički | Anto Matković,
Laborer from Vuča Gora |
| 173) | Rogatički | Dr. Mivaija Gavran-Kapetanović,
Lawyer from Sarajevo |
| 174) | Tuzlanski | Dr. Mehmed Spaho,
Minister of Communications
from Sarajevo |
| 175) | Bijeljinski | Ljubomir O. Pantić,
Pharmacist from Bijeljina |
| 176) | Srebrenički | Ismet Begtasović,
Laborer from Glogova |
| 177) | Kladanjski | Ardo Salihbegović,
Lawyer from Sarajevo |
| 178) | Brčanski | Stevó S. Maksimović,
Director of the "Bata"
factory from Borovo |
| 179) | Zvornički | Tošo Cvetković,
Laborer from Dubnica |
| 180) | Vlasenički | Zuhdija M. Hasanefendić,
Proprietor from Vlasenica |
| 181) | Kolubarski | Andjelko D. Mihailović,
Exporter from Valjevo |
| 182) | Hadjevski | Uroš Nedeljković,
Agriculturist from Krupanj |
| 183) | Podgorski | Djura S. Janković,
Ex-Minister from Belgrade |

- 184) Asbukovački
 185) Jadranski
 186) Mačvanski
 187) Pecerski
 188) Tamnavski
 189) Posavotamnavski
 190) Valjevski
 191) Posavski
 192) Macanski
 193) Ljubicki
 194) Usicki
 195) Zlatiborski
 196) Moravicki
 197) Crnogorski
 198) Dragočevski
 199) Požeški
 200) Trnavski
 201) Ariljski
 202) Beranski
 203) Pribojski
 204) Bjelopoljski
 205) Mileševski
 206) Andrijevički
- Tihomir Vasić,
 Farmer from Čičak
 Dimitrije S. Pavlović,
 Pensioned teacher from Tuzar
 Dr. Mladen S. Milošević,
 Physician from Bogatice
 Ilija S. Popović,
 President of Municipal Council
 from Sapeč
 Dr. Jovan M. Mijusković,
 Physician and honorary uni-
 versity professor from Belgrade
 Milorad Marković,
 Farmer from Svilava
 Dragomir Samokresović,
 Engineer from Valjevo
 Bogoljub M. Sremčević,
 Lawyer from Obrenovac
 Miloje M. Mijaković,
 Newspaperman and former
 deputy from Belgrade
 Vojko P. Đurkić,
 Minister of Posts, telephone,
 and telegraph from Belgrade
 Dr. Cvetko M. Zotović,
 Physician from Ulice
 Streten Kuzeljević,
 Agriculturist from Negbina
 Dr. Božidar Spasović,
 District physician from
 Ivanjica
 Jakov Tomić,
 Merchant from Soca Heka
 Radomir K. Cvijović,
 Pensioned school superinten-
 dent from Čačak
 Milivoje Ilić,
 Farmer from Tvrdić
 Engineer Svetolik Sv. Stanković,
 Industrialist from Čačak
 Gojko M. Novitović,
 Merchant from Belgrade
 Zarija M. Joksimović,
 Pensioner from Baran
 Milan Djekić,
 Renter from Belgrade
 Jusuf Gorović,
 President of Municipal
 Council from Lozna
 Muhamed M. Hasimbegović,
 President of Municipal Council
 from Prijepolje
 Novica M. Popović,
 Pensioned district chief
 from Plav

207)	Plevaljski	Šefkija Selmanović,
208)	Savnički	Merchant from Plevalje
209)	Novovaroski	Mihailo J. Adžić,
210)	Kolašinski	President of Municipal
211)	Gatački	Council from Goranske
212)	Trebinjski	Dr. Slobodan I. Purić,
213)	Nevisinjski	Physician from Nova Varoš
214)	Ljubinjaki	Tričko Žugić,
215)	Bilećski	Lawyer from Belgrade
216)	Baraki	Veljko T. Višnjević,
217)	City of Cetinje	President of Municipal
218)	Podgorički	Council from Cacko
219)	Nikšićski	Savo B. Danilović,
220)	Bokakotorski	Clergyman from Zubac
221)	Podgorički	Uroš O. Doder,
222)	Dubrovački	President of Municipal
223)	Cetinjski	Council from Ulog
224)	Danilovgradski	Slavko T. Ratković,
225)	Djakovički	President of Municipal
226)	Podrimaki	Council from Ljubinje
		Dr. Lazar Marković,
		Pensioned Minister from
		Belgrade
		Djuro Čajović,
		Merchant and former deputy
		from Bar
		Lale Zuber,
		Shipowner from Cetinje
		Ismetbeg Gavran-Kapetanović,
		Bureau Chief in Ministry of
		Trade and Industry and former
		deputy from Sarajevo
		Jovan S. Nadulović,
		Chief in Ministry of Finance
		from Belgrade
		Djuro Drasković,
		Lawyer and president of city
		government from Kotor
		Nešo K. Šćepović,
		President of Municipal Council
		from Podgorica
		Roko Mišetić,
		Pensioned professor from
		Dubrovnik
		Dr. Sekula Drljević,
		Lawyer from Zemun
		Pavle Jovović,
		Lawyer from Belgrade
		Dr. Ljuba Popović,
		Newspaperman from Belgrade
		Mustafa I. Durgutović,
		Agriculturist from Orahovac

- 227) Studenički.
- 228) Pećski
- 229) Deževski
- 230) Mitrovački
- 231) Drenički
- 232) Stavički
- 233) Istočki
- 234) Sjenički
- 235) Somborski
- 236) Odzački
- 237) Kulski
- 238) Dardjanski
- 239) Apatinski
- 240) Batinski
- 241) Sencanski
- 242) Topolski
- 243) Starobečejski
- 244) City of Subotica
- 245) City of Novi Sad
- 246) Palanacki
- 247) Novosadski
- 248) Titelski

Volimir I. J. Kursulic,
 Industrialist from Rasika
 Miro J. Protić,
 President of city government
 from Peć
 Tihomir V. Sarković,
 Merchant from Rasika
 Momčilo Janković,
 Lawyer from Belgrade
 Asim M. Ljubić,
 Apiarist from Djakovica
 Tihomir V. Sarković,
 Merchant from Rasika
 Adem Marulaković,
 President of Municipal Council
 of Zlokudani from Dušević
 Milica M. Atanacković,
 Former bureau chief in Min-
 istry of Posts from Belgrade
 Dr. Cveta Maglić,
 Lawyer from Sombor
 Dr. Jovan Ertl,
 Industrialist from Odzak
 Franja Ham,
 Newspaperman from Novi Sad
 Radoslav T. Andrić,
 Pensioned Lt. Colonel, Darda
 Oton Gavrilović,
 Renter from Belgrade
 Milorad Veselinović,
 Pensioned assistant district
 judge from Sombor
 Sava Vujic,
 President of Municipal
 Council from Senta
 Fodor Gelert,
 President of Municipal
 Council from Horgos
 Engineer Svetozar Stanković,
 Minister of Agriculture
 from Belgrade
 Marko Juric,
 Proprietor from Subotica
 Stevan Ciric,
 President of the Parliament,
 Belgrade
 Dimitrije Magarasevic,
 Minister of Education from
 Belgrade
 Dr. Branko Nikolic,
 Notary public from Novi Sad
 Jevrem B. Tomic,
 Vice-president of the Parli-
 ament from Belgrade

- 249) Žabaljski
- 250) Rumski
- 251) Staropazovski
- 252) Sremskokarlovački
- 253) Iriški
- 254) Zemunski
- 255) Mitrovički
- 256) Iločki
- 257) Šidski
- 258) Velikobečkerečki
- 259) Belocrkvanski
- 260) Velikokikindski
- 261) Kovačički
- 262) Vršacki
- 263) Novokanjiski
- 264) Pančevački
- 265) Alibunarski
- 266) Kovinski
- 267) Jasa Tomić
- 268) Novobečejski

Dr. Djordje Jovanovic,
Physician from Curug
Dimitrije Magarašević,
Minister of Education from
Belgrade
Sava N. Petrović,
Economist from Stara Pazova
Stevan Ciric,
President of the Parliament
from Belgrade
Branko Avramovic
Clergyman and former deputy
from Irig
Savo Bogunovic,
Farmer from Batajnica
Milan S. Milicic,
Pensioned provincial governor
from Sremska Mitrovica
Dusan Popovic,
Clergyman from Čerovic
Živan Kuvačic,
Farmer from Ilade
Nikola Bešlić,
Engineer from Perlez
Dragomir Stojadinovic,
Newspaperman from Belgrade
Dr. Milan Budisin,
Proprietor and provincial
notable from Velika Kikinda
Dr. Djura M. Stankovic,
Physician from Belgrade
Joca M. Georgijevic,
Industrialist from Vrsac
Engineer Svetozar Stankovic,
Minister of Agriculture
from Belgrade
Stanimir M. Stankovic,
Engineer of the Danube-
Tamiška Water Co. from Pančevo
Sava L. Petrov,
Pensioned provincial inspector
from Novi Sad
Slavko J. Nikolic,
Pharmacist from Kovin
Branko J. Glumac,
Former inspector of the Min-
istry of Agriculture from
Belgrade
Rada P. Lungulov,
School superintendent from
Novi Bečej

