

**CAB 195/3**

**WAR CABINET**

**MINUTES**

W.M.(45)26th Meeting – C.M.(46)

13th Meeting

Arrival of Viceroy.

P.M. Not to be seen by Cab. until report of India Cttee available.

Naval, Military & Air Situation.

C.A.S. 42.000 sorties 45.000+. + 11.000 fr. Italy.  
Bomber C. 17 lost by interception in U.K. Plan made to deal with it.  
Mainly on oil-plants. D/Ems canal breached again.  
Mosquitoes 820t for 2 lost. 8 Berlin 4 Bremen.  
U.S. Bombers. 2/3rds on rlways incldg stations at Berlin & Leipzig.  
T.A.F. 26.000 sorties. 108 afr. 3.200 others destroyed.  
154 : 27 : 96. 174 : 144. ground. Enemy casualties, including 26 intruders.  
Coastal. 18 U-boats sighted : 8 attacked.  
Crossbow. 70 rockets launched 9 : 7 a day. 50% in Ldn. area.  
Fighter 754 sorties: now on 2 minor sites & storage depots.  
TAF(2) 850 .. to railway comm<sup>ns</sup> to launching area.  
5B? medium bombers.  
V.I. No def. proof fr. ramps. Photo of suspect fr. Hague.  
35. 12 destroyed (ques) 7 landed in Ldn. area.  
Antwerp. 80 p.d. (highest yet) Rockets steady.  
Italy: rail-cuts esp. in Brenner. Germans feeling it keenly qua supplies & movements. 11.000t. 14.000 sorties. 104 lost (ours).  
SEA. 13.600s. 2.000t. 9.000t. supplies. 5.000 troops carried.  
41. Jap. capt<sup>d</sup> Meiktila.  
China. 6 ships sunk Tonking.  
Pacific. 47 enemy 12 ours lost.  
200 s. Tokyo 540t.

CNS. Losses 9 = 36.072t. 6 in end Feb. 3 more 23.864 late  
21. for Feb.  
3 : 6 : 5 U-Boat sinkings. Activity off Cornwall.  
1 destroyed off Lizard. 1 patrolling of Rejkavik. Many outwd-bound fr. Norway.  
E Boats in N. Sea 28 Feb/1 March.  
Convoy arr<sup>d</sup> in Clyde 1/3 fr. Russia.  
2 destroyers bombarded Genoa.  
E. Indies. Sub. attacked 2 convoys & sank or d. all of 9 ships.  
Pacific: 47 shot down 111 on ground 47 dam. In attack on Tokio.

P.M. What units of B. fleet? CNS. 2 battleships, 5 carriers, & 8 cruisers,  
3 flotillas of destroyers. ie. with U.S. in Pacific.

C.I.G.S. Canadians this time last week movg. twds Calcar. Drawn large force against them.  
9<sup>th</sup> attackg. later were better off. Advanced N.E. Aachen to Krefeld.

Unlikely now to get a bridge.  
This freed the N. again: & Canadians moved down.  
The l/c of the 2 Armies are converging. The Maas above Roermond being bridged to get the l/c running straight. Also improvg. roads in Reichswald.  
U.S. 1<sup>st</sup> Army: through Erft canal = well in to Koln. S. they swing back to the west. Advance there will help the Army further south.  
U.S. 3<sup>rd</sup> Army taken Trier.  
W. Front situation as a whole = v. satisfactory.

P.M. a) Present<sup>n</sup> of this news doesn't do justice to B. arms. We have borne the brunt because delay in U.S. start.

C.I.G.S. Up to 3/3. { B. 7.781. C. 3.024. Total 10.805.  
Casualties. { U.S. 9<sup>th</sup> 5.407. 1<sup>st</sup> 4879. Total 10.286.

P.M. B. 2<sup>nd</sup> Army contrib<sup>n</sup> twds C. Army. 3/4<sup>ths</sup> of C. Army = B. troops.  
Reason: Monty uses staffs as nozzles for pouring fightg. power v. enemy.  
When we re-group, Canadians will have 5 Divns (2 fr Italy) 2<sup>nd</sup> Army will then be wholly British.  
Also more Scot. & Welsh units than English. In fact English losses since the start have been 1½ times greater than all remainder.  
b) Why not have names of units mentioned? Monty says no obj<sup>n</sup>: nor has CIGS.  
Eisenhower also said no obj<sup>n</sup> – all when units engaged 48 hrs.  
Where is the hold-up?

B.B. Have spent 3 years pressing for these details to be given.  
Regret a) "Canadian Army" point.

P.J.G. In recent fighting names of at least 12 B. battalions have bn. given.  
Answered P.Q. to-day tht. 2/3rds of Can. Army is British.  
CIGS & I have sent numerous telegrams for years past to Monty & Alex. urging release of unit names. War correspondents seem reluctant to publish these.

P.M. c) B'cast by SHAEF – to civilians to "stay put". V. helpful to the enemy.  
E. said he was furious – wholly contrary to his policy. Found it was done by junior officer based on earlier instruction relating to France.  
d) Was thinking of message to G. not to continue resistance beyond time of sowing because of famine tht. we won't be able to avert. Will ask F.D.R. if he will join me in this. E. agrees. Perhaps a triple decl<sup>n</sup> incldg U.J.

B.B. Wd. you put it out in your own name?

P.M. e) Read E.'s statement on W. Front position. Reflects a) above.

- CIGS. Rectify a) by statement now showing precisely how many B. troops were handled by the Canadian Army HQ.
- P.M. Also method of calculating casualties. Results in 15% less for British than U.S.
- P.J.G. Since Normandy they are on same basis.
- P.M. Doubt it. These are not matters merely of national vanity.
- A.E. Can't we do as CIGS. states. P.M. make a statement giving actual figures, not mere prop<sup>ns</sup>.
- P.M. Willing to make a military statement – eg. on Friday.
- P.J.G. Army Estimates Tuesd. next.
- CIGS. Burma.  
From Am movemt. Twds. Kywegu. Thence intend to go to Tanng up & Prome  
N. of that advance to Meiktila: where 3 airfields occupied.  
Also working further up river twds. Mandalay.  
N. of that slight advance.  
Chinese moved twds Lashio.
- Philippines.  
Cleared N. island save 2 bits.  
Leyte some more islands taken to w.
- Russia.  
Advance to Baltic. R. claim 25 G. Divns in Latvia. 25 Königsberg 10 Danzig = 60 cut off.  
Pos<sup>n</sup>. in Czecho. improved.  
Some ground lost N. of Budapest.
- Air Raids & Casualties.
- H.O. 71 R. incid. 37 Ldn. 52% = same.  
104k. 346 s.i. 1.011 slightly i.  
Fly. Not certainly land-launched. May be larger. Seems faster.  
First since 1/9/44.  
7k. 21 s.i. 44 sl. i.  
Piloted. 80 one night 10 another. Primarily intruder: but 75 incidents only 5 H.E. rest m/g. etc., 17k. 9 sl. i.  
128k. 380 s.i. 1064 7 unclassified - Total 16.000.
- M.A.P. Size of war head?
- H.O. Not clear.

P.M. Special CD etc., help to areas most vulnerable to this attack.

H.O. They are doing this.

P.M. Have asked C.O.S. to do their best.

H.O. I'm meeting them (at yr. suggestion).

#### Foreign Affairs.

A.E. a) Telegram Moscow. 3 hrs. with Molotov: deadlock.  
Start with 6 : 3 Beirutites + 2 fr. Poland + 2 fr. Ldn (one a renegade).  
These proposals referred to us & U.S. Govt. We shall have to turn it down.

P.M. We must take a stand. Must say party shd. be fully representative.

A.E. b) Rumania. King Michael & Queen Mother likely to seek sanctuary in B. Embassy. They might go to U.S. Embassy.  
But what will effect be in Rumania? He has done pretty well.  
And what effect on Russia?

P.M. If U.S. won't have them, we must.  
Didn't want our rep<sup>res</sup> to be too awkward v. Russians, but sanctuary is difft. matter.  
Mustn't all be put on us. U.S. must share. Will telegraph this to F.D.R.

AE. Telegram: don't refuse, but let U.S. take their share.

P.M. To inform F.D.R.

a) Before we break, F.D.R & I will approach U.J. – making it clear that we shall have to make a statement publicly.

P.M. c) In Greece, take a strong line against Plastiras.

A.E. b) Wd. it be right for P.M. to say something to U.J. about Rumania.  
Effect of this on Anglo-Russian relations – not interfering with Russian action in Rumania.

J.A. c) We have signed Agreemt. with Sweden. Satisf<sup>y</sup> – gained by holding out.  
On housing, they said limits. Burning wood for lack of coal. Advise begin with small order of e.g. 1.000. so tht. we can learn how to erect.  
No financial bar.

#### Family Allowances.

- A.E. All-party deputn v. strong feeling in favour of paymt. To mother. 180 names already.  
They suggested leaving it to free vote. Cd. we do this?
- H.O. Favour mother a) she controls household budget b) in accord with modern ideas.
- P.M. Wages will be paid to the mother next! But this is not a matter for Govt. to force.  
  
Views taken = found equally divided.
- P.M. Leave it to free vote.
- J.A. But let the arguments be put.
- E.B. We tried to get over this by allowing either spouse to draw the money.  
Don't like free vote on one point. Cdn't we hear the Debate and consider between Cttee & Rpt.
- A.E. Believe Labour Party will move amendmt. in favour of mother.
- P.M. x/ Leave it to the House [& I won't vote] and say so on Second Reading.
- M.A.P. Be sure you aren't altering the fundamental law relating to the parental responsibility for children.
- P.M. As at x/ but Govt. will explain the legal position through the L.O.'s.  
Objective statement in course of debate.
- E.B. & H.O. Unless amendmt. moved on 2<sup>nd</sup> Rdg. I wd. prefer to hear the discussion & advise the House later. If the amendmt. is forced, we will have to re-consider.
- A.E. But don't want a Labour/Conservative issue on this.  
Don't want to appear to succumb to Labour pressure.
- P.M. That points to a free vote.
- J.A. What about allowances for the child in the insurance benefits.  
Relaxation of Lighting & Glare Restrictions.
- P.M. Will H.O. let up when war ends.
- H.O. Unsafe unpopular impracticable – to do it now.  
Wd. take weeks to do it – from date of decision.  
2/4 D Summer-Time. Tell them now we hope we may do it on 15/7.  
This wd. be a bad moment.
- P.M. Agree: subject to doing something if war ends earlier.

T.S. Defer until Cab. has seen coal budget for a year.  
900.000 t/coal for gas alone in a full year.  
App<sup>d</sup> H.O. memo: but H.O. will keep in touch with M/F & P.

Supplies for Channel Islands.

P.M. Tell G. Commt. He will put his name on list of war criminals.  
Agreed: H.O. & F.O. to consider that.  
Increased supplies app<sup>d</sup>.

T.S. We agreed to single consignment of gas, coal & coke. Can't promise  
continued supplies: will consider on merits.

Polish Govt.'s Communications with Poland.

A.E. Shall have to say they can't send anything on policy ques.  
There will be trouble in Parlt. Agreed.

W.L.A. - Post-war Assistance Scheme.

E.B. As in memo.

J.A. Cdn't support W.L.A. scheme unless it's clear tht. we shan't sweep into  
other classes.

E.B. I can't say claims won't arise. I can't resist them if they do.

M/Ag. Believe we cd. show that these aren't analogous to W.L.A.

E.B. Some industrial wages (e.g. cotton) are not substantially higher than  
agriculture.

J.A. For W.L.A. Govt. did take some responsibility.

E.B. But e.g. women directed to t.n.t. factory in out of the way place – no  
uniforms. What answer to them.

M/Ag. Wages. Av. Earnings 60/= for 44 hrs. in chemicals.

48/= in ag. for longer hours.

Bus conductresses 77/= for 45 hrs.

Engineering 65/= - 82/=

That is the answer.

P.M. This is a pressure group.

B.B. Time to stop these allowances.

M/H. Strong case for C.N. Reserve. Of 21.000, 3.000 put in C.D. They will have  
the gratuity. Rest, paid on same basis, will get nothing unless this  
scheme is approved.

- J.A. Nurses will have employmt. Open to them: no problem of re-settlement.
- M.H. Cost less than £200.000.
- W. Only principle: those commercially employed at rate for the job shd. not have any gratuity.
- ISA. Increased pay for the future: not gratuity for the past.
- B. I wd. treat them well.  
Agreed: reject both W.L.A. and C.N.R.
- M/Ag. You won't get the food.  
Explained effect of the 4/= bonus.  
Recruited as a national service – by the Govt.
- M/H/ C.N.R. - 1/6<sup>th</sup> allocated to C.D.
- P.M. Wd. consider somethg. for W.L.A. in return fr signing on for 2 more years.
- J.A. Give nil to those who leave. Those who re-engage shd. have higher rate, as pay, to reflect past service & experience.  
An inducement to stop on: not a gratuity.
- P.M. Make it as unlike C.D. as you can.



Rumania.

- P.M. Groza Govt. put into power by violence sustained by Russia. Radescu demanded & rec<sup>d</sup>. sanctuary in B. Embassy. Rumoured tht. Groza intends to remove him alive or dead. 24 hrs ago  
Ch. d'Affairs & Stevenson determined to resist up to firing: now speak of firing in last resort. Difficult to prohibit them from so doing so.  
No sympathy for Rumania: but nothing in favour of these murderous methods.  
Have auth<sup>d</sup>. them to open fire in last resort to protect those who have bn. given sanctuary. Unlikely to be attempted if this is made clear in advance to Russian General in Bucharest.
- J.A. Wd. have to surrender to due to process of law. But not give way to violence of mob rule.
- A.E. Informing Russia - x/ wd. prefer not to go beyond telling C. Kerr for own inform<sup>n</sup> – because it is as yet only a rumour.
- M.A.P. Worth considering how far we shd. go in giving sanctuary in future in places like the Balkans.  
Agreed as at x/.

Russia.

- P.M. Behaving v. badly - not only in Rumania but in Poland also.

Civil Aviation.

- S. The pp. by B. & B.B. invite Cab. to reverse policy previously approved. I was auth<sup>d</sup> to negotiate with interests & have done so. Mine is only way of getting ahead quickly.  
On some points B. misled by my not havg. fully explained proposal.
- a) exclusive right on a route. Nec. to prevent people from eye-picking. But it applies only to scheduled routes wh. we wish to operate at once: later there may be other where Govt. is not comm<sup>d</sup> to assign to any given operator.
  - b) power to lease aircraft wasn't intend to preclude operators from buying direct – as was clear from my original Memo. Can make that clear in W. Paper. In interim period we have to buy thro' MAP.: later they can deal direct with B. manufacturers. Dominion plane wd. rank as B., if B. types.
- P.M. Policy has bn. disclosed (thro' negotiations, inevitably) & has excited no great opposition.

- S. In dealg. with Commonwealth or foreign country, you must have an agreement and can't therefore have unrestricted competition.
- B. There is simple way of preventg eye-picking. - rates for mail consistent with passengers load on their routes. That is U.S. system. Purchase. Owner will still be B.O.A.C.
- S. No. 3 operating corp<sup>ns</sup> each of wh. may own its aircraft.
- B. Even so, 3 are not enough to give us the necessary flow. 200m. \$ p.a. in U.S. = turnover of airline business. U.S. GPO. since 1938 have rec<sup>d</sup> more fr. (15 – 20 m. p.a.) air-transport than they have given to airlines. i.e. they have made large net profits over 18 m. \$ in 1943.  
Based on 10-15 separate airline companies in competition – wh. has brought them into front rank in air transport.
- M.A.P. Many weak competitors will not make for improved aircraft construction.
- B.B. 16% of traffic fr. N. York to Boston carried by air.
- B. Introduction of rlways. into operating co. is a disaster. They will treat it as they did the canals.
- P.M. This was decided previously by Cabinet.
- M.A.P. As a compromise between single chosen instrument & unregulated competition neither of wh. wd. be accepted.
- B.B. G.W.R. have said costs will be 50% up post-war. They did their best to kill air transport pre-war. E.g. in 1937 rlway. agent was forbidden to sell an air ticket. (P.Q.)  
Why have U.S. & Canad. Govt refused to let rlways in. Because they know they are a dead hand.
- B. & B.B. Wd. prefer the State ran it all. (in reply to P.M.)
- S. Rlways will have only 4 directors out of about 10 on the Board.
- E.B. I wd. have preferred State companies but was told Tories wdn't have it. Not much time to change our plans. War-time bldg. makes it v. urgent to do something. Wanted therefore to keep away from pol. controversy. Either nat<sup>n</sup> or competition wd. have excited that. Hoped compromise wd. not.  
  
I was worried about rlways because didn't want to see old rlway directors on this Board.  
Safeguarded under plan by provision for consent of Minister.  
Rlway-owned road transport v. efficient when run separately

(e.g. Pickfords). So here we shall have a Civil Aviation Board, not a delegate from a Rlway Bd.

I wd. have preferred one owning company leasing aircraft. But have accepted this proposal in order to get a compromise.

- L. Parlt. gave rlways powers to operate airlines before the war. This will keep them under greater control than that wd. have done.  
Much to contend against fr. foreign competition – cdn't meet it w'out somethg. like this.
- B.B. Want Civil Av. Bureau as licensing auth<sup>y</sup> to allow anyone who cd. make out a case, includg. those who operated pre-war.  
Why do U.S. & Canadian Govts. exclude the rlway cos.?
- L. Shipping excluded too. U.S. are now wondering wtr. they made a mistake. And this will be reconsidered (qua shipping anyhow) if our plan is published.
- O.L. U.S. is great field for civil aviation. U.K. isn't.  
On routes we want to fly we shall face fierce foreign competition.  
Points on W. Paper – evidently had misread.  
a) exclusiveness of 3 cos. will continue. Relieved to know other routes carry no commitment.  
b) purchase of aircraft. Re-assured to know no Govt. agency canalising all demands of industry.  
c) 2 operatg. cos. anyhow will be run by Board. 3<sup>rd</sup> is national company.
- A.E. This is a compromise plan acceptable to Coalition Govt.
- B.B. Bad compromise is not the best solution.
- P.M. Thought this good enough to go into action upon. In time, opinion one way or another may harden & force a change. But here is something to start with.  
Pity to throw away the agreement reached so far.  
Support S. who has given his whole mind to it.
- B. S. American air-line will be placed wholly in control of shipping cos. working S. Am. shipping routes.  
U.S. is making money since 1937 & have never run a route fr. S. Am. to Britain.
- S. I've bn. negotiating with these people: & I'm satisfied they are going to try to make a go of it. They know compet<sup>n</sup> in the air must be met in the air.  
"Competition" – there's no one ready. U.S. will pinch the lot if we don't get in thus.  
Ques. in U.S. is not competition on one route, but either chosen instrument or zoning.

- B. And I, from my experience as Ch. of Cttee, believe plenty of capital ready to go into this – if licensing auth<sup>y</sup> establ<sup>d</sup> on U.S. model.
- S. Only 3 small cos. in U.K. outside rlyways & shipping cos.
- P.M. I advise Cabinet to follow S.'s advice.
- B. Will you modify para. 40?
- S. Will make it clear that later on they can deal direct with mnfrs.
- P.M. Will B. & B.B. meet with S., L. & M.A.P. & see how the gaps may be bridged. Subject however, to agreeing in principle to S.'s scheme.  
Wd. like this scheme to be above Party.  
Can't sacrifice the immense amount of work done on this scheme.
- A.E. What is the alternative?
- B.B. An independent Board, as in U.S.A.
- J.A. Good scheme: wd. support it on merits. There will be compet<sup>n</sup> under it.
- P.M. Put proposal as at x/ overleaf.
- B. No. If you amend Cl. 40, we will accept defeat.
- S/S Air. Para 39. 2<sup>nd</sup> sentence. Omit because effect on U.S.
- P.M. Speak to S. about that.
- S. This has bn. said many times in Parl.
- S/S. Not "in anticipation of civil requirements".  
Settle in consult<sup>n</sup> with S.
- S. Omit x/ & include civil before types.  
  
Do we allow tramp cos. in European company?
- L.W. & E.B. No.
- B. I wd. have them in because big cos. don't want them. - Agreed.
- S. Debate in H/Lords Thursday. Publish Tuesday morning.  
So that I can get off to Africa.

W.M.28(45).

12<sup>th</sup> March, 1945.  
(12 noon).

Cabinet Meetings.

L.P. Announced new hours. 11.30. or 12 noon on days other than Monday.

Naval, Military & Air situation.

C.A.S. 5 days. 9.100.t. 400 m. 3.260 sorties 1.4% losses. B. Command.  
Dessau, Cassel by night.  
U.S. 10.800 t. 4.780 s. for 11 1/5 of 1% losses. Oil plants  
T. Fighters 8.600 for 43 losses. 800 v. destroyed & 800 d.  
Small air oppos<sup>n</sup> 42 : 5 : 26  
Coastal. Saw 12 attacked 7 U Boats.  
4 : 13 destroyed off Heligoland.  
Crossbow 10/11 a day. 66% reached Ldn. (increase in accuracy)  
280 Sp. sorties. v. sites etc.  
F. Bombs. 10. Ex<sup>cl</sup> of land-launching.  
Antwerp. 7 V.2 70 V.1 on av. p. day.  
Med<sup>n</sup> T.A.F. Brenner & Po, 393 rail cuts 23 bridges d. or damaged.  
SEA. 12.500 s. 1600 t. 700 troops. 8.300 t. supplies.  
7 bridges. 200 river craft d ord.

L.P. Tokyo results?

C.A.S. Eye-witness (Press) said whole place on fire.

Naval.

CNS. 2 lost. Total for March 5.  
U-Boat action - m. ship sunk off B.Head.  
7/3 Midget U.Boats off Scheldt  
9/3 100men & 3/5 l.c. raid on Granville.  
E.Indies. 2 t.l.c. 2 junks 16 native craft sunk in patrol by H.M. Sub.  
Thorough.

AVA. Continued dest<sup>n</sup> of midget subs. C.N.S. to report to Cab. on total  
destroyed.  
Dangerous - carry torpedo or mine.