269)	Pošarevački	Drena Dj. Davinic, Industrialist from Pošarevac
270)	Hamaki	Vojislav V. Djordjevic, Minister without Portfolio from Belgrade
271)	Kolubarski	Voja Mihajlovic, Pharmacist from Lasarevac
272)	Vračarski	Ilija B. Savkovic, Lawyer from Belgrade
273)	Jasenički	Vladimir Rajduk-Veljkovic, Pensioned member of the Council of State from Belgrade
274)	Mladenovački	Milan Lj. Badzak, Former deputy from Mladenovac
275)	Posavski	Nadovan S. Jevtic, Pensioner from Belgrade
276)	Kosmajski	Dr. Milorad M. Vlačkovic, Private physician from Sopot
277)	Podunavski	Milan Stojkic-Jovanovic, Director of <u>Sumadijske</u> from Belgrade
278)	Gročanski	Milan Lj. Badzak, Former deputy from Mladenovac
279)	Kragujevački	Kamenko Božic, Lawyer and senator from Kragujevac
280)	Orasčki	Dr. Živan Lukic, Lawyer from Belgrade
281)	Takovski	Vojko P. Čvrkic, Minister of Posts, Telephone and Telegraph from Belgrade
282)	Kačerski	Milodrag J. Stankovic, District school superintendent from Rudnik
283)	Morevski	Tihomir B. Dimitrijevic, Bank clerk from Aleksandrova Pošarevac
284)	Grušanski	Dragoslav S. Pantovic, Director of the Sumadija National Bank in Kragujevac from Pretok
285)	Orasčki	Ilija P. Mihailovic, Merchant from Arandjelovac
286)	Lepenički	Jakša B. Božic, Farmer from Badnjevac
287)	Oplznački	Jovan M. Jovanovic, Pensioned deputy from Belgrade
288)	Mlavski	Stojadin St. Pavlovic, Merchant from Petrovac
289)	Belički	Delimir M. Petrovic, President of Municipal Govern- ment from Jagodina

- 290) Paraćinski
- 291) Despotovački
- 292) Temnički
- 293) Resavski
- 294) Zviški
- 295) Golubacki
- 296) Ravančki
- 297) Levački
- 298) Homoljski
- 299) Zaječarski
- 300) Zaglavski
- 301) Negotinski
- 302) Boljevački

Stanoje M. Prošić
 Pensioned member of Chief
 Auditor's Board from Belgrade
 Biagoje M. Josić
 Industrialist from Belgrade
 Stanoje M. Prošić
 Pensioned member of Chief
 Auditor's Board from Belgrade
 Dr. Milorad Dimitrijević
 Physician from Svilajnac
 Dušan A. Pantić
 Pensioned Consul General
 from Belgrade
 Dimitrije S. Mirković
 Merchant and former deputy
 from Golupac
 Miloš I. Cukavac
 Lawyer and senator from
 Cuprija
 Dr. Bogić Vukićević
 Physician from Resava
 Dušan A. Pantić
 Pensioned Consul General
 from Belgrade
 Petar J. Vitanović
 Agriculturist from Grijan
 Ljubomir D. Bolinović
 Industrialist from Ražanovac
 Vladimir N. Kazić
 Former deputy from Jabukovac
 Andre M. Milutinović
 Prosecuting attorney
 (resigned) from Zaječar

303)	Ključki	Dr. Ljubica Dj. Dimitrijević,
304)	Krajinaki	Physician from Kladovo
305)	Bračpalanski	Borivoje D. Antić,
306)	Porečki	Former teacher from Sajan
307)	Timocki	Vladimir B. Kasimirović,
308)	Nasinski	Former deputy from Jabukovac
309)	Prokupacki	Nadomir V. Čajić,
310)	Lapski	Merchant from Donji Milanovac
311)	Dobrički	Dr. Nadomir Lj. Nikolić,
312)	Trstenički	Physician from Zajedac
313)	Ražanjaki	Krsta N. Novaković,
314)	Kopaonički	Pharmacist from Krusovac
315)	Župski	Dobrivoje B. Stedović,
316)	Žički	Minister of Public Works
317)	Vučitrnski	from Belgrade
318)	Kosanički	Radivoje Milošević,
319)	Niški	Merchant from Vrčinac
320)	Nišavski	Dobrivoje B. Stedović,
321)	City of Niš	Minister of Public Works
322)	Banjski	from Belgrade
323)	Svrljiški	Miloš Malicević,
		President of the Municipal
		Council from Trstenik
		Milan S. Popović,
		Engineer from Belgrade
		Cvetko Jeličić,
		Industrialist from Brus.
		Dr. Djordje G. Radenković,
		Doctor of Economics from
		Trnavac
		Miljko I. Petrović,
		Economist and President of
		the Municipal Council from
		Dragosinjac
		Miloš Brestanović,
		Pensioned Assistant Minister
		of Agriculture from Belgrade
		Aleksandar Josifović,
		Merchant from Kursumlija
		Dragiša J. Cvetković,
		Minister of Social Welfare
		and National Health from
		Belgrade
		Dimitrije K. Mladenović-"Gaga",
		Merchant from Pirot
		Dragutin M. Živković,
		President of the Municipal
		Government from Niš
		Dr. Vukasin T. Didić,
		Physician from Soko Banja
		Milan Lj. Golubović,
		Merchant from Svrljiga

- 324) Aleksinački
Dragisa J. Gvetkovic,
Minister of Social Welfare
and National Health from
Belgrade
- 325) Caribrodski
Vladimir M. Čobanović,
Vice-president of the Muni-
cipal Government in Nis
- 326) Lužnički
Velimir Marinković "Velja",
Teacher from Mokra Stena
- 327) Belopalanački
Dr. Dusan Stevčić,
Physician from Piroć
- 328) Moravski
Borislav Živadinović,
Pensioned Teacher from Moarja
- 329) Bitoljski
Jovan Altiparmaković
Lawyer from Bitolj
- 330) Bosiljgradski
Vladimir P. Pobijski,
President of Municipal Council
from Bosice
- 331) Vlasotinački
Rista Arandjelović,
Builder from Crna Trava
- 332) Veleški
Todor Živković,
Pensioned colonel and former
deputy from Skoplje
- 333) Galički
Branislav A. Todorović,
Director of the Union Cattle-
breeding Organizations from
Skoplje
- 334) Goraki
Danjan Trbusić,
Bookseller from Priaren
- 335) Gornjopološki
Ugrin Joksimović,
Merchant from Gostivar
- 336) Gračanički
Dr. Milan K. Glavinic,
Former deputy from Belgrade
- 337) Gnjilanski
Zivko Popović,
Teacher from Gnjilan
- 338) Dojranski
Dionisijs J. Prodanović,
Former Assistant of the former
Prosecuting Attorney from
Skoplje
- 339) Debarski
Radoslav M. Dimić,
Industrialist from Belgrade
- 340) Donjopološki
Stojadin Dimitrijević,
Tanner from Tetovo
- 341) Djevdjelijski
Dimitrije R. Beširović,
Merchant from Djevdjelje
- 342) Žegligovski
Milan Simonović,
Minister of Justice from
Belgrade
- 343) Jablanički
Miloš P. Dragović,
Senator from Leban
- 344) Kičevski
Zivko Djordjević,
Farmer from Sveti Vrac

345)	Kavadarški	Ilija L. Gulevic, Student from Kavadar
346)	Kratovski	Mina Dj. Stankovic, Pensioner from Zlatovo
347)	Krushevski	Dusan Antonijevic, Former deputy from Krusovo
348)	Kacanički	Zejnelbeg I. Stracinir, Renter from Skoplje
349)	Krivopalanački	Stamenko Dj. Stosic, Farmer from Stajevac
350)	Kocanski	Vojislav Djordjevic, Minister without portfolio from Belgrade
351)	Leskovački	Todor R. Tonid, Lawyer from Leskovac
352)	Morihovski	Svetozar S. Tasic, Pensioner from Bistoli
353)	Masurički	Milutin J. Krstic, Merchant from Surdulica
354)	Maleški	Sima J. Andonovic, Baker from Pezovo
355)	Negotinski	Dusan Perovic, Pensioner and former deputy from Kavadar
356)	Nerodinski	Ilija B. Agusevic, Renter from Pristina
357)	Ohridski	Anastas Jac Corbevic, Merchant from Ohrid
358)	Ovčepoljski	Mihailo Kostic, Cattle-breeder from Meandro
359)	Preševski	Adim S. Popovic, Engineer from Skoplje
360)	Prespanski	Velimir Andjelkovic, Legal clerk from Belgrade
361)	Porečki	Danilo Djurovic, Contractor from Slatina
362)	Podgoraki	Dr. Vladimir Kostic, Physician from Skoplje
363)	Poljanički	Miladin B. Velickovic, Bookseller and former deputy from Vladinici Han
364)	Prilepski	Dr. Jovan I. Bajkarevic, Physician from Prilep
365)	Pčinjski	Radomir K. Nakic, High school principal from Vranje
366)	Radovski	Metodije Cipusevic, Merchant from Radoviste
367)	Struški	Stojan St. Krstic, Clergyman from Podgorac
368)	Skopski	Dragutin Matovic, Industrialist and vice-presi- dent of the municipal govern- ment in Skoplje

- 369) City of Skoplje
- 370) Strumicki
- 371) Carevoselski
- 372) Stipski
- 373) Šarplaninski

Panta Jovanovic,
President of the Municipal
Council from Skoplje
Mihailo Stojanovic,
Pharmacist from Strumica
Petar Cipevic,
President of the Municipal
Council from Carevo Selo
Mihailo R. Kalamitijevic,
President of the Municipal
Council from Stip
Hadzi Ljuba Petrovic,
Merchant from Pribren

No. 879, 10 January 1939 in
Belgrade

(signed) Dr. Stevan Sagadin,
President the Supreme Electoral
Committee and President of
the Council of State

(signed) St. Gregovic
" Rus. M. Jankovic
" T. Ikonic
" Dr. Milan Kugler
" Dr. Josip Baric
" M. Jankovic
" Drag. Zakavica,
Members of the Supreme
Electoral Committee

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

MEMORANDUM

TO: Charles S. Cheston, Esquire
Acting Director

DATE: 25 January 1945

FROM: DeWitt C. Poole, FW

SUBJECT:

Confirming our conversation on Thursday, I attach the original of a memorandum from me as Chief of Foreign Nationalities Branch to Major General Donovan as Director of Strategic Services relating to the output of this Branch during the three years 1942 -- 44 and the binding of this output in two convenient sets -- one for the permanent archives of OSS and the other for transmission to the Secretary of State with the compliments of Director of Strategic Services.

The binding is to be done in the Reproduction Unit of OSS.

De Witt C. Poole, Chief
Foreign Nationalities Branch

Attachment

15-000
1-18
Washington, D. C.
1 January 1945

To: Major General William J. Donovan,
Director of Strategic Services

During the last three years the Foreign Nationalities Branch of the Office of Strategic Services has reported systematically on an aspect of American foreign relations which during the first World War and generally up to 1941 had escaped consistent inquiry and analysis. Pursuant to a request which originated with the Department of State in October of that year, the Branch has since 1941 kept the Office of Strategic Services, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Department of State currently informed of sentiments and opinions and public activities relating to the political issues of Europe and the Near East among (1) the so-called foreign-nationality, or ethnic, groups in the American population, and (2) the numerous foreign political refugees who reached America from Europe after Hitler's advent to power and have here availed themselves of American democratic freedom and the sympathetic response of cognate national elements to obtain support for their numerous causes.

At the end of 1944 the whole series of reports which had been put out filled a total of nearly 7,000 pages. Constituting, as these pages do, a unique and confidential record of an important aspect of our unfolding political experience, it is thought

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that they should be made available for future reference by officials and authorized scholars. The reports for the three years 1942, 1943, and 1944 have therefore been put together in 16 conveniently sized volumes, arranged by ethnic groups and chronologically. A table of contents records the contents of each volume.

It is recommended that one set of these volumes be kept in the permanent archives of the Office of Strategic Services and that another set be transmitted to the Secretary of State. Reports issued during 1945 and succeeding years would then in due time be similarly bound and added to the collection.

Respectfully,

DeWitt C. Poole

DeWitt C. Poole, Chief
Foreign Nationalities Branch

12 SEP. 1944

Mr. Poole

This is to inform you that General Donovan has made the following comment to your memorandum of 12 September 1944 concerning the request of SI Headquarters in Rome for ten copies each of FM memoranda on Italian American affairs:

"No. I do not. You are right in not sending it."

E. J. Putzeli, Jr.
Lt. (J.G.) USNR
Assistant Executive
Officer

Office of the Executive Officer

(30249)

FORM 100-10

SECRET

August

To: General

As you requested, I showed the attached to Mr. Sheperdson. He says that he has looked into the matter and will report to you about it.

Attachment

10-10-44

SECRET

Office of the Secretariat

(100)

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: Brig. Gen. William J. Donovan
Director

DATE: 22 September 1944

FROM: DeWitt C. Poole, FN

SUBJECT:

I am advised by the Reporting Board in Washington that SI headquarters in Rome have asked for ten copies each of FN memoranda on Italian-American affairs for distribution locally, since the memoranda already received are highly regarded. This is a large order and I feel that I should ascertain from you whether our memoranda should be allowed to circulate on any such scale.

Through the State Department FN memoranda on Italian-American affairs are already reaching the United States representative on the Allied Commission for Italy and the United States mission at the Vatican. The SI request contains no specification of those to whom the requested ten copies would be sent. The Reporting Board surmises possibilities such as the Supreme Allied Command, AMG, PWB, General O'Dwyer.

DeWitt C. Poole
Chief, Foreign Nationalities Branch

*No - I do not
9m are
in not
Poole informed*

~~Harmon~~ Lee
Phon
Luch on
evening. Tolen
f me.

SN -

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

INTEROFFICE MEMO



TO: General William J. Donovan
Director of Strategic Services

DATE: 29 July 1944

FROM: DeWitt C. Poole, Chief, FN

SUBJECT:

An incident in connection with a recent meeting (24 July) of two Albanian-American societies in Boston raises a question of general policy to which I think you will wish to give consideration.

In the ordinary course of its operations FN covered the ~~the~~ meeting in question. The FN representative in Boston, who does not work openly as an OSS representative but in his private capacity of journalist and publisher, was told by officers of the two Albanian-American societies that three OSS men had been in Boston prior to the meeting and certain action subsequently taken by the Albanian-Americans at their meeting had been in accordance with the behests of these visitors. The visitors were identified as Mr. Brennan and Mr. Adams and "an Army officer of high rank."

Upon receipt of this information Professor Blegen of FN spoke by phone with Mr. Philip Adams of SI. Mr. Adams was disturbed and asked that the facts be omitted from any report FN might prepare. Of course, this will be done.

- 2 -

OSS
SECRET
FNB

However, the problem of coordination arises. Until three or four months ago, the Foreign Language Division of OWI made attempts to influence the actions of foreign nationality groups in positive ways. They were not very successful and Elmer Davis had them give it up. In the period of their activity even OWI, however, kept this Branch advised in a general way of what it was doing in each case and we governed ourselves accordingly.

If any branch of OSS thinks of positive action among foreign nationality groups it seems to me clear that FN should be apprised. In most cases FN would be able to supply useful information and advice.

The present case is particularly noteworthy because of subsequent action by Mr. Adams. Mr. Adams had asked Professor Blegen the source of our information. Professor Blegen replied that it was confidential. Later one of the principal figures in the Albanian-American situation (Chekrezi) volunteered the statement to us that Mr. Adams had asked him if he, Chekrezi, had told us of the activities of Messrs. Adams and Brennan. Chekrezi had not done so. Chekrezi's interest has naturally been aroused and he may do some talking in Boston which can prove embarrassing all around.

act

to,
Major Duncan Lee

Here is the story
of the Albanian set
top's that you & I
discussed on the phone
this morning.

Aug 44 ACF

FROM: ROBERT C. FOGLE

FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES
 MEMORANDUM TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
 FROM THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
 Number D-230 29 Aug 1945

TOWARD ALBANIAN-AMERICAN UNITY

Hitherto divided, apparently due to a lack of
 unity toward King Zog, the two Albanian-
 American societies Vatra and Free Albania have
 agreed to collaborate, and as a first step
 have set up a joint representative committee
 in Washington. An eight-point program (at-
 taching) awaiting final endorsement by the two societies
 has been adopted. It looks toward the forma-
 tion of a government-in-exile to function under
 the provisional leadership of Zog until the
 Albanian people have a chance to express their
 will in a plebiscite after the war.

IN A series of swift moves crowded into the very last moments of the
 concurrent annual conventions in Boston 2-4 July, the two
 Albanian-American political societies, Vatra and Free Albania, have reached
 an understanding for collaboration. The societies have committed them-
 selves to cooperation in two projects. One provides for the immediate
 establishment in Washington of an Albanian-American Committee to repre-
 sent the two societies before the United States Government. The other
 project sets up an eight-point program for a united front with the ob-
 ject of making possible the formation of an Albanian government-in-exile.
 The first agreement was endorsed by the officials and delegates of the
 two societies present at the meetings, and has been formally presented

CONFIDENTIAL

NUMBER 5-250

- 2 -

TOP SECRET

to the Department of State. The plan for a united front which was signed by the special committees created to work out the agreement and by the presidents of Vatra and Free Albania, was also to have been delivered to the Department of State, but the presentation was delayed because of a legal technicality.

Background of Unity Issues

For many months a movement had been gaining support among the members of both societies to find some way of uniting the two into a single organization which could assume the leadership of the Albanian-American community. Only a united front, it was felt, could secure some kind of benevolent recognition from the United Nations and lay the foundations for rendering effective aid in the post-war reconstruction of Albania. Many members of both organizations had expressed the wish that the two societies might come together in at least one joint session during the conventions for a discussion of the problem. That hope was not realized. According to Constantine Chékrazi, the re-elected president of Free Albania, mutual distrust engendered during the past two and one-half years was too strong.