CNS. Navigation is difficult. Many run ashore.

CIGS. W. Front. Elimination of Wesel b. head. Up to Rhine.  
S. of Kolsa v. gt. progress - due to 2 Armoured Divns.  
One got Remagen bridge. The other got into Coblenz. Then joined up on  
Rhine & cut a pocket of Germans. Another group of G. driven down to

Moselle

B. head at Remagen 7 miles long by 4 deep.

G. forces nr. Moselle much disorganised.

98.000 p.o.w. since start of offensive. Many to be counted in S. sector.

Own 36.000 in all. 14.000 C. 15.000 9<sup>th</sup> Army 7.000 1<sup>st</sup> Army.

M/L. Nos. killed?

CIGS. 2.596 of Can. 971 were Canadians 1600 B.

3.000 U.S. killed in 1<sup>st</sup> & 9<sup>th</sup> Army.

CIGS. Value of Remagen - drawing off forces wh. wd. have guarded crossings to North.

Country not suited to main line of advance.

Bridge was longer under shell fire. Not v. badly damaged.

H.O. Movement of G. out of Holland?

CIGS. Some: don't know how many.

Russia.

Leba taken - pressing on Danzig & Stettin.

Rumours of heavy G. attacks n. of Budapest. No inform<sup>n</sup> from Russians.

Reasons (guesses) to protect oil supplies & approaches to Vienna.

Russians may be preparing to go back to Danube.

G. reports indicate source small b-heads over Oder by Russians.

Approachg. time of thaw. 15/3-15/4 is period when ops. may have to slow.

#### Air Raids and Casualties.

68. 11.3 p. day. Sat/Sun. quiet: followed by increase on Sunday night.

41 Ldn. 60% = above average. Grouping moving w.ward.

Serious incidents. Deptford. Finsbury 104 K. = 2<sup>nd</sup> worst so far.

304 K. 552 - s.i. 1.060 sl. i. nearly all in London. Heaviest week yet.

Flying bomb. 3 s.i. 5 sl. i.

No piloted activity.

#### Disclosure of Scientific Information to Foreigners.

L.P. P.M. wants decision deferred until he can attend.

O.L. French restive because given hope they wd. get a lot.

Policy to build up large Fr. Forces. But diff. to know how far we go at present.

On Z. Mission much to be said for holding back inform<sup>n</sup>: inadvisable not to go the whole way anyhow.

A.S. Not much diff. betwn. O.L. and C.O.S. telegram.

Want to encourage Fr. to work with us. Not as doubtful as O.L. suggests

that Fr. want to partake in Jap. War.

Last part of memo. - lever for alliance - is v. diff. For this inform<sup>n</sup> is shared between us & U.S.A.

The C.O.S. sugg<sup>n</sup> is best - agreement with U.S. Chief of Staff on what can be disclosed.

- O.L. A.S. puts my point too high. I only said these wd. be valuable cards.
- A.S. But the cards aren't wholly in our hands.
- O.L. I know: but I said on p.1 that we must first agree with U.S.A. They will prob. want to go further - for reasons of commercial interest plus sentiment.
- M.A.P. We shd do somethg. in order to secure conn<sup>n</sup> with Fr. aviation - which otherwise U.S. will pinch.
- L.P. Views of C.O.S.?
- C.I.G.S. Nothing to add to telegram.
- C.A.S. We recognise tht. anything we give to France will have to be given to Russia if they ask for it.
- O.L. Earlier criterion - disclose nothing wh. can't come into production there in this war = won't now work. What is disclosed now will be of use for peace-time future of Fr. munitions industry: or preparing for next war.
- R.L. We wd. want to get Mission over: & disclosure maximum. Card for alliance - wd. be outweighed by obj<sup>n</sup> of alienating French now.
- C.A.S. We feel U.S. will want to go further than we. Therefore we want a tighter agreement with U.S. before we talk to French.

#### Relief through the Blockade.

- R.L. SHAEF have no obj<sup>n</sup>. Supplies wd. have continued to go in by rail if rlway had not been cut.
- CIGS. No operational obj<sup>n</sup>.

Agreed.

#### Third Session of the Council of U.N.R.R.A.

- R.L. Must be 2 mtgs p.a. May or June. Always hoped next wd. be in Europe,

prob Paris. French can't do it. Shd. we do it in London.  
Only about 100 coming in to U.K. for this.  
No accomm<sup>n</sup> diffy.  
Para 7(a). June not May.

J.A. There may be diff<sup>ies</sup> - some anyway. May have to ask for Church House.

R.L. County Hall?

J.A. Will F.O. provide clerical & typing staff?  
You will prob. have to import fr. Provinces.

Agreed.



W.M. 29(45).

12<sup>th</sup> March, 1945.  
6.p.m.

1. Greece.

A.E. Outcome of disc<sup>ns</sup> while in Athens.  
C.O.S. in entire agreement.  
Early red<sup>n</sup> of mil. commitment. Some increase in personnel & gradual transfer of soldiers to B. Embassy.  
Want U.S. Govt. to be associated. hope they will help to pay. Invite their co-op<sup>n</sup>.

J.A. Agree, subject to disc<sup>n</sup> of details of staff.

P.J.G. .. .. - particularly on timing.

Agreed.

2. War Crimes.

A.E. Invited Simon's views.

L.C. The Comm<sup>n</sup> have produced draft Convention. Agree that won't be a good plan. This has nothg. to do with extradition (e.g. para. 2) - Real ques: is somethg. like a Treaty required to enable Ally X to extract fr. country Y a person they want to try in country X. Answer: we shall be ready to deport. We can deal with the situation by executive action. Treaty provisions wd. make it more difficult.

Two points a) extradition involves surrender to the other state. Deport<sup>n</sup> is strictly no more than showing him the door. But I suppose destination can be arranged.

b) mutual. Shall we be alright if we want to get someone for trial here.

H.O. Agree in principle. But points of difficulty: in admin<sup>n</sup> we shall have to be sure that our use of powers of deport<sup>n</sup> are beyond criticism.

Deport<sup>n</sup> as conducive to public good w'out recomm<sup>n</sup> by a court is exceptional, esp. in peace.

Extradition Acts have a proviso excepting "political" offences. We cd. however, say that war crimes are not "political" in this sense.

M.A.P. Uncertain - deport<sup>n</sup> is a matter for personal judgment of a future Home Secretary it is not Govt. action. Jurisdiction similar to recommendg on prerogatives.

J.A. Not the right view. Home Secy. is acting as agent of Govt.: not in his personal capacity as for p. of m.  
Absolute right to expel any alien: have always presumed he acted as agent of Govt.

- M.A.P. Wording: "if prima facie case is shown" i.e. to satisfaction of Home Secy.  
How can we guarantee how he will view individual cases?
- L.C. See para. 6 on p.3. It is the War Crimes Comm<sup>n</sup> who determine in first instance. Second half: if H.O. not satisfied he wd. refer to the Cab. & it wd. be a Govt. decision. Deport<sup>n</sup> is not a decision wh. is personal to H.O. as is p. of mercy.
- M/L. Wd. have preferred to do this otherwise than by use of deport<sup>n</sup> powers. Deport<sup>n</sup> is subject to undertakings given to Parlt. in the past. This was not a use of deport<sup>n</sup> wh. was foreseen, when A.O. 1920 was made. Has it ever bn. used for political ends?
- A.E. Wdn't agree that these are political ends, as a rule.
- M.A.P. Awkward for H.O. if e.g. Radescu was asked for.
- H.O. First part of 6 in Annex ties us too automatically to verdict of Comm<sup>n</sup> .  
x/ Add "in general". - Agreed. X
- P.M. Against being forced to comply with foreign Govt's demands.
- A.E. This is the argument for procedure proposed.
- L.C. Domestic arrangements - we might have Advisory Cttee = or arrangement by which H.O. referred to Cabinet. Doesn't affect, however, the external ques. of having a Treaty or no.
- L.C. Only risk is that man may apply for habeas corpus. There might be an argument. Remedy = discretion in administration.
- P.M. Preserve the position tht. H.M. Govt. reserves right to decide. decision is Govt., not personal, decision.  
"As regards war criminals H.M.G. wd. Naturally attach all due importance to any report by the W. Cr. Comm<sup>n</sup> that ...  
Agreed: subject to addition of x/ and y/ to para. 6.

### 3. Food Situation in Liberated Europe.

- L.P. Went to Paris: saw U.S. Amb. who emphasised importance of help to W. Europe.

#### France.

Met 6/7 Fr. Ministers at lunch - 3 hrs disc<sup>n</sup>.  
France: except in certain areas (e.g. Lyons, Mediterranean & Lille) Fr. People are being well enough fed. No sugg<sup>n</sup> of starvation - so long as supplies continue at present level.

- P.J.G. Now thro' Shaef mil. programme. Now moving twds. restoring the responsib. to Fr. Govt.
- L.P. de Gaulle thanked me twice for what we've done on transport.
- O.L. 250 re-conditioned lorries p.wk..
- L.P. Next day interview with Shaef. Supply now coming fwd. Risk in July/Aug. for wh. supplies not app<sup>d</sup> by U.S.  
But living on ship to mouth basis: nothg. in pipe-line. Problem is procurement & shipping for summer months.  
Transport improved - machinery too, save in U.S. where there is delay.
- P.J.G. In confirm<sup>n</sup> Fr. are putting aside 1.000 wagons to take supplies to their prs. in Germany.
- O.L. 160.000 wagons as cpd. With 400.000 odd pre-war. No doubt of their diff<sup>ties</sup>.
- L.P. Coal situation improved. Electricity (hydro) restored.
- Belgium.
- Situation reasonably good. Brussels & Maastricht visited.
- P.M. Hear that in Brussels they are dignified but hungry.  
But their children looked fairly good to me.
- L.P. Again, however, no reserve.  
Black market mainly in luxuries.  
Dangerous period in summer months.  
Transport better than in France. Tho' liable to greater strain, the further we go beyond the Rhine.  
Want to get ahead with raw materials etc., because factories ready to start & cd. work for us. Cd. also make own transport requirements. [Losses between ports & destinations. Was considerable: less now because delays are always reduced. This - P.M. pre-occupation - was worse in France not specially bad in Belgium.]
- Holland.
- L.P. Flooded but free. Hope to close the gaps by Nov. Then they can pump it out. We can help them with pumping machinery. Then hope to sow rye for 1946: & get land into good heart in 2 years. Walcheren has saved a good deal of food - saw them thrashing grain.  
At the other end, where U.S. troops are, they look v. well doubtless on U.S. rations. What is really worrying them is situation in occupied Holland. That is the really urgent problem.
- P.M. Valuable to have this first-hand knowledge.

Confirms view expressed by me & Cherwell that they have eaten v. well.

L.P. Before the liberation, yes: but not since.  
Destruction of transport, and disorganisation, due to op<sup>ns</sup>. Also Germans put a lot into these countries, in order to get product of their industries.

P.M. See any cattle?

L.P. No: they lock them up in Holland.

P.M. When we have forced the Rhine we must consider wtr we can push a little effort into Holland to clear it up. But we must in any event be prepared to send in food to that area. Some of the inhabitants will need to take their food intravenously.