In spite of the failure of the project for a joint session and despite the consequent necessity for a cumbersome exchange of views by means of special committees, the two conventions did succeed in making progress toward unity.

The Conventions

By the end of the second day (3 July) both conventions had unanimously ratified an agreement to set up a committee in Washington to represent the two societies before the American Government. The first article of the agreement approved establishment of the committee, under the name "Albanian-American Committee." Succeeding

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

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28 JUL 1944

articles provided that the Committee should consist of three members, one from Free Albania, one from Vatra, and one non-partisan agreeable to both societies; that the Committee should proceed at once to Washington and enter into contact with the American Government, reporting the result of its conferences to the two societies so that they might be able to lay definite plans for future action; and that each society should pay the expenses of its own representative together with half the expenses of the non-partisan member. The fifth and concluding article stated that as long as the Committee continued to function, polemics between the rival society newspapers, *Dlalli* and *Liria*, must cease.*

In the meantime the project for a united front was having difficult sladding. Special conference committees of five, named respectively by each society, met several times and reported back to their conventions. By this shuttling method a text was being worked out to the satisfaction of both parties, but full agreement had not yet been attained by the time the Free Albania convention came to an end.

Conferences between the special committees of the two societies continued, however, and on 6 July an agreement was achieved. The agreement, it is reported, was subsequently accepted and signed by the Committee members and by the presidents of the two societies.

Eight-Point Agreement

A copy of the agreement, which has not yet been published in either of the Albanian-language papers, has come into the possession of this Branch. It reads as follows.

1. The United Front of the Albanians abroad is hereby constituted under the leadership of Zog for the duration of the war and up to the

* See "The Albanian-Language Press in the United States," FN Number 106 of 21 June 1944.

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

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day when the Albanian people will be in a position to determine their own form of government through a plebiscite to be held under the supervision of an Allied Commission.

2. Zog is to state, on his part, that he will not return to Albania prior to the holding of a plebiscite and that he is delegating his authority to a delegation composed as follows: 1/3 of its members to be appointed by Zog; 1/3 by the anti-Zog groups; 1/3 by the Fighting Forces, as proposed by the Society of the American Friends of Albania.

3. The delegation will take the form of a Provisional Government-in-Exile the moment it will be recognized as such by the Allies, and its members will take oath in the name of Albanian People to act loyally in the interests of the Nation and on the basis of the Program of the United Front.

4. The Government-in-Exile shall be considered as fallen the moment in which the Allies will recognize a government constituted within Albania.

5. In case the Allies would not have recognized any other government constituted within Albania, the Government in-Exile will be reconstituted coincident with the entrance of the Allies in Albania, assigning the most important posts to the parties and groups which have taken active part in the war of liberation.

The government thus constituted will hold the plebiscite at the very first favorable opportunity and not later than a year from the cessation of hostilities in the Balkans.

6. The composition of the Provisional Government-in-Exile as provided in Article 3 of this agreement cannot be changed except through the common consent of the three parties participating in it from the beginning.

7. For the purpose of forming the United Front on the basis of this agreement, FREE ALBANIA and VATRA are hereby authorizing Messrs. Zume, Logoreci, and Zavalani to enter into negotiations with Zog or his duly authorized delegates. The two societies approve in its entirety the

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

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NUMBER 6-230

" 5 "

23 JULY 1944

declaratory part of the Project-Program of London.*

B. in case these conditions are not accepted, FREE ALBANIA and VATRA engage themselves to establish the United Front on different bases.

The article which caused the greatest trouble was the eighth and last. As originally phrased it stated that those who refused to accept the conditions should be left outside the United Front -- the Albanian fighting forces being excepted from this provision. In a suggested modification proposed by Chekrezi, specific reference was made to King Zog, who was to be rebudiated in case he declined to approve the agreement. This form was found objectionable by the representatives of Vatra who thought it might alienate their Moslem members still faithful to Zog. In the more general version finally adopted, the two societies committed themselves to collaboration on some other basis in case the program as formulated should not be accepted.

Two Interpretations of the Agreement

Leaders of Vatra and Free Albania saw in the agreement victory for their respective organizations.

Each group believed the other to be too deeply committed now to withdraw. Vatra, its leaders declared by insisting on a general statement in the final article, had saved face so far as the question of King Zog was concerned. There would still be some difficulty in overcoming objections of the Moslem members who were for the most part ardently devoted to Zog; the Moslems were not very numerous among the members, but they were well-established in this country and their financial support was deemed essential by Vatra.

* For a summary of the Project-Program see "A Survey of Albanian-American Relations," FN Number 168 of 17 January 1944.

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FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

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Bishop Fan Noli, honorary president of Vatra, refused to participate in the decision, stating that he had withdrawn altogether from politics, but he was present during part of the discussion and he did not oppose the agreement. Gerim Panarity, re-elected secretary of Vatra, remarked to a member of this Branch that the united front would at best be shaky because of Chekrezi's grandiose ambitions and the fluctuating value of his promises. Chekrezi was definitely trying to set the stage for a triumphant return to power in Tirana. He was, in the estimation of Vatra leaders, a man of great abilities, but scheming, devious, and unprincipled. "Sure, he needs us more than we need him," Mr. Panarity remarked, "but I just don't trust that fellow."

Chekrezi, on the other hand, was pleased with the results. Vatra had yielded on all the main principles for which Free Albania had been fighting since its organization, and even though Zog's name was not specifically mentioned in the final article, the meaning of that article was unmistakable. Chekrezi expressed no more confidence in the officers of Vatra than they had in him; but he believed that they were now compelled by the majority sentiment of their membership to join in a united front.

The only immediate complication envisioned by Chekrezi came from a news story, first published on 30 June and confirmed by the Associated Press on 13 July, that the guerrillas in Albania had formed a National Committee to seek military aid from the Allies and eventual recognition as a government. If that report proved true, Chekrezi said, and if the Allies were to grant recognition, then article 4 of the joint agreement would come into effect and the movement for the formation of a government-in-exile would have to be dropped.

The three men who under the terms of article 7 were instructed to enter into negotiations with King Zog or his authorized delegates included two

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

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NUMBER 4-150

78 JULY 1944

representatives of Free Albania, Messrs. Zavalani and Isgeraci, and one spokesman for Vatra, Mr. Duma.

Obstacles to Validation

Formal presentation to the Department of State of the agreement to establish an Albanian-American Committee took place 22 July with Chekrezi representing Free Albania and Panarity, Vatra. Chekrezi and Panarity were unable to present the eight-point united front agreement because at the last moment its legality was challenged. The agreement had not been ratified by the Councils of Vatra or Free Albania, and they alone, it was pointed out, were empowered to speak for their respective societies when the conventions were not in session. The objection was judged to be valid by Chekrezi and Panarity, and they have taken steps to reassemble their Councils and to obtain the necessary signatures.

While unable officially to take up with the Department of State the question of a united front, Chekrezi and Panarity, during their call, presented the text of the agreement for establishing an Albanian-American Committee in Washington. Here too, however, trouble has since developed. The appointment of one of the three-man Committee has not been settled. It had been decided that Chekrezi and Panarity should represent Free Albania and Vatra respectively, but the two societies have not yet been able to agree on the third member. It is understood that the question of this appointment will be further discussed when the two Councils reconvene in Boston.

Progress

Although the personal animosities of the leaders of the rival Societies appear to have been little mollified, the steps taken by the two conventions toward collaboration and possible unity have already had perceptible effects. Polemics in the newspapers have ceased; the editor of *Dinliri* wrote an apology to the editor of *Liria* for two or three phrases

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

CONFIDENTIAL

NUMBER 8-230

20 JULY 1989

used in an article which had already been set up and printed for the 15 July issue of *Diarii*. Chokrozi remarked that he had proposed a partial amalgamation of *Liria* and *Diarii* under an arrangement by which neither would give up its name or identity, but each would be published fortnightly in alternation with the other for the members of both societies.

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

CONFIDENTIAL

Foreign Nationalities Branch
RESTRICTED

22 May 1944

Mr. Wallace Murray, Director,
Department of State,
Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Murray:

I am pleased to learn from your letter of 18 May 1944 that you find useful the reports and memoranda of the Foreign Nationalities Branch presently being provided to you, and I note that the Department would desire to receive copies of this material for transmission to certain missions abroad.

I am asking the Foreign Nationalities Branch to supply the necessary number of copies of its material directly to the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs.

Sincerely yours,

G. Edward Buxton,
Acting Director.

RESTRICTED

QS:mr

RESTRICTED M-572**OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES****INTEROFFICE MEMO**

TO: Colonel G. Edward Burton
FROM: Edwitt C. Poole
SUBJECT:

DATE: 19 May 1944

With reference to Mr. Wallace Murray's letter, 15 May 1944, to General Donovan, asking that the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs in the State Department be supplied with PW material for distribution to certain named diplomatic and consular posts abroad, I recommend that the following reply be sent to Mr. Wallace by you as Acting Director:

I am pleased to learn from your letter of 15 May 1944 that you find useful the reports and memoranda of the Foreign Nationalities Branch presently being provided to you, and I note that the Department would desire to receive copies of this material for transmission to certain missions abroad.

I am asking the Foreign Nationalities Branch to supply the necessary number of copies of its material directly to the appropriate office in the Department of State, and I agree that this will obviate the necessity of any other distribution to the State Department's officers within the area of your jurisdiction.

*of
Near
Eastern
African
Affairs*

ACF

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

RESTRICTED

TO : Mr. DeWitt G. Poole, Director
Foreign Nationalities Branch

DATE 16 May 1944

FROM : Secretariat

SUBJECT: Reports of Foreign Nationalities Branch

I am attaching hereto a copy of a letter received from Wallace Murray of the State Department respecting your reports. You previously prepared a draft of a reply to a similar inquiry by James Dunn under date of 25 April. It would appear appropriate to reply in some similar fashion to Mr. Murray's request.

*Memo to Austin
14 May 1944*

Attachment



[Signature]
Quinn Tamm
1st Lt., USMC
Assistant Chief, Secretariat

RESTRICTED

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

Foreign Nationalities Branch
RESTRICTED

My dear General Donovan:

May 15, 1944

The reports and memoranda of the Foreign Nationalities Branch of the Office of Strategic Services which are being provided us continue to be of interest and use and contribute to the information and understanding our officers have with regard to particular political situations.

While I am told that certain of these reports from the Office of Strategic Services reach some of our diplomatic missions in the Near Eastern area directly, I wish to suggest, after consultation with the Chiefs of the various component divisions within the structure of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, that steps be taken, if convenient, for the Foreign Nationalities Branch of OSS to provide this office regularly with pertinent reports and studies for distribution through the Department's pouch to the following foreign posts under its general jurisdiction. I believe this would obviate the necessity of any other distribution to the Department's officers within those areas.

American Embassy, Ankara
American Consulate General, Istanbul
American Legation, Cairo
American Legation, Beirut
American Legation, Damascus
American Legation, Saudi Arabia
American Legation, Baghdad
American Consulate General, Jerusalem
American Mission, New Delhi
American Legation, Tehran
American Legation, Kabul
American Legation, Tangier

Sincerely yours,

632

Wallace Murray
Wallace Murray
Director

Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs

Brigadier General William J. Donovan,
Director, Office of Strategic Services,
Washington, D. C.



RESTRICTED

Joseph P. Kamp
10/15/44

22 April 1944

Mr. James Clement Dunn, Director,
Office of European Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Dunn:

I am pleased to learn from your letter of 21 April 1944 that you find useful the reports and memoranda of the Foreign Nationalities Branch presently being provided to you, and I note that the Department would desire to receive copies of this material for transmission to certain missions abroad.

I am asking the Foreign Nationalities Branch to supply the necessary number of copies of its material directly to the Office of European Affairs. Since your list includes Mr. Schoenfeld at the American Embassy at London, who has been receiving this material directly from OEA, our direct distribution to him will now be terminated.

Sincerely yours,

G. Edward Bunker,
Acting Director.

RES

Enclosure

4 pages handwritten - 14323

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: Colonel G. Edward Buxton
Assistant Director of Strategic Services

DATE: 25 April 1944

FROM: DeWitt C. Poole, Director, FN

SUBJECT:

Regarding the letter addressed to General Donovan by Mr. Dunn of the State Department on 21 April 1944, a copy of which has reached me through Mr. Bane, I suggest that you reply to Mr. Dunn as follows:

Dear Mr. Dunn:

I am pleased to learn from your letter of 21 April 1944 that you find ^{useful} the reports and memoranda of the Foreign Nationalities Branch ^{being furnished to you,} ~~to be of interest and use,~~ and I note that the Department would desire to receive copies of this material for transmission to certain missions abroad, ~~which you name~~.

I am asking the Foreign Nationalities Branch to supply the necessary number of copies of its material directly to the Office of European Affairs. Since your list includes Mr. Schoenfeld at the American Embassy at London, who has been receiving this material directly from OSS, our direct distribution to him will now be terminated.

The copy of Dunn's letter furnished by Mr. Bane is attached.

Attachment

ACF

DeWitt C. Poole
Director
Foreign Nationalities Branch

RESTRICTED

OFF

9/2/1944

My dear General Donovan:

The reports and memoranda of the Foreign Nationalities Branch of the Office of Strategic Services which are being provided as continue to be of interest and use and contribute to the information and understanding our officers have with regard to particular political situations.

While I am told that certain of these reports from the Office of Strategic Services reach some of our diplomatic missions in the European area directly, I wish to suggest, after consultation with the Chiefs of the various component divisions within the structure of EUR, that steps be taken, if convenient, for the Foreign Nationalities Branch of OSS to provide EUR regularly with pertinent reports and studies for distribution through the Department's pouch to the following foreign posts under the general jurisdiction of the Office of European Affairs. I believe this would ...

Brigadier General William J. Donovan
Director, Office of Strategic Services
Washington, D. C.

1401A

-2-

would obviate the necessity of any other distribution
to the Department's officers within these areas.

American Embassy, Madrid;
American Embassy, Lisbon;
American Consulate General, Algiers (for
Ambassador Murphy);
American Consulate General, Algiers (for
United States Representation to the
French Committee of National Liberation);
American Consulate General, Algiers (for the
United States Member, Advisory Council
for Italy);
American Legation, Cairo (for Ambassador
McFague);
American Embassy, London;
American Embassy, London (for Schoenfeld);
American Legation, Stockholm;
American Embassy, Ottawa;
American Embassy, Moscow.

Sincerely yours,

James Clement Dunn
Director, Office of European Affairs

EUR:EAR:HPO

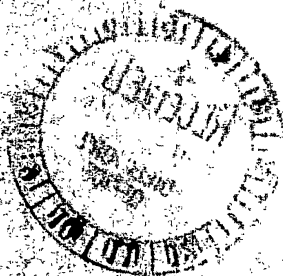
4/21/44

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SECRET/RYHVI

RESTRICTED



26 April 1944

Mr. DuWitt Peole

The attached is referred to you for
the preparation of a reply for
Colonel Dunton's signature.

C. A. Bane.

SECRETARIAT

26 APR 21 PM 5 24

Follow up

000

4/27/44

Bane:rlc

RESTRICTED

OFFICIAL DOCUMENT AND TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

My Dear General Donovan:

The reports and memoranda of the Foreign Nationalities Branch of the Office of Strategic Services which are being provided us continue to be of interest and use and contribute to the information and understanding our officers have with regard to particular political situations.

While I am told that certain of these reports from the Office of Strategic Services reach some of our diplomatic missions in the European area directly, I wish to suggest, after consultation with the Chiefs of the various component divisions within the structure of EUR, that steps be taken, if convenient, for the Foreign Nationalities Branch of OSS to provide EUR regularly with pertinent reports and studies for distribution through the Department's pouch to the following foreign posts under the general jurisdiction of the Office of European Affairs. I believe this would ...

Brigadier General William J. Donovan
Director, Office of Strategic Services
Washington, D. C.



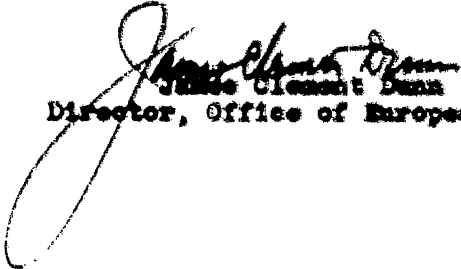
RES. 100-100

-2-

would obviate the necessity of any other distribution
to the Department's officers within these areas.

American Embassy, Madrid;
American Embassy, Lisbon;
American Consulate General, Algiers (for
Ambassador Murphy);
American Consulate General, Algiers (for
United States Representation to the
French Committee of National Liberation);
American Consulate General, Algiers (for the
United States Member, Advisory Council
for Italy);
American Legation, Cairo (for Ambassador
MacVeagh);
American Embassy, London;
American Embassy, London (for Schoenfeld);
American Legation, Stockholm;
American Embassy, Ottawa;
American Embassy, Moscow.

Sincerely yours,


James Clement Dunn
Director, Office of European Affairs

OFF

1944 JUL 27 AM 2 57

RECEIVED

RESTRICTED

Distribution of TN - 6-24

1. Burton _____
2. Outhank (PS) _____
3. Richards _____
4. Kimbel _____
5. Hinks _____
6. Howland _____
7. Hoag _____
8. Davis _____
9. Lovell _____
10. Magruder _____
11. McDonough _____
12. Sheperdson _____
13. Langer _____
14. Scribner _____
 Roberts _____
 Bedfish _____
 Lincoln _____
 Carter _____
15. Ford _____
16. Sears _____
17. Lowman _____
18. Dodd *us* _____
19. Chapin *us* *Mr. Howley* _____
20. Tamm *us* *Mr. Howley* _____
21. Wilson *us* _____
22. Secretariat
 Cheston
 H. Wilson

Text of speech delivered by
 Field Marshal Smuts 25 Nov. '43
 before Empire Parliamentary
 Association in London.