L.P. Read from memo. on readiness to put food into occupied Holland quickly.

P.M. U.S. are battenning on our reserves, accumulated by years of self-denial. I am resisting that: but for an acute emergency we can & shd use our reserves.  
F.D.R.'s telegram. Now is the time to say firmly U.S. soldier eats 5 times what ours does: U.S. civilians eating as never before: we will never be behindhand with them in sacrifices: but let them cut down themselves before presuming to address us.

A.E. Our stocks are always raided in an emergency because that is only practicable source. And it is never therefore brought home to U.S.

P.M. 1) L.P. to convene the ad hoc Cttee: to see C.O.S. himself or jointly with Cttee: & make proposals to War Cabinet.

2) I shd. have material for reply to F.D.R. as above.

L.P. This urgent feeding op<sup>n</sup> shd. have priority first after crossing of Rhine. The planners have now no allocations etc.

P.J.G. U.S. are also falling down on promises on mil. programme. Looks as tho' this is their come-back on us for the U.K. stock-pile argument.

#### 4. Marriage Between Members of A.E.F. and Germans.

L.P. Women as well as men. And this wd. prevent those who get into trouble from marrying. A.P.W. Cttee agree to penalties but not to invalidation. That wd. hit the children. The marriage might well be valid in other countries. 3.000 marriages after last war, in spite of penalties. There will be bound to be some this time. Better not to invalidate.

Majority view: penalise but don't invalidate.

A.V.A. Service Ministers feel that this won't do.

P.J.G. a) V. diff. to enforce non-fraternisation. Invalidation necessary for that.  
b) Eisenhower has secured agreement of U.S. Govt.  
c) More important things on wh. to fight the U.S. Govt.

P.M. Strongly opposed to invalidation. We shd. take a high moral line.

Agreed: support the majority view on A.P.W. Cttee.

5. Labour for Cotton Industry. { E. Dalton.  
{ Exit Sargent.

O.L. Bring individual skilled operatives out of munitions. Effect on firms in Oldham.

M.A.P. Think effects on war prod<sup>n</sup> can be accepted. M/S & Adm<sup>y</sup> agree. MAP. don't.

P.M. What will effect on M.A.P. programme.

M.A.P. Can't say. Will risk it, if Cab. say so.

P.M. War ending: casualties to Bomber Command dropping & this affects Lancasters only.

A.V.A. Want to be able to discuss key workers with M/L.: otherwise no prior substitution.

B/T. V. urgent.

O.L. Mentioned long-term proposals.

Agreed: as in memo.

[Enter T.J. & R.S.H.

6. War Gratuities: Officers of Royal Observer Corps.

J.A. As in memo.  
Cost v. small. Ques is repercussions.

H.O. Possible repercussion on War Room staffs.

P.M. Regret having gone into C.D. field at all. Will cause much indignation among part-time volunteers. Will bring us much more trouble with W.L.A.

7. Forestry Bill.

- R.S.H. Gives effect to War Cab. decision.  
Brought here because might be controversial. Doubt if there will be much trouble.
- P.M. No appeal from Minister's decision on land acquisition.
- R.S.H. If any pressure for appeal, wd. apply the new Provisional Order procedure. That wd. bring it into line with T.C.P., & Water Bills.  
The powers in Bill as drawn are no more drastic than existing powers of Forestry Commission.
- J.A. Probably have to make the concession.
- P.M. Example.
- R.S.H. Cl. 5(1)(b) precludes such action.
- T.J. Powers exercisable by Comm<sup>n</sup> for many years: but v. rarely exercised.  
If obj<sup>n</sup> is pressed new Prov. Order procedure can be applied. Don't expect comp. powers will often have to be used.

Agreed.

[Exit. R.S.H.]

8. Divorce.

- L.C. As in memo.  
Enabling: give them power to try: don't require them to do so. I.e. include among those who can try an undefended case the Registrar, sitting in open court.
- J.A. Only in Registrars of Principal Probate Registry?
- L.C. Yes.
- H.O. Is the case v. Co. Ct. sufficiently strong? The Wedgwd. Cttee contemplated it.  
And Co. Ct. work will decrease when Ind. Inj. scheme goes through.
- L.C. Wedgwd. Cttee didn't approve Co. Ct. jurisd<sup>n</sup>.  
Need for uniformity.  
Co. Ct. Judges - not skilled in this work. The Registrars are.
- BB. Shd. You put Civil Servants in pos<sup>n</sup> of Judge.
- L.C. Masters of Supreme Ct. are already.
- J.A. Wd. they go on Circuit?

- L.C. Want power to have it done in Provinces so that some District Registrars may do it later with growing experience.
- J.A. There will be difficulty if you delegate this too low.
- L.C. I only want to do it at once in London. But President thinks you can extend soon to B'ham or Manchr. I will settle with J.A. wtr this shall be done by local Registrars or by sending on circuit Registrars of Princ. Prob. Registry.
9. Disclosure of Scientific Information to French.
- P.M. I wd. disclose nothing at present. Put it off for a time.
- O.L. Don't want to be too forthcoming. But must give something. There are pilots (French) who are already flying aircraft with secret devices etc.
- L.P. We wanted an agreement in order to avoid situation in wh. U.S. wd. give something & we nothing.
- Ch. No quid pro quo from France.
- M.A.P. If we don't father Fr. aviation industry, U.S. will - & we shall lose by it, e.g. instruments, engines etc.  
There is nothing really secret about the things we propose to disclose.
- A.S. We are proceeding v. cautiously. But if we hang back U.S. will go ahead & capture the market.
- Ch. If we tell them, they will make own plans via buying ours.
- M.A.P. We sold them much pre-war, thro' friendly relations. If we throw them into hands of U.S.A.
- Ch. U.S. & C.O.S. proceeding on basis of security for G. war.  
I wd. give no more than what cd. come into Fr. prod<sup>n</sup> before end/war.
- O.L. If you mean German war, this = nil.
- BB. If we don't get in here, U.S. will.
- P.M. Why not ask U.S. Ch. of Staff what they think & what they propose.  
Then get down & discuss it with them.
- O.L. Shd. we license Fr. to manufacture aircraft now in quantity production.
- P.M. Limit ourselves for the present to asking what U.S. intend. Adding that in any event we shdn't give certain specified information.
- O.L. I believe that will give U.S. a chance to lead - far further than we wd. wish

to go.

L.P. Fr. are starting an industry. They will get inform<sup>n</sup> from us or U.S. If the U.K. won't give, the U.S. will - with both hands.

A.E. & H.O. x/ Wd. prefer to send this telegram - which is more likely to lead to a restrictive result.

P.M. Wd. Prefer a simple enquiry of the U.S.  
Refer back to C.O.S. War Cab. much alarmed at telegram.

AE., JA. & H.O. repeated warning at x/.

Agreed: O.L. and Cherwell to revise telegram with C.O.S

10. Select Committee on National Expenditure: Mission to M/East.

J.A. Proposal: don't object in principle provided they keep off policy and operational ques. etc.

P.M. Believe there are many scandals there. But shd. it be investigated by M.P.'s.

H.O. They ought to go - prima facie case for investigation.

P.M. My view is "no". Wd. Be great mistake for them to go at this time.

L.C. Ever been abroad before?

J.A. No.

P.M. They wd. be centres of mischief-making.

J.A. With war apparently ending, easier to say "no" now than 3 wks. ago.

P.M. Burma next. Where will it end?



Parliament. Remarks of M. Stokes M.P.

P.M. Surprised speaker allowed Stokes to say what he did.  
Propose not to allow this to pass.  
Will have “earliest opportunity” to-day to raise point of Order.  
Shall ask that be withdrawn.  
Have told Ch. Whip to ascertain when I can raise it.

L.P. Can raise it following day, as a point of order.

World Food Supplies.

P.M. Saw Mr. Rosenman – impressed by frugality of our meals – admitted that U.S. are eating more.

L.P. & J.A. We have seen him & rubbed this in.

M/F. Position is gloomy.  
Meat: we had the basis of agreement – we to eat into stocks, they to reduce their consumption. W.F.A. ready to play, subject to leaving alone the War Dpt. Now U.S. M/F. has turned round: won't cut theirs & won't have anything exported in 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter. We know State Dpt. & F.E.A. disagree with him.

P.M. Don't release the 25.000t. of corned beef to Russia.

M/F. Sugar – W.F.A. are postponing decisions.  
Meanwhile they are continuing their heavy consumption.

P.M. 450lb. p. man cpd with our 300lbs for their Pacific scale is outrageous.

M/F. That applies to their troops at home too.

W. We are supplying meat from Australia for U.S. troops in Pacific.  
Shd. we not begin by saying we must have this if they will send none to us.

M/F. 360.000 U.S. demand fr. S. Doms. was by us reduced to 187.000.  
Diffy. of our pos<sup>n</sup> is tht. from our sources 400.000 tons  
8.00.m.lbs. of meat  
1.200 tons from  
i.e. we are getting from U.S. 1/3<sup>rd</sup> more than what they get from our sources.  
State Dpt. & F.E.A. are arguing now with W.F.A. This the time for  
for an approach by P.M. to F.D.R.

- J.A. What now of our Argentine position.
- M/F. Believe Argentines are not now so keen .....
- M/Ag. Maize: meanwhile Argentines have burnt much.
- P.M. Food has to take priority over operations at this stage of the war. Record.
- Agreed: M/F and Cherwell to provide material for telegram.

U.K. Stock Levels.

- M/F. We ought to widen it up – to cover all consumption levels.
- L Pos<sup>n</sup> changed since Yalta. Hopkins ill: no follow-up. Also problem is now supplies not shipping. U.S. realise this. Appr<sup>d</sup> y'day a high-level Cttee to consider when they can cut down.
- J.A. Cut down whom – them or us. The pos<sup>n</sup> seems obscure from latest telegrams .....
- M/F. Wheat stocks by end/ May here will be at minimum level. When St. Lawrence opens, M/W.T. will have to be asked to rush in wheat ships. Plenty of wheat in U.S., but diff. to get transport.
- P.J.G. Arrivals in N.W. Europe will be weeks behind schedule. Either rations in those areas will have to be cut (L.P. hardly possible) or there will be another raid on us.
- P.M. Wd. sooner cut the rations & have a world outcry – comparing with U.S. levels if need be. We can't surrender our stocks.
- M/F. Calories 3.800 for U.S. civil pop<sup>n</sup> overall.  
4.546 B. soldier.  
3.000 B. civilian  
2.000 liberated areas – target level.
- L.P. Does P.J.G. mean serious delays for lib. areas.
- P.J.G. Deliveries up to mid/May: time lag of 3 wks in move to U.S. ports. 1250.000 cut to 772.000 for later period. And this is sanction only, not a guarantee of delivery.
- Ch. This includes prov<sup>n</sup> for Germany. Cdn't that be cut?
- L.P. 1/3<sup>rd</sup> is for “displaced” persons.
- P.J.G. Don't repeat that now. For it means driving us into famine. There is bound to be famine in G. next winter.

600.000t. a month for civil affairs asked for by Shaef. 1600 cal. p.d. to 40.m. Must include a lot of Germans. Only 2/3m. "displaced" will come into our zone.