Admiral Nelson
ADD *Admiral Nelson* *Spent* *10/11/43*

Rehane
Comm. Hagan
11/11/43

Also sent copy
W. H. Hagan report
11/11/43

General Donovan
x Halifax speech
SECRET

24 February 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR COLONEL LOEBING

FROM: General Donovan

SUBJECT: Report on Halifax Speech

I have been over Dewitt Poole's memorandum on the Halifax speech. I think it very good and want to be sent out. Only three things I think should be eliminated because they get into the field of characterization: one on page 7, the sentence "The advantages of an international police force would go well to counter Botha's words." This should be eliminated. On page 7, the question, "Will a democracy take offensive action betimes?" should be cut out. And on the last page, there should not be any statement about "recent developments". I think it would be better to let the speech end on the phrase "... are caught in the same riptide ..."

I have told Dewitt Poole this and said that he could send it out.

SECRET

OIS FORM 6001a

Date 12/2/64

SECRET

Colonel Patton

As Mr. Poole has outlined in the attached memorandum, he has submitted to this office 25 copies of a memorandum on the recent speech made in Canada by Lord Hailsham. Mr. Poole wishes it to be understood that this is a personal effort of his and not an official publication of the Branch, although you will notice that it bears the PB letterhead and an PB serial number.

Since Mr. Poole wishes to leave the question of distribution to the Directorate Office, we attach for your guidance a copy of the distribution sheet for the House's speech which was made the subject of a similar memorandum a short time ago by Mr. Poole.

C. A. Bone
C. A. Bone

Office of the Secretariat

SECRET

(4139)

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.



9 February 1944

Colonel G. Edward Duxton
Office of Strategic Services
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ned:

You will probably remember that I supplied the Memorandum with the full text of Field Marshal Smuts' important speech of last November, together with some commentary to accompany the speech which Lord Halifax delivered in Toronto 21 January 1944 is a sequel to the Smuts pronouncement and should, I believe, have the careful attention of the principal persons in OSS. Therefore, I have taken it on myself to prepare still another memorandum which puts Halifax's speech in what seems to me the right framework and quotes all the essential parts of the complete text which was supplied to me by the British Security Coordination.

Twenty-five copies of this memorandum are supplied herewith. I am not making any distribution myself. If the paper seems to you to have value you may care to have the Secretariat send it around to the appropriate persons.

In making this gratuitous contribution I hope I am not duplicating work which has already been done in some other part of OSS.

VERY TRULY
Sincerely yours,

Dewitt C. Poole

Enclosures

SECRETOFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH12 February 1944
FN Number S-82

MEMORANDUM

Speaking in Toronto 24 January 1944 on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Toronto Board of Trade, the British Ambassador to the United States, Viscount Halifax, wrote a second chapter in the new book of British foreign policy which Field Marshal Smuts opened 25 November 1943 with a speech before the Empire Parliamentary Association in London.*

The two pronouncements, which have both elicited a lively response, favorable and unfavorable, set out from an identical basic thought. This beginning point was stated by Halifax at Toronto with a characteristic directness and simplicity. "Today we begin to look beyond the war to the reordering of the world which must follow," he said. "We see three great powers, the United States, Russia and China, great in numbers, areas and natural resources. Side by side with them is the United Kingdom, with a population of less than 50,000,000 with a territory which could easily be contained in one of the larger States of the American Union, and with natural resources

*The full text of the Smuts speech, with some informal commentary, was circulated in OSS under date of 22 December 1943 as FN Number S-82.

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which, though great in proportion to her size, are by themselves scarcely comparable with those of her companions."

"In the company of these Titans," Halifax continued, "Britain, apart from the rest of the Commonwealth and Empire, could hardly claim equal partnership. It is none the less likely that, when the war is ended, Western Europe, as never before, will look to her for leadership and guidance. She has been the one inviolate fortress of freedom in the West. Once again her people have shown their ancient virtue.

"They have disclosed unsuspected reserves of strength. Much will be asked of them."

"Yet," Halifax proceeded with his argument, "while they will assuredly emerge from this war with a new self-confidence and feel rightly proud of their achievement, they will certainly be poorer. They will have drawn heavily upon their manpower and resources. They will have spent their accumulated capital without stint. If, in the future, Britain is to play her part without assuming burdens greater than she can support, she must have with her in peace the same strength that has sustained her in this war. Not Great Britain only, but the British Commonwealth and Empire must be the fourth power in that group upon which, under Providence, the peace of the world will henceforth depend. There, summed up in a sentence, is the need as I see it."

* * *

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main emphasis in the Soviet speech, it will be the need for tightening relations between the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries. That aroused so lively a reaction through- out the Empire. It is not impossible that what took place in the motivation of the speech was the reaction manifested at Moscow. The emphasis on Europe and sugges- tion in the Empire, the prime concern, appropriately to his oc- casion, of the Empire. If the British Empire is to have like equal weight among the members of the British Empire, it must be brought into closer working union. The Canadian audience, and the general public in the Dominions, that, when on 3 September 1939 Britain declared war on Germany, Australia and New Zealand declared war on the same day, and South Africa and Canada followed a few days later. A visitor from another planet might wonder, he remarked, "what possible interest the Polish Corridor could have for a Canadian, or Denmark for an Australian, or the western frontier of Poland for a South African."

"The Dominions," he proceeded, "had not been parties to the Treaty of Guarantee to Poland which was the

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The main emphasis in the Smuts speech, it will be remembered, was the need for tightening relations between Great Britain and the Western European countries. That was the point which aroused so lively a reaction throughout Europe and the world. It is not impossible that what Smuts said has had some part in the motivation of the vigorous foreign policy since manifested at Moscow.

In contrast to Smuts's emphasis on Europe and suggestion of further decentralization in the Empire, the prime emphasis in Halifax's speech, appropriately to its occasion, was upon tightening the Empire. If the British entity was to have something like equal weight among the post-war Big Four, he argued, the members of the British Commonwealth must be brought into closer working union. Halifax reminded his Canadian audience, and the general audience of the Dominions, that, when on 3 September 1939 Great Britain declared war on Germany, Australia and New Zealand declared war on the same day, and South Africa and Canada followed a few days later. A visitor from another planet might wonder, he remarked, "what possible interest the Polish Corridor could have for a Canadian, or Danzig for an Australian, or the western frontier of Poland for a South African."

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"The Dominions," he proceeded, "had not been parties to the Treaty of Guarantee to Poland which was the

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immediate cause of Great Britain's action. They were themselves in no danger of direct attack. They had influenced, but had not been responsible for, the foreign policy of Great Britain."

With these words Halifax laid bare the kernel of the problem which by his speech he has once more broached for the members of the British Commonwealth. It is the problem of a direct and explicit sharing by the Dominions in the day-to-day responsibility for foreign policy, and as a corollary thereto the current management of imperial defense.

* * *

Halifax did not mention at Toronto that this very problem had been presented to the First Imperial Conference in 1911. The Prime Minister of New Zealand, Sir Joseph Ward, then submitted a proposal for a new governing body in the Empire, which he called variously an Imperial Council of State and an Imperial Parliament of Defence. Canada and Australia had at that time begun to construct navies of their own. Ward was alarmed by the threat implied to the Empire's political unity. He sought to point up and center in some one body, representing the Dominions along with the United Kingdom, "exclusive control over the Empire as a whole in all questions involving peace or war." "Peace

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and war treaties and foreign relations generally" and Imperial Defence were to come within its purview.*

The reception accorded Ward's proposal by the representatives of the United Kingdom and of the Dominions other than New Zealand does not augur favorably for the success of the suggestions which Halifax has offered at Toronto. Nor does the recent action of Australia, hastening impatiently into special arrangements with New Zealand for defense in the Pacific, mitigate the impression that the Dominions may now be even more conscious of their individual positions than they were a generation ago.

It became clear enough in 1911 that the Dominions' mounting spirit of self-conscious independence did not operate to induce their Governments to seek constant and full participation in policy-making at London but on the contrary to hold back from any such running and complete commitment; and the resistance which the Halifax speech at once called forth in Canada last month is believed to be essentially indistinguishable from the spirit of "isolationism." It is the same really as that understandable conservatism and caution which kept the United States in 1919 from formal participation in the League of Nations. The Canadian revulsion against the Halifax speech presents

* All the quotations in this paper, except those from Lord Halifax's speech, for which the text of the British Information Services was used, are from A.B. Keith: Selected Speeches and Documents on British Colonial Policy 1763-1912. Volume II.

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itself as one advance sample of the popular response which may possibly be heard in Canada and generally in answer to proposals after this war for closer international organization.

Speaking at the 1911 Conference for the Union of South Africa, General Botha said of the Ward proposal: "I have asked myself whether this proposal... is a practical one. No one can feel more than I do, that as often as the British Government has to deal with matters which may affect a particular part of the Empire, it is essential that the particular Dominion concerned should have an opportunity of being heard and of expressing its views. After the most careful consideration, however, I have come to the conclusion that this object cannot satisfactorily be attained through an Imperial Council such as proposed in this resolution. How is such a Council to be appointed? Who will decide what matters must come before it? What authority is to be vested in it? To what representative body is such a Council to be responsible? These are only a few of the questions which crop up immediately, and it seems to me that no satisfactory reply can be given to them. If any real authority is to be vested in such an Imperial Council, I feel convinced that the self-governing powers of the various parts of the Empire must necessarily be encroached upon, and that would be a proposition which I am certain no Parliament in any part of the Empire will entertain for one moment."