- O.L. Wd. be bad tactics to cut down procurement. We want to leave it high in order to force U.S. economies & get the food. We will control later wtr. G. get it.
- L.P. W'out firm alloc<sup>n</sup> to lib. areas, they will suffer at expense of keeping quiet those in immed. mil. zone.
- P.M. Anything we cd. do is a drop in the bucket. We will not starve our people in the hope of doing some good.
- L.P. Debate next Tuesday. What do I say on prospect of supplies coming fwd. from U.S.? Do I tell the world there will be crisis?
- M/L. Cdn't you say something to shame the U.S. people? Make it clear that only their sacrifice can stop the suffering.
- O.L. Repeat the primary truth – we live on imported foods: can lend only if we import more.
- Ch. We are v. near distributional minimum which we agreed with U.S. We cdn't spare more than 10% of stocks & what wd. that do? Distinguish betwn wheat (shipping only & temporary) meat & sugar.  
In 1944 U. Nat. consumed 15m. tons (meat). Prod<sup>n</sup> & consumpt<sup>n</sup> in balance.  
U.S. then cut pigmeat prod<sup>n</sup> by 1m. tons. (because lack of feed)  
Arranged U.S. cut consumption 155b – 138b. = 1m.  
150.000 stocks. We 300.000.  
Now 600.00 (twice) extra demand for Services & liberated areas.  
Thus must put to F.D.R. choice: cut either Services = lib areas: or own consumption. If your civilians won't make sacrifice you must face the pos<sup>n</sup> tht. either Services or lib. areas must go short.
- Stocks. Phil Reed. not now coming over.
- M/Ag. We want wheat from U.S.- as well as liberated areas.
- J.A. Shd. P.M. warn F.D.R. in telegram that we shall be havg. some Plain speaking in debate Tuesday.
- P.M. Balancing wtr L. or O.L. shd go to Washington.  
Now tht. shipping is not main problem I think O.L. shd go, taking M/F & possibly Cherwell & sending for L. if shipping comes to the fore. - Agreed.  
a) Draft statement for F.D.R. 1.000 words.

{include ref<sup>ce</sup>  
{to Ministers'  
{visit.

consumpt<sup>n</sup> increased while ours decreased.  
absurd to judge us (importing country) by cond<sup>ns</sup>.  
stocks are insurance v. catastrophe & can't be  
reduced below level prev. agreed as minimum  
necessary for distribution.  
refuse reduce stocks: wd. sooner cut rations –  
with publicity involved.  
demands made: priorities – mil. lib areas & Germans  
only if any remanent  
feel bound to compare relative rations of U.S. soldiers  
and B. civilian (4 times): bringing out comparison with  
heavy manual workers.

Cd. you not postpone the debate: & indicate tht. these are some of  
the facts wh. we shall have to disclose in debate.

A.E. All arranged. Housing: Thurs/Friday.

P.M. Put that off until followg. week.

M/F. Better perhaps to defer disclosing these facts until after O.L. & I have  
gone out.

L.P. Awkward for me to wait on lib. areas.

P.M. Some proportion: proposed tht. I shd. send a shattering telegram to  
F.D.R.: if succeeds, he will give an impulse - & in 3 days or so  
some effect will appear. Before our Ministers go, want an answer  
for the Debate: a genl. indication before going into details.  
For this reason wd. like to defer debate for a week.

A.E. I will see what can be done to arrange postponement.  
I might take housing earlier.

#### Warning to Germany.

P.M. Read draft telegram to F.D.R.

O.L. Add reference to fact tht. there will be a v. serious shortage anyhow.

P.M. Obj<sup>n</sup> raised by F.O. They will begin to starve our p.o.w. & other  
foreigners.  
I propose to put the cons as well as pros to F.D.R. & U.J.

Ch. Don't put too much stress on sowings – applies to using up stocks.

P.M.. But that wd. drive them to starve p.o.w.

Food Supplies (resumed).

W.P.130. (iii) + (iv).

M/Ag.            Want to tell my Cttees in confidence of facts.  
                      Want to tell public also in raising volunteer labour for harvest.

W.L.A. Gratuities.

P.M.             When C.D. blown over: we might do somethg e.g. coupons &  
                      keeping greatcoats.

W.M. 31(45).

15<sup>th</sup> March, 1945.

Food Supplies.

- O.L. Ben Smith – telegram coming – refrain from mentioning names of Mission to W'ton until that is received.
- P.M. Ch. doesn't want to go because dissents from views of others on claims of lib<sup>d</sup> areas.
- O.L. Not a good negotiating point to cut down estimates of requirements:  
i.e. don't under-rate the crisis.
- Ch. Someone will say the figures are too high - & say why support them.  
I believe solution wd. be to cut Russia, military & lib. areas.
- O.L. Shaef figures not immune from criticism – by us or others.
- P.M. Doubtful: U.S. may regret their interest in Europe if we put the call on them too high.  
Don't say only a small reduction requ<sup>d</sup>. But don't put the need too high.
- Ch. I wd. say "Officials proposed cut consumpt<sup>n</sup> 1 m. tons. 100.000 t. fr. stocks.  
{ B. Cut from stocks.  
Meat { 1.4m. deficit. 600.000 mil. 600.000 l. areas. 550.000 Russia.  
Can't say why military want increases in last year of war.
- P.M. Why do we want 200.000 t. more for B. Troops?
- O.L. Combined Ch. of Staff.
- Ch. Lib. areas demand 50.000 t.p. month. 11 oz p. wk for 32 m. people.  
That is our ration. Don't believe they need more than 200.000 +.  
Then cut 200.000 t. off Russians.  
Line therefore to show tht. if they will cut the 1 m. tons we can bridge the gap remaining.
- O.L. These are negotiating points. But want to see how it works out before we suggest no crisis.
- Ch. The main objective must be to get U.S. Govt. to accept their officials' proposal for 1 m. cut in meat.
- O.L. Our main case is a deficit (importing) area can't contribute save from stocks except by importing the same amount later to replace.

Housing.

- W. Doubted wtr H/C. was fully alive to a) organisation b) programme.  
Thought it might be helpful to put out W. Paper in advance – as for  
debate on military organisation of Defence Office.  
Draft hastily prepared: but Ministers agree – in principle on the facts  
(M/W. & Health Ministers agreed).  
Ques. for Cabinet is political wisdom of publishing.  
Want to clarify certain paras., e.g. those on site.
- M/Ag. And para. 51.
- P.M. L.a.'s cause of all the delay. And in devastated areas the task is  
beyond their powers.
- M/H. Para. 56 shows results on plans.
- M/W. Temp. sites are more diff.
- M/H. 55.000 app<sup>d</sup> – Act law only last Oct.
- H.O. First ques. is expediency.
- F.O. Depends on the Paper.
- P.M. In principle it's a good idea: saves time of Govt. spokesman.  
Did that on M/Defence – to avoid long description.
- M/H. Wd. be a great help.
- L.P. Wd. stop nonsense being talked. Thought it useful.
- W.W. Recent procedure: debate on open lines – focus discussion of project.
- L.P. This is a different W. Paper. Not a project.
- F.O. Interest will centre on p.3.  
Is it convincing?
- O.L. This will focus criticism on the division of responsibility.
- M/H. Cut out T.C.P.: no conflict betwn E & Scott. Thus 4 reduced to 2.
- M/L. Set it out: Health Dept. represents consumer.
- M/W. The Supply Dpt.

- BB. Is that the situation.
- M/W. No: Army doesn't make any of its own guns.
- M/L. The Health Dpt. in presenting its demand is in same position as W.O. in indenting on M/Supply. Essential to get this relationship.
- O.L. But inform H/C. of present position will stimulate demand for that change.
- P.M. will risk = L.G.B.
- M/H. But in 20 years since L.G.B. l.a.'s have learned to build houses.
- L.P. Supply is a false parallel.  
The Health Dpt. is dealing with a whole range of l.a.'s etc.  
Can't get far on consumer/producer analogy.
- M/H. M/W – can buy.
- F.O. This description will provoke sugg<sup>ns</sup> of alternatives.  
They have no alternative. Save catch-cry of “single Minister”.
- J.A. x/ But para. 11 is unfortunate. Don't boast of no. of Dpts.
- M.A.P. Distinguish between the 2.
- M/H. You can't do it too sharply because one shades into another.
- B.B. This paper will only cause trouble – cf. para. 12  
Re-draft to play down the no. of Ministers. E.g. Health Ministers are one, not two, Ministers.
- P.M. Paras. 11 – 16. - impression of muddle.
- H.O. a) Cd. be presented better.  
b) Explain why this is so.  
Inevit<sup>bly</sup> mob<sup>n</sup> of natl. resources for gt. bldg. programme involves Various Ministers. Main resp. for policy = Health Ministers.  
They draw on the services of others e.g. M/W., M/S., B/T., M/L. – for diff't reasons.
- T.J. Single Ministry – will enrage l.a.'s  
Give M/W. power to order houses (prefab<sup>d</sup>) temp<sup>y</sup>.  
prefab. parts of perm. houses.  
But single Min<sup>y</sup> will produce no more houses & merely



upset l.a.'s.

- M/H. a) Single Minister cdn't apply to Scotland.  
b) top priority for some houses this summer. – as for Mulberry.
- M/W. On organisation. No ques. of displacing l.a.'s.  
What wd. be helpful wd. be during the 2 yrs. to treat const<sup>n</sup> of prefab.  
Perms on same basis as temp<sup>y</sup> prefabs. Same case for central  
ordering, prod<sup>n</sup> & dist<sup>n</sup>. L.A. wd. have to buy them. Am  
bringing l.a.'s in on design.
- W. Agree with M/W. on this.  
Must shake l.a.'s out of having only traditional methods.
- B.B. Leeds & Lpl. have led the world.
- M/W. Some l.a.'s are pioneering: but only the few leading l.a.'s.
- M/H. No dispute with M/W. Disagree with W: Govt. haven't yet shown  
them the new types.  
One qualif<sup>n</sup> to M/W. Don't force l.a. to buy. Let l.a.'s buy from the  
contractor. Govt. giving only an over-riding order.
- M/L. Point to be raised in H/C. = when will M/W. show to l.a.'s what they  
can buy in the way of prefab. perms. What is the answer to that?  
P.M. said this was to be a military operation. But no orders given to  
those who will have to carry out the work.  
P.3. of draft: reduce to one para.
- M/W. Prefab. perm. - treat same as prefab. temp. Present to l.a.'s range  
of types & methods. A list of prob. starters has bn. put to Burt Cttee:  
who have selected the 12 best. I'm now bldg 50 houses of each.  
Prototypes are already available: the 50's are to see what the  
costs & man/hours will be.
- M/H. Premature to promise perm. prefabs. Not certain it will prove  
practicable.  
The Orlit ran into snags.  
To-morrow seeing architects for first time.  
Not yet sure enough of perm. prefabs. to say we will be universal  
provider.  
Agree: M/W. shd. have power to order, produce & distribute. The  
l.a.'s shd be invited to see them & given chance to order. Govt.  
getting the prod<sup>n</sup> by an over-riding order

[ ..... Out for 5 minutes .....]

- P.M. Enlistment of RAC. for civilian flying squads for erecting prefabs.  
cf. the organisation for post-raid help & repairs.  
L.a.'s cdn't stop that.
- M/H. That C.D. organisation was done by l.a.'s.
- P.M. The hybrid prefab. perm is new to me. How do they work? Where will  
the parts be stored?
- T.J. Essence = can M/W. be auth<sup>d</sup> to order prefab. parts for perm. houses.
- H.O. Speed & cost. To be covered in Paper or speeches.  
a) Steps to make bldg. industry efficient & up-to-date.  
b) Bulk purchase of components. Govt. pool. Trade channels  
rationalised?  
Why not do it on munitions prod<sup>n</sup> lines? Use R.O.F.s?  
c) Price control. Measures to beat price rings.  
d) Estimated costs of bldg.  
e) Inform<sup>n</sup> to public about licensing system: & arrangements for  
self-help.
- W. See para. 40 – for (b).  
For the rest, this wasn't intended to take the place of Minister's speeches.
- M/W. What was lackg. until last H. Cttee was decision tht. priority shd. be given  
to methods realising economics in const<sup>n</sup>. [Always have had  
auth<sup>y</sup> to do bulk purchase to extent necessary.] This will enable  
us to turn the heat on to force some unusual const<sup>n</sup> - labour-saving  
methods.
- J.A. x/ Para 11 onwards. Begin: 2 Ministries with primary responsibility.  
The Health Dpt. & the M/W. Their functions do not clash. Then  
explain their respect. functions. Add little about other Dpts.  
M/H. co-ordinates demand. M/W. functions are in the field  
of supply.
- P.M. And 3 types of house. Perm = M/H. Other two = M/W.  
For prefab. temps., at cost of State, we have to pay more for speed.
- M/L. Factory work may save 6 months on the dole.
- P.M. In explaining the policy, get people the sense of design.
- Cr. Is it necessary to have the paras. on organisation at all.  
The House will be diverted into talking of it.
- L.P. They will talk anyway. Advantages = have this stated.

M/L. Put it shortly – at end vice beginning. }  
 } Agreed.  
P.M. Wd. like to see how good & terse it is – first. }

Ch. Whip. Date.

P.M. Wd. Tuesday do?  
Agreed: try for Monday.  
Ministers to send other sugg<sup>ns</sup> to W., who will settle with Health  
Ministers & M/Works.

W. Who will present? a) Three housing Ministers or b) M/Reconst<sup>n</sup>.

P.M. a) makg. it look like 2 not 3.  
W. to assemble team & get reprint Friday night.  
P.M. to settle final text.

Excused { Whiteley.  
 { M/W.  
 { M/H.  
 { T.J.

#### Food Supplies.

P.M. Why have W.O. demands risen.

W.O. 1m. more men abroad. Rationing R. released (Yalta) & other  
Released soldiery.  
U.S. also have large nos. of released Allied prs. to feed.  
Also new Allied Forces. 3 Bdg. Brigades here, for example.  
Remember tht. these are 1945 requirements.

P.M. Read latest draft of telegram.

F.O. ? Add SACMED. & Pacific.

P.M. Civil requirements of Shaef & of other military theatres.

L.P. Is exchange of figures by wire helpful.  
Won't it be better for our emissaries to take them.  
Agreed: one cable only.

#### Parliament.

P.M. M.A.P. to deal with civil aviation on Tuesday.  
To open, not wind up.

Excused. Ch. Whip.  
R.S.H.

Civil Service. Entry.

- P.M. Cisby vice Wasby. Why not Presley for the girls.  
Competitive exam<sup>n</sup> was a triumph of 19<sup>th</sup> Century.  
The odd ones find their place.
- J.A. This is only fr reconst<sup>n</sup> period.  
Some no education for 7 years. They can't be selected by comp. exam.  
Must be by selection. Interview must be important. Idea therefore to  
Let them see the interviewers for longer.

Naval, Military and Air Situation.

C.A.S. 43.000.s. 48.000 t.  
B.C. 6.250. lost 60. 1.1%  
21.000 t. 318 m.  
Essen 4.700 Dortmund 4.900.  
Nuremburg, Wurzburg, Sweibrucken 1.000 t. av.  
Bridges, oil, comm<sup>ns</sup> centres. Outstanding cuttg. of viaduct.  
Mosqu. attacked Berlin all 7 nights.  
3.180 day sorties for 1 lost.  
U.S.B. 6.600 s. for 34 lost 14.700 tons.  
Variety of targets incldg. G. HQ.s of Berlin. (Zossen)  
Oppos<sup>n</sup> negligible = attacks effective.  
T.A.F. o/ 27.300 d. 122 lost. 11.400 t. bombs (highest recorded)  
7.000 v. d. 6.000 dam. - highest claimed. Mainly on central  
front. Enemy up to 350 s. p.day. Flak shot 52 in wk at Remagen.  
165 : 17 : 108 enemy casualties.  
Coastal. 1 U-Boat sunk. 3 Midgets.  
Enemy. Intruders 11 crossed coast: 1 bomber destroyed.  
Crossbow. V.2. 8 p.day. 30% less than last week. 28(54) in Gtr. Ldn.  
543 off. sorties: good results on storage site N.E of Hague.  
Attacks on comm<sup>ns</sup> also.  
V.1. 16 launched: 2 destroyed: 2 reached Ldn.  
1 launching site in Holland confirmed 1 suspected.  
Antwerp: V.2. reverted to normal: V.1. much reduced.  
Med. 15.453 s.  
1.000 stock in Austria/Hung. area. destroyed.  
373 railcuts. 300 v.d. or dam.  
Total e.sorties 160.  
SEA. 13.310 s. for 7 lost 20 : 4 : 16 enemy losses.  
Burma/Siam rlway damaged.  
7000 troops 8.000 t. supplies carried.  
Pacific. 3 lost. 10 : 2 enemy.

Naval.

CNS. 4 m. 9.450 t. 2 U-Boat. 1 m. 1 E. Boat. 29.725 t. 9 ships.  
1 U-Boat scuttled off Ireland. Another boat sunk off Berwick.  
For March : 2 : 4 : 3 promising U-Boats sunk.  
Inshore campaign now in full swing.  
Detailed report given on Midget U-Boats. 48 sunk prob. or captured.  
37 promising.  
Losses: 3 ships. Thus v. expensive weapon. Figures from 23/12.  
12/13. might attack on Norw. m. vessels.

Med. 6 lighters.  
SEA. 11 craft sunk.

Military.

CIGS. Remagen. 4 Divns. over. Removed 7<sup>th</sup> Armoured Divn. Germans have 3 out of 4 Panzer Divns v. him. Failed to stop him. Patton's thrust over Moselle – most spectacular event of week. Crossed between Treis & Burgen: armour made v. great advances in 2 days. Now up to Bad Munster. Closed up N.E. to Rhine. Later, to west, 11<sup>th</sup> Armoured put in to drive on Kaiserlauten. This wd. be near the drive by Patch; & wd. cut off prs. 16 G. Divns in a pocket. To S.W., another thrust by Patton n. of Saarbrucken twds. Tholey Nehfelden. turning main Siegfried Defences to benefit of 7<sup>th</sup> Army. 7<sup>th</sup> Army closing up to Siegfried Line. Great chance of smashing G. forces W. of Rhine south of Coblenz. Total prs. 136.000 since start of Rhine battles. Over 1 m. in West since D-Day.

Burma. 2 weeks. Big advances. Mandalay surrounded – tho' 600 Japs still in Fort Dufferin. 19<sup>th</sup> Divn. Nearly linked with 2<sup>nd</sup> B. Divn to South Meiktila. Flown in addl. Divn. - but Japs re-captured airport – thrown out again – flying is resumed. Patrolling from Meiktila eastwards to Thazi. Landing E. of Ramree 1. to clear road thro' Kywegu to Taungup. 17/1 – 15/3. 7.000 J. killed 96 guns capt<sup>d</sup>.

Russia. Nil.

Air Raids and Casualties.

[Enter M/Food.

H.O.

Figures.  
Marble Arch nr. "Reformer's Tree.  
U.x. rocket at Hutton Essex. – Shd be interesting.  
84 : 188 : 739 : 2 missing. Rocket casualties.  
V.1. 18 launched, 5 overland 2 London.  
AA. 13. - 11 over sea.  
16 : 34 : 53. V.1. casualties.  
Aircraft. Sat. night. 18., only 11 crossed Yorks./Norfolk/Ely.  
Incident in Hull 12 : 22 : 8.  
Last night. 3 off E. Anglia: no crossing made.

Relief for Occupied Holland.

- R.L. C.O.S. unwilling to agree via Kiel Canal: willing to consider other routes.
- M/F. Can help to extent shown in Memo.  
Flour: if counted v. Shaef's requirements: 100.000 t. earmarked for some Shaef commitment. 42.000 may be needed by Shaef in lieu of biscuits.  
The 16.000 needed might come out of remaining 58.000 t.  
I'm not concerned with Shaef's use of what I give.
- L.P. This is a separate exercise from Shaef's commitment?
- W. 4.8 wks of flour - additional to supplies of wheat?
- M/F. Yes.
- M/F. Margarine. Have raw materials to make more, but need more labour.  
Wd. need 100 extra for this. 280 extra to get stocks right.
- L.P. Cd. labour be brought from Holland? Or from Belgium?
- M/L. France & Belgium shd. make their own. Cdn't they make more & let the ship pick it up from there. Indeed, they might make some for us.
- M/F. I cd. send the oil forward to Antwerp – for manufacture there – if it cd. be picked up there.
- Ch. Why not send it in by land?  
Margarine: agree in principle: enquire into possibility of manufacture in Antwerp.  
Proposals in Memo. agreed, subject to above.

W.M. 33(45).

19<sup>th</sup> March, 1945.  
(6.p.m.)

Poland.

P.M. US – UK. now in agreement. U.J. : D.K. : U.K.  
Hope all will be well.

Peace-Seekers – Italian Front.

O.S. Telegram fr. Alexander: all is off as Kesselring moved to W. Front.

P.M. Then no need for a row with Russians. But agreement for future: any approach with pol. aspect the C. in C. will negotiate but all 3 Powers will be allowed to be there because of political possibilities.

Anglo-French Financial Agreement.

J.A. Unusual features (2) designed to get gold from France.  
Described as in memo.  
This £60 m in gold will be v. useful. Fr. French angle, largely face-saving. Plevin in Dec. last made it clear tht. they cdn't put any agreemt. across re gold unless coupled with supplies. That is why the agreement takes this form.

P.M. What strings to this? Pegging franc to unnatural value.

J.A. Mutual consult<sup>n</sup> before exchange value is altered. Don't want to suggest we are responsible for the 200 value. 360 – 800/900 on Black Market. On wage-ratio 200 not far out. But no one can say to what it will settle.

P.M. Have we forgiven much to get this?

J.A. Only makg. mutual-aid retrospective: under the agreemt. made with them when they were in N. Africa – because we began helping them there on cash basis.

A.V.A. Para. 2 last words. “original cost less depreciation”. Fr. will get various ships of war wh. they have used since new.

J.A. Only residual value comes in here. War use comes under Mutual Aid.