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Botha apprehended that Ward's proposal meant "the creation of some body in which would be centralized authority over the whole Empire." This, in his view, he went on to state, would be "a step entirely antagonistic to the policy of Great Britain which has been so successful in the past and which has undoubtedly made the Empire what it is today. It is the policy of decentralization which has made the Empire -- the power granted to its various peoples to govern themselves. It is the liberty which these peoples have enjoyed and enjoy under the British flag which has bound them to the Mother Country. That is the strongest tie between the Mother Country and the Dominions, and I am sure that any scheme which does not fully recognize this, could only bring disappointment and disillusionment. I fear that the premature creation of such an Imperial Council as is suggested would -- rather than bring the different parts of the Empire closer together -- tend to make the connexion onerous and unpleasant to the Dominions."

It is interesting to remember that during the Boer War Botha was the commanding general of Jan Smuts, now Field Marshal Smuts, then the leader, aged barely 30, of the irregular Boer forces which operated against the British in

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the Cape Colony; and that until his death in 1919 Botha remained Smuts's political guide and mentor, his revered and ever trusted senior.

* * *

The unreadiness of Botha and other Dominion leaders in 1911 to accept full participation in what was nearly always euphoniously referred to as "Empire defense," and the equal unreadiness of London to have them do so, may be still more clearly understood if we recall that in the British conception the strategy of naval power cannot be defensive. "To use the word defence," the Admiralty asserted in a memorandum to the Colonial Conference of 1902, "would be misleading, because the word carries with it the idea of a thing to be defended, which would divert attention to local defence instead of fixing it on the force from which attack is to be expected."

"The traditional role of the British Navy," the Admiralty proceeded, "is not to act on the defensive, but to prepare to attack the force which threatens -- in other words, to assume the offensive. On one occasion England departed from her traditional policy, and, acting on the defensive, kept her ships in harbour unrigged and unmanned, with the result that the Dutch fleet sailed up the Medway

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and burnt the ships of war at their moorings."

This sets off an interesting train of thought about the Imperial German navy, Tirpitz's plans for which had in 1902 recently received the approval of the Reichstag, and the later submarine menace. The Admiralty's statement also provides ground for speculation about the possible "defensive" or "police" use by American democracy after this war of air power, it being assumed that the strategy of air power is not essentially different from that of naval power.

In another memorandum, dated 1912, the Admiralty explained: "Naval supremacy is of two kinds: general and local. General naval supremacy consists in the power to defeat in battle and drive from the seas the strongest hostile navy or combination of hostile navies wherever they may be found. Local superiority consists in the power to send in good time to, or maintain permanently in, some distant theatre, forces adequate to defeat the enemy or hold him in check until the main decision has been obtained in the decisive theatre. It is the general naval supremacy of Great Britain which is the primary safeguard of the security and interests of the great dominions of the Crown, and which for all these years has been the deterrent upon any possible designs prejudicial to or inconsiderate of their policy and safety."

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The final, firm rejection by the Imperial Conference in 1911 of Sir Joseph Ward's Imperial Parliament of Defense was pronounced by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Asquith. "Sir Joseph Ward," said Mr. Asquith, "in a speech the ability and interest of which we all acknowledge, which must and undoubtedly did represent the expenditure of a great deal of time and thought, has presented us with a concrete proposition, but it is a proposition which not a single representative of any of the other Dominions, nor I as representing for the time being the Imperial Government, could possibly assent to. For what does Sir Joseph Ward's proposal come to? I might describe the effect of it without going into details in a couple of sentences. It would impair if not altogether destroy the authority of the Government of the United Kingdom in such grave matters as the conduct of foreign policy, the conclusion of treaties, the declaration and maintenance of peace, or the declaration of war and, indeed, all those relations with Foreign Powers, necessarily of the most delicate character, which are now in the hands of the Imperial Government, subject to its responsibility to the Imperial Parliament. That authority cannot be shared, and the co-existence side by side with the Cabinet of the United Kingdom of this proposed body -- it does not matter by what name you call it for the moment -- clothed

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with the functions and the jurisdiction which Sir Joseph Ward proposed to invest it with, would, in our judgment, be absolutely fatal to our present system of responsible government.

"Therefore, with the highest possible respect, as we all have, for the skill and ability with which Sir Joseph Ward has presented his case, and a great deal of sympathy with many of the objects he has in view, I think we must agree," Mr. Asquith concluded, "that on its merits this proposal is not a practical one, and that, even if it were so, even if it could be shown to be so, the fact that it not only does not receive the unanimous consent of all the representatives of the Dominions, but is repudiated by them all except Sir Joseph Ward himself, is for the purposes of this Conference a fatal and, indeed, an insuperable objection to its adoption."

* * *

The repudiation by the 1911 Conference of Sir Joseph Ward's project set the general direction of subsequent Imperial development. The Imperial War Cabinet of 1914-1918 gave way to the British Empire Peace Delegation at Paris, wherein each Dominion was accorded distinct status; and, as Halifax asserted at Toronto, the 1931 Statute of

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Westminster was really a Declaration of Independence. It loosened up the Commonwealth, and left the Dominions free, let it be remarked again, of responsibility for fixing the general course of British diplomatic and military policy, and so relatively without the burden of those concrete worries which beset the officials in Whitehall with mounting perplexity and weight throughout the 1930's.

It was true, as Halifax recalled at Toronto, that the Dominions had been "kept regularly informed of events, and been in constant consultation. But the day-to-day control of policy had been in the hands of a Minister whom they had not appointed, and who was responsible to a Parliament in which they were not represented. In fact as well as in theory, they were entirely uncommitted. The best proof of this reality is that Eire pursued, and still pursues today, a policy of abstention and neutrality."

When, however, the fatal issue of war and peace arose before them, Halifax recounted with becoming pride, "not only did the great Dominions enter the war without hesitation; they showed at once that theirs was no formal acquiescence in a situation which, though disagreeable in the extreme, could by no means be avoided. They realized that Great Britain was the first line of their own defense. They immediately threw all that they had in men, money, and

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material, into the struggle. They held nothing back; and in the summer of 1940, when Britain faced the probability of invasion and the possibility of conquest, they were unflinching in their support."

Halifax proceeded: "Even now I find it hard to put in words all that this has meant to us. I am not thinking only of the actual physical assistance, great as that is, which has come and is coming to us from overseas. I am not even thinking only of your valiant airmen, who fought beside ours in the battle of Britain; or of the Australians, New Zealanders and South Africans, who helped to turn defeat into victory in the Middle East and to conquer a great empire in Africa; or of those stout-hearted troops you had sent over months before, and continually reinforced, to strengthen a perilously weak defense; or of the Royal Canadian Navy on its sleepless vigil in the North Atlantic.

"I am thinking also of the sense of comradeship you gave us....

"When the history of those fateful days is written, I do not doubt that the unshaken staunchness of the Commonwealth will be recognized as a decisive factor. If once again Britain was 'a bulwark for the cause of men,' it was because when the storm broke she was so stoutly buttressed. And had Britain not been able to stand firm then, where would today be

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the United Nations, or where tomorrow the certainty of victory, or in the future, hope of security and peace?"

* * *

Approaching now his positive recommendation, Halifax continued: "So much is surely incontestable, but because it is incontestable, there is a real danger that, with this experience before our eyes, we may be tempted to conclude that all is for the best in our affairs. Why, it may be said, should we tamper with what has so stoutly met the stern challenge of these times. I think we should pause before we accept that argument as final."

Halifax reminded his audience that during the Empire's century-long transmutation into Commonwealth, running from Lord Durham's classic report of 1838 to the Statute of Westminster of 1931, "the whole trend of development in the Dominions was towards equality of status." "But," Halifax now emphasized, "there was hardly an equivalent effort towards securing what I would call equality of function. By that I mean that while the Statute of Westminster assured to each and every Dominion complete self-government, it perforce left unsolved the more obstinate problems arising in the fields of foreign policy and defense."

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Halifax went on: "The essential unity of the Commonwealth of course owes much to the existence of a common Head, at once the living representative of the whole society before the world, and the embodiment of history and tradition in which all parts of the Commonwealth may feel themselves to have equal share and pride.

"...We were also at one in seeing how directly the Nazi philosophy cut at the roots of our whole way of life and how irreconcilable therefore was the difference between the Nazis and ourselves. We do not always reflect that our belief in freedom is the direct outcome of the value we have learned to attach to human personality; or remember that the principal source of this reverence for personality has been the age-long emphasis of Christian teaching upon the eternal worth of each human soul. We have not always given these things much thought, and too often have been content to live upon the accumulated capital of the past. But on the day that we realized how near we were to losing this inheritance, we awoke to a new sense of what it meant.

"That was true of Britain. It was equally true of the Great Dominions. But when this has been said, it remains a fact that, much as the unity of the Commonwealth owed to a common Head and a common thought upon the things that matter most, it found little expression in outward form."

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"The right of each member to determine its own external affairs may mean a gain or it may mean a loss," Halifax continued. "It is plainly a loss if, with our essential unity of ideal, the responsibility for action which represents that unity is not visibly shared by all. It is an immeasurable gain if on vital issues we can achieve a common foreign policy expressed not by a single voice but by the unison of many.

"So, too, in the field of defense, while there must be individual responsibility, there must also be a unity of policy. I suggest that in the years of peace it was a weakness, which we should try to cure, that the weight of decision on many problems of defense was not more widely shared.

"That in fact all the Dominions save one entered the war with us is not sufficient answer. Nor is the fact that they have made a total war effort which matches that of the United Kingdom. For we must rightly concern ourselves not so much with what happens when war has come, but with what in future we can do to prevent it coming....

"I speak frankly, as I know you would have me speak. On September 3rd, 1939, the Dominions were faced with a dilemma of which the whole world was aware. Either they must confirm a policy which they had had only partial share in framing, or they must stand aside and see the unity of the Commonwealth

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broken, perhaps fatally and for ever. It did not take them long to choose, and with one exception they chose war.

"But the dilemma was there, and having occurred twice in twenty-five years, it may occur again. That is the point at which equality of function lags behind equality of status. The Dominions are free -- absolutely free -- to choose their path; but every time there is a crisis in international affairs, they are faced with the same inexorable dilemma from which there is no escape.

"What then," Halifax asked, "is the solution?" There were "two roads which the Dominions may take. There is the road of national isolation. They can choose in peace, and after full deliberation, the course that they rejected in 1939. They can say -- and who should attempt to gainsay them? -- that their foreign policy will be unconcerned with any but their own immediate national interests; that it will not reflect an underlying unity of ideal or strive towards unity in action; that they will neither defend others, nor expect others to defend them....

"But for most of us there is a stronger and more compelling argument towards choosing the second road. We believe that the British Empire has proved, not once or twice but many times, a powerful and beneficent world-force. We believe that without it the cause we uphold today would have been lost long ago; and therefore that the remedy for the difficulties which

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I have tried to describe is not that we and you should draw apart, but that we should try to fortify our partnership."

Going on then to reassure his audience, Lord Halifax said that this need "not mean that we should attempt to retrace our steps along the path that led from the Barmham Report to the Statute of Westminster. To do so would be to run counter to the whole course of development in the Commonwealth. But what is, I believe, both desirable and necessary is that in all the field of interests, common to every part of the Commonwealth -- in foreign policy, in Defense, in Economic Affairs, in Colonial Questions and in Communications -- we should leave nothing undone to bring our people into closer unity of thought and action.

"It may be that we shall find it desirable to maintain and extend our present war-time procedure of planning and consultation, which itself adapted and extended the methods we practised in time of peace. The question admits of no easy answer. It should be constantly in our minds, and I have no doubt that it will be among the first problems to be considered, whenever the responsible ministers of the Crown from every part of the Commonwealth are able once more to meet together.

"But there is one thought which I would like to leave with you now. The Statute of Westminster was in a sense a

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Declaration of Independence. But it was more than that. It was also a Declaration of Interdependence, a recognition that in the world of the 20th Century no country can live by itself and for itself alone. It did not attempt to make a stereotyped pattern or mould to which the Commonwealth must conform; but it did leave the greatest latitude for development, in the conviction that, in working out our fate together, we should discover that independence and interdependence, so far from being incompatible conceptions, were not only complementary but necessary to each other."

Stating then, in the paragraphs quoted at the beginning of this memorandum, the dilemma in which the British now find themselves, if they are to maintain their position among the Big Four, Halifax concluded his address with a broad appeal to the world. He said that he was arguing for "no selfish claim."

"The unity of the Commonwealth is no mere British interest," he said in peroration. "So far from being an obstacle, it is a condition necessary to that working partnership with the United States, Russia and China to which we look. If we are to play our rightful part in the preservation of peace, we can only play it as a Commonwealth united, vital, and coherent. By so doing, and only by so doing, can we hope to achieve the high purposes to which we are dedicated by the suffering and sacrifice of war."

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pressure. The Ward proposal which was turned down in 1911 sprang from New Zealand's anxiety to fend against the "yellow peril." Anxiety about another peril has led Halifax close to repeating the essence of the Ward proposal. Signs and portents will continue.

The pressure of the new situation in the world, and resistance to it, are by no means confined to the British Commonwealth. The United States, and the USSR, and all the other nations, are caught in the same riptide.

Dewitt C. Foote

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The implications of all the foregoing may seem contradictory. The contradictions that exist fit nevertheless into a simple human pattern. The Dominions and the United Kingdom, like all the rest of us, enjoy eating their cake and having it too. The Dominions desire independence. At the same time they don't want to be left out. They wish to be consulted about foreign problems which affect them immediately or potentially. But in 1911 they flatly refused to become direct and continuing partners in the conduct of foreign relations and Imperial defense.

The Government in London for its part is reluctant, as Mr. Asquith made plain for his Government in 1911, to curtail full discretion in the realms of diplomacy and defense, or finds it simply infeasible to do so. But the support and cooperation of the Dominions are needed, especially in the ultimate contingency of war. In this war once more that support has been generously given out of a sense of community of interest -- except in the case of Greece, and except that South Africa rallied to the cause by a very narrow margin.

The pressure of a tightening situation in the world is making it ever more difficult for the members of the British Commonwealth to continue on the old loosely defined, and contradictory, basis. The Smuts speech was evidence of this

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

INTEROFFICE MEMO

 OSS
 CONFIDENTIAL
 FVB

28 April 1944

TO: Colonel G. Edward Buxton
 Assistant Director, OSS

FROM: DeWitt C. Poole
 Director, FNB

SUBJECT:

I think you will be interested in the attached copy of a letter which I have had from Hugh F. Fullerton at the Department of State under date of 27 April.

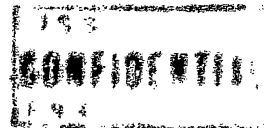
I have been interested to note on page 8 of the Daily Intelligence Summary of 28 April Secretary Hull's cablegram to Murphy declining United States participation in Tito's Youth Conference on the ground that the United States citizens of Yugoslav origin are now taking violent positions on the subject of Yugoslav leadership and United States participation in the Youth Conference would only increase the controversy. This is simply one more of innumerable evidences of the indissoluble relationship between our foreign policy and conditions here in the United States.

DeWitt C. Poole
 Director
 Foreign Nationalities Branch

Enclosure - (letter from Fullerton)

cc - General Magruder

COPY



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington

April 27, 1944

Dear DeWitt:

I duly received the copy you were kind enough to send me of the report on Prieto of April 3, 1944, which I thought exceedingly well done and of much interest.

I have found particularly useful recently your report of April 21, 1944 relating to Italian-American opinion on the collaboration between the King, Badoglio and the Communists. Such studies are valuable to us for background purposes and provide summaries somewhat difficult for us to obtain in such compact form elsewhere.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Signed: Hugh S. Fullerton
Chief, Division of
Southern European Affairs

Mr. DeWitt C. Poole,
Director, Foreign Nationalities Branch,
Office of Strategic Services,
Washington, D. C.

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: Colonel Buxton

DATE: 9 December 1945

FROM: Secretariat

SUBJECT: Proposed Paper on Foreign Political Questions in PW Groups in the U. S.

1. Mr. Poole requests permission to have the attached paper printed and circulated. He proposes to distribute approximately 12 copies to high echelons in the State Department, including Secretary Hull; approximately 3 copies in the Department of Justice, including the Attorney General and the Director of the Alien Registration Division; and in addition to make normal distribution within OSS. The paper is to be classified secret.

2. This memorandum is a study of the extent to which Foreign Nationality Groups represent political pressure blocs influencing U. S. foreign policy. It is based upon the pilot studies made in the questionnaires issued some time ago by OWI at our request to the Polish-American and Slovak-American community.

3. Among the questions asked to which reference is made in this memorandum (Page 15) was one asking whether the United States should support Polish demands against Russia even at the cost of fighting Russia. You will recall that when this question first appeared on the face of the questionnaire considerable stir was raised. In view of the limited distribution proposed by Mr. Poole, however, we do not believe that the reference in this paper to that same question will evoke any additional adverse comment.

4. If you approve the dissemination of this report as proposed by Mr. Poole, will you kindly so indicate?

50 Copies printed.

Distribution approved
as 12 copies State Dept.
8 " Justice -
very restricted
SS

D. C. Lee

H. Buxton

SECRET

**OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.**

Mr. Dwight C. Peola

Secretariat

11 December 1948

**Proposed Memorandum on "Feeling on Foreign Political
Questions".**

**1. Colonel Burton has approved the printing of 80 copies
of the attached memorandum and has also approved the follow-
ing distribution:**

12 copies to State Department

8 copies to Department of Justice

Distribution within the OSS as follows:

General Donovan

General Magruder

Mr. Sheperdson

Dr. Langer

Mr. Scribner

X-2

FX

Secretariat

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