B.B. It puts on record the opportunity given to foreign Govt. to enquire into bank balances of private persons here.



- B. Not tough enough. Permits paymt. 1/3<sup>rd</sup> gold & 2/3rds. blocked balances. This involves takg. blocked balances to pay for current supplies.  
The £158 m. was paid to prevent Petain getting goods in U.S.A. – not to get the goods. Monstrous that we shd. have to deal with it now on basis of refunding to French.  
Depreciation. Shd. take a/c of depreciation on equipment taken over from U.S. Consult<sup>n</sup> on exchange rate is equivalent to fixing the rate.
- Ch. Wd. have liked to get more.
- P.M. & J.A. Not so easy out of the French!
- Ch. Hope cancell<sup>n</sup> of claims doesn't cover delivery of supplies.
- J.A. It doesn't.
- P.M. Record: no big debt post-war.
- J.A., Disclosure of balances.  
Banks at first protested – grd. of breach of principle of confidence betw. banker & client. We are not in fact handg. over to Fr. any inform<sup>n</sup> from banks about clients. The assets to wh. this relates have passed from banks to Custodian/Enemy Property. All assets of Fr. in U.K. came to him on entry into power of Vichy Govt. The old rule (inform<sup>n</sup> disclosed by bankers shd. not be used) has bn. maintained. May have to breach it for sake of double-taxation agreemt. with U.S.A.: but that ques. I am bringing to War Cabinet.
- P.M. This is the home of Banks which don't go broke. 2.000 U.S. banks bust in '39.  
This has brought banking business to London. Take care not to break this tradition.
- J.A. Danger of losing that reput if we press the principle too far.  
E.g. foreign bond-holders get dividends paid in to U.K. to secure tht. tax is not deducted. Done for that purpose. We shall be pressed (e.g. by U.S. & Dutch) to stop this. Transaction is concealed by the banks.  
Hitherto, we've taken the line that we have nothg. to do with foreign taxation.  
U.S., who have hitherto taken same line, have now concluded diff. agreemt. with France.
- P.M. Want to see pro & con on the American case.
- B. The 158 m.\$ didn't give us much value. Purpose was prevent it going to

Germany. It was in the nature of a M.E.W. transaction.  
That ought to be cancelled. We shdn't be giving value as against it.

- J.A. Total was 230 m.\$.  
Purpose here is to get maximum amount of gold from France.
- P.M. Does anyone suggest J.A. can now make a better bargain?
- B. Will he give up to 200 exchange figure.
- J.A. How can we alter the exchange figures – the U.S. are involved in that.
- O.L. Much depends on real value of £45 m. surplus.  
If that is really valueless to us, it wd. offset the dud \$250 m.
- L.S.A. Wd. anyone else but £45 m. surplus was materials at cost less  
depreciation?  
Surely this is a good bargain.  
Agreed (with plaudits to J.A.) subject to bankers' point.
- B.B. Bankers. French have kept money for years in London. You now hand  
it over to Fr. Govt.
- J.A. No. I'm handing back to banks who transferred to Custodian.
- P.M. This doesn't arise from J.A.'s action now: but to transfer in 1940.
- J.A. B. Govt., having this inform<sup>n</sup>, cdn't refrain from disclosing it to  
friendly Fr. Govt. The principle of banker not disclosing clients  
business ceased to apply when the transfer from bank to Custodian  
occurred. How cd. we refuse to give the Fr. inform<sup>n</sup> wh. was in our  
control as a Govt.
- M/L. Our oblig<sup>n</sup> is then finished: it's up to Fr. Govt. what they make of the  
inform<sup>n</sup>.
- B.B. Will affect dispos<sup>n</sup> of foreigners in future to put their money in London.
- L.P. Not a precedent because arose only thro' property passing into control  
of Custodian.
- W. Only reason for disclosure = because we had come into possession thro'  
Custodian/Enemy Prop<sup>y</sup>.
- J.A. Asked further to enter into Anglo/Fr. agreemt. to communicate all  
inform<sup>n</sup> relating to taxes – similar to recent American/Fr.  
agreement – includ. inform<sup>n</sup> obtained under legal compulsion.

I declined.  
Govr/Bank of England supports the line I took.

P.M. This doesn't breach the principle of banks' disclosing inform<sup>n</sup> about clients' balances.

Agreed: covering the point about the Banks.

J.A. Going over to Paris to sign. Will consult the P.M. on this point.

Finance of Relief.

J.A. As in Memo. Hope A.E. will support.

P.M. What is said against?

W. To what extent are we going to pay for relief of ex-enemies.  
Italy : Austria.

J.A. Plain misunderstanding of para. 8. Want to get UNRRA in, so as to reduce our share.  
1/8<sup>th</sup> under UNRRA 1/4 under mil. agreement.

R.L. Support memo. But UNRRA will need more funds. Americans will have to pay.

Ch. How have they spent what they have had. £600 m.

J.A. It is U.S. who always wanted relief for these territories. Let them find the money.

D.O. Will Canada remain at 8%.

J.A. No. They wd. come under UNRRA.

D.O. Can they be consulted first.

J.A. Yes.

W. UNRRA's funds said to be running low. Shall we have to pay more?

H.O. Cdn't we have a report on their operations & finances.

R.L. Lehmann producg. a/c in few weeks' time. x/

P.J. Field for UNRRA = displaced persons in Germany.

Agreed: plus Report on x/.

San Francisco: Trade Union Representation.

A.E. If memo. app<sup>d</sup> wd. like to know what to say to Citrine & who will say it with me. Agreed: L.P. to accompany A.E. seeing Citrine.

M/L. & L.P. Agreed.

A.V.A. At Versailles people were available for advice.

A.E. But this is not a Peace Conference.  
? Say to Citrine: this is for Govts. Glad to hear what he has to say, now or here. Wd. agree to his putting written statement in, but not address the conference.

British Delegation.

P.M. Was agreed that AE, L.P. & Cranborne shd go. Russ Tomlinson (sugg<sup>d</sup> by L.P.) Mabane (Liberal) and our two women Privy Councillors, Miss Wilkinson & Miss Horsbrugh.

A.S. No Liberal. Foot, if Mabane.

P.M. Foot's been to Switzerland.

A.S. Not politically important.

A.E. Stettinius hopes Halifax will be delegate. That wd. make 9.

P.M. Not Halifax.

A.E. Feared tht. if Hal. not a delegate & is admitted all other Amb. in Washington will have to be let in.

P.M. Balance of Parties. Hope Mabane will do for Liberals.  
Halifax & Liberal represent<sup>n</sup> to be considered further by P.M.

P.M. Will announce composition of delegation on Wed. or Thursday.  
Liberals have passed out of life into history.

C.O. Territorial trusteeship to be discussed there? If so, may be difficult.

P.M. Might change our delegation, if need be. Don't want to suggest topics by starting out with a C.O. representative on delegation.

A.E. Want to warn U.S. before we start not to try to discuss this ques. au fond at this Conference.

Foreign Service: Admission of Women.

M/L. Do it w'out a Committee.

P.M. Why not submit a scheme to Cab.

A.E. Because I haven't yet accepted the principle.

P.M. I didn't like idea of their entering Parlt. but it turned out better than I feared. Concede the theory & you have no trouble in practice. Do it here, too.  
You can use women in AA. batteries: why not in Foreign Service.

D.O. Much in the marriage point.  
Unless you pick unmarriageable ones either they marry a) foreigner  
b) someone else in foreign service: v. gt. diff<sup>ies</sup> in posting  
c) some other B. man who becomes a Prince Consort!

A.E. Stream of women going in & out of Foreign Service thro' marriage.

P.M. Anything in law to prevent a woman becoming a Judge?

H.O. No.

P.M. Wd. be ready to apply a rule tht. any who marry foreigners must leave the Service.

H.O. Case for enquiry.

J.A. Agreed.  
Agreed: as in Memo.

M.A.P. Not a Judge as Chairman. Agreed: consider other possibilities and report to War Cab.

a) Daily Worker: Request for war correspondent [Exit Law. with SHAEF.

b) Rothstein: Request to be accredited to SHAEF.

P.M. a) Saw T.U.C. re Daily Worker. Summarised obj<sup>ns</sup> given to them/ They accepted the reasons why I wdn't allow a Communist to be a war correspondent.  
They then asked - cd. the Daily Worker have a corresp. who wasn't a Communist. I promised to put this to Cabinet.  
I think this wd. be a reasonable solution.

L.P. Wd. have to be quite sure that they didn't turn a man out of C. Party for this purpose.

H.O. V diff. to give way to D. Worker now. I wdn't accept their word.  
They have agitated v. much about this: & now got T.U.C. to  
take it up: I think this wd. be greeted as giving way. Rough  
on P.J. after making him stand out against it for so long.

P.J. I said we wdn't accept anyone partly because of Communist  
managemt. of the newspaper.

M/L. Keep it running – as amendmt. of Trades Disputes Act.  
Agreed: P.M. to say not the moment to make the change now.

P.J. b) As in Memo.

P.M. The compromise won't please Rothstein. And he is likely to press for  
more.

B.B. Only an accident tht. he is B. He represents a Russian agency.  
Will encourage Russians to prejudice our Press arrangements in Russia.

P.M. Won't get out of trouble if you allow him to join the Club subject to  
restrictions.

P.M. My reasons for not saying anything about British in  
Crerar's Army. Refers to prev. W.M. Concl<sup>n</sup>.

B.B. I favour 100% permission.

A.E. The Letter Service point is worse than forbidding him to go at all.

H.O. Care v. D. Worker is official organ of B. Comm. Party: & we don't  
do business with them. This man in Tass Agency: we have no  
ev<sup>ce</sup> against them.  
If D. Worker come back on us, we can say "we've nothg. on Tass."

P.M. Wd. not be consistent with my line to T.U.C.

M.A.P. Only ground for refusing Rothstein is tht. this man is a B. Communist.

B.B. If you turn him down, you will get something worse.

A.E. As in Memo, if rest<sup>n</sup> on messages is removed. Put him on same basis  
for messages as war correspondents.

P.M. But how reconcile this with what we said to T.U.C.

M.A.P. This is correspondent of a foreign agency.

M/L. As in memo: but agree with AE. on messages.

P.M. If we can reconcile our policy on this & on T.U.C. deputation.

Exit: Sargent.

Enter: E. Brown & S.G.

M.A.P. He won't be in contact with D Worker.

Agreed: H.O. & W.O. to seek a reconciliation.

{ Postpone decision for a time

{ P.M. wanted to refuse D. Worker & permit Rothstein.

Statutory Orders (Special Procedure) Bill.

Approved.

1. Commercial Policy: Reply to Canadian Govt.

P.M. These draft replies leave the matter open: merely invite rep<sup>ve</sup> to come over.  
Any objn. to their despatch?  
K. wants to keep sterling area idea alive – as second-line if larger aim fails.

J.A. First draft confined to arrangements in Stage V. Canada proposing to see us through.  
Second draft long-term problem: want disc<sup>n</sup> to see where we stand.  
W'out committg. ourselves we recognise the generosity of the Canadian offer.

2. Food. U.K. Stocks.

P.M. At Press Conf. M/F alluded to “700 m. tons” reserve story w'out saying what it actually is.  
At this stage of the war C.O.S. agree (this morning) to quoting the actual figure now i.e. 6 m. tons.

J.A. Won't a lot of people think that is too high?

O.L. Add “at least  $\frac{3}{4}$  of this necessary for dist<sup>n</sup>.”

P.M. Read Minute from M/F. – reply to Priv. Notice Ques.  
Yes: but I wd. put it in my own words & relate it to the 700 m. story.

M/Ag. Effect on own producers: they must be encouraged to re-double efforts.  
Cd. we add a reference to items where we are v. short – “ship to Mouth”.

P.M. Will not mention individ. items – will deal generally.

3. Food: Directive for Ministerial Mission to Washington.

L.P. Do figures for Germans exclude the provision for displaced persons.

Ch. Yes.

P.M. Real objective: cuts on U.S. (& B.) military requirements.

L.P. Wastage 30% allowance!



- M/Ag. Pig-food fell right away after D-Day. because of disappearance of U.S. troops.
- P.J. Therefore is “pari passu” fair in para. 7.
- P.M. More likely to get U.S. to play if we accept same scrutiny. Agreed: “subject ourselves to exactly the same scrutiny.” vice pari passu.
- M/F. U.S. economies – they control only Federal slaughter-houses.
- O.L. Agree these are the basic points.
- M/F. If U.S. make unilateral dec<sup>ns</sup> to cut our supplies it cuts at roots of Combined Bd. machinery.
- P.M. Make that point if you like – not for directive.
- P.M. Handle Argentine ques. interrogatively. Promised F.D.R. 6 months on this - & 2 months still to run.
- Ch. Russian requiremt. shd. no longer have Protocol priority. They are Getting into area now when they might contribute twds. western parts/Germany. They have the food surplus areas of G.
- O.L. Agreed – referred to stupidity of sugg<sup>n</sup> tht. UNRRA shd. feed Poland.
- S/S. Air. Fair to leave Poland to Russia.
- O.L. Tactics. Can’t start by letting R. get away with doing nothing.
- H.O. Think too of what we have to do. Once we volunteer to put UNRRA in we accept a responsibility. It is a R. responsibility: we shdn’t come in at least until R. fails & asks us.
- J.A. UNRRA goes in only on invitation of occupying auth<sup>y</sup>.
- P.M. Certainly no encouragement to UNRRA – except as part of bargain with R.
- Cr. Canada – Comb. Bd. members : eat more even than U.S.  
Shd. they not be brought into these conversations.  
Draft: O.L. to consider any drafting alterations & re-submit to P.M.
- O.L. & M/F. Agreed Canada to be brought into these discussions.
- Cr. Then how?

- O.L. We can swing them in when we get to W'ton – as in natural course of events.
- M/F. Do we wait for F.D.R.'s reply before we go. Want to get it clear.
- P.M. On the telegrams "silence gives consent." Go as soon as you wish. I will telegraph to F.D.R. "they start Friday morning."  
Ch. shd. go too. Winant was in favour. AE also.
- Ch. Don't want to – these are the responsible Ministers, I add nothg.
- P.M. V. well – as you please.
- P.J.G. Genl. imp<sup>n</sup> of directive – if seen, cd. be rep<sup>d</sup> tht. we were the people who are starving Europe. By attackg. their standards.
- P.M. We surely can keep secret our confidl. documents.  
Add. reference to continued bombardment.

Poland: Publication of Anglo-Polish Secret Protocol, 1939.

- A.E. Trouble: whole lot of letters wh. passed in these years wh. wd. be embarrassing to explain if Poles published them.  
Bellenger Q for y'day: postponed at our request.  
Think, however, we must publish.  
General agreement with this view.  
Want to tell Poles first & ask their permission. Expect they will agree.  
[Item 1 = War Cab. only.]

Italy: Claims against Germany.

- M.A.P. What will Russians say?
- A.V.A. Will this prompt Russia to make similar claim for Roumania.
- A.E. Only puts them on the list – long way from getting anything.

Reparations and Dismemberment.

- J.A. Sent caveat to Yalta: rec<sup>d</sup> re-assuring reply from P.M.  
Now afraid R. taking diff't. view. Think we shd. clear our minds.  
My feeling is maximum reparations/maximum dismemberment are incompatible.  
Believing fundamentally tht. the 2 policies are exclusive, I fear tht. Russian appl<sup>n</sup> of their doctrine in their Zone may leave us with an area which is not viable. Greatly fear tht. if we don't soon safeguard our position, matters may so develop tht. we find ourselves alone in W. (U.S. having withdrawn) respons. for an area wh. is a deficit area having to provide imports with no prospect of getting out w'out leaving a chaos wh. wd. be a disgrace.  
Don't want to short-circuit F.O. memo to A.P.W. Profitable to have a disc<sup>n</sup> of genl. principles first on this.
- A.E. Some of these problems will arise with or w'out dismemberment.  
Russian Zone: if they take machinery they must give food fr. their Zone to ours.  
Remember (a) R. at Yalta v. keen on dismemberment. U.S. went long way with them. The word is now in the Terms/Surrender.  
You can get reparations in kind even from 3 countries – R. view.

Diff. to conclude on this – without full disc<sup>n</sup> of A.P.W. memo.  
Either A.P.W. shd. take both: or special Cab. shd. take both

P.M. We put it in only as a matter to be explored.

A.E. By my Cttee in London.

P.M. Some parts of larger G. wd. bloom if relieved of heavy burdens laid on them by Russia.  
Also freed of mill-stone of armaments.  
R. has not bn. thro' our experience of Reparations – no bitter memories.  
Also they can absorb a good deal more than we can. Delusion to think our economy will benefit much. U.S. expect nothing except securities in their control.  
R. on other hand are resolved to take all the machinery they can use.  
At least tht. wd. remove G. compet<sup>n</sup> & leave the way open to us.  
Wd. help our export trade. Ditto, later on, with Japan.

J.A. Don't oppose the principle.  
My trouble (see para. 4): R. will get productive surplus area while our Zone is deficit.

A.E. But occup<sup>n</sup> is separate from issue of separate States.

L.P. Look how it will develop. R. will crush the East to peasant level. In the West, we can't level out the industrial area: it will remain depressed on a high level of civilisation while their Zone is contented at a low level.

J.A. Tendency will be for each occupying area to concentrate on own Zone.

P.M. Was not intended tht. mil. occup<sup>n</sup> shd. be linked with reparation – were meant to be handled as separate issues. During mil. occup<sup>n</sup> there will be a central auth<sup>y</sup>.  
Dismemberment may prove impracticable. My personal view is "isolate Prussia" because historically they have bn. the cause of all the trouble.  
Wd. look for one State centred on Vienna – 30 m. or so. And wd. treat these people more easily than those in Prussian Zone.  
Stalin likes that idea.  
I wd. like to bring in Hungary too. But U.J. wants to keep that w'in his influence: belt of States friendly to USSR.  
Attempted to reach no concl<sup>n</sup> at Yalta.

L.P. Then what of the rest, Hanover etc.,

P.M. Under international control.



A majority view here in 5 years probably.

But our problem is the immediate crisis at end/hostilities; & R. attitude then.

All we've agreed so far is to investigate chance of dividing G. on historical lines. But even the theoretical study of this is likely to take 2 years. That is some long way off. No decision on that at once.

Immediate organisation = occupied Zones with a central auth<sup>y</sup> controlling them & seeking unified treatment & policy throughout. That regime can continue for 2 years.

F.O. need strong techn. Cttee to study this under the F/ Minister Cttee (i.e. A.E., Winant & the Russian). Then much consid<sup>n</sup> and prob. public discussion.

Not wedded to dismemberment: wd. try for it: but may be convinced by the study to be made tht. it is impracticable.

Reparations. Be sure R. will take machinery from Ruhr & Saar as well as Silesia.

H.O. Rough on us if they strip our Zone.

A.E. We must take the line tht. what they take from our Zone in machinery must be balanced by supplies of food from their Zones.

M.A.P. Which turns our Zone into a vast soup kitchen.

P.M. Put it then tht. R. must not be relieved from responsibility for cond<sup>ns</sup> they create by removal of the machinery.

M.A.P. Reparations start at once: you can't wait until solution of dismemberment has bn. found.

P.M. Zone –settled.  
Dismemb<sup>t</sup>: to be studied by Cttee here.  
Reparations: to be studied at Moscow. We have to choose a delegate.

J.A. “Prolonged study.” Isn't there a great danger tht. future will be largely determined by what happens in early stages. Longer you delay the more unlikely dismemberment will be.

A.E. Needn't be so v. long over it. We've got a plan. We cd. put it to W. Cab.

B.B. Meanwhile U.S. are acting. They've seized G. patents & are negotiating. We shd. do the same.

P.M. In Reparations sphere.

- P.M. Agree our delegate to Reparations Conf. Moscow must be chosen & instructed.
- H.O. Put both Reparations & Dismemberment to A.P.W. Cttee & ques. wtr there is a link between them?
- J.A. If dismembermt. is postponed, agree won't arise at once.
- P.M. Wdn't agree that there is a link between Reparations & Dismemberment. They are both being considered in different places. R. in Moscow  
D. in London.
- E.B. Cdn't A.P.W. put up alternative Rpts on Reparations a) from unified  
b) from dismembered Germany. Wdn't be asked to report on  
Dismemberment.  
Adjourn discussion until next week.

Local Government (Boundary Commission) Bill.

Approved.

1. Naval, Military & Air Situation.

Air.

C.A.S.

8 days.

W. Front all-time high. cpd. D.Day 15% more s. 33% more bombs.

69.000 s. 58.000 b.

19.000 d. 18.000 dam. Vehicles

447 : 52 : 438 enemy losses.

Plan: disrupt comm<sup>ns</sup> cap. Bridges & viaducts ex Ruhr.

attacks on airfield, sp. jets

enemy concent<sup>ns</sup> of troops c/Rhine

enemy airborne operation

Weather lucky: did all planned.

B. Comm. 54 lost 19.000 t. 200 m. 10 oil plants attacked

7 bridges & viaducts at least

5 destroyed (112 v. large bombs used)

575 s. for 3 lost. 600 t. (incl. 500 t. Berlin) Mosquitoes

5.600 for 58. 19.000 t. U.S. A.A.F. Over 7.000 t. on 20 airfields:

outstanding success. 2.800 t. Berlin 3.000 t. rlways.

T.A.F. 50.000 s. 259 lost 19.000 t. on tactical objectives

40 : 7 : 39 jet destroyed

Air operation a) 440 gliders 240 parachute D.K.'s 6<sup>th</sup> Airborne.

399 . . . arrived. 17 tugs & 13 p. D.K.'s shot down.

Fighter escort not opposed. Much flak. 20 aircraft

b) Rheims area. U.S. airborne 298 par.

900 aircraft & 900 gliders – lost 32.

240 Lib. dropped supplies - 16 missing.

Consid. damage to B. gliders: & heavy casualties because flak

C.C. 15 sighted 10 attacked 6 promising 3 poss. damaged. – U-Boat.

Surface craft.

Crossbow. V.2. Decline. 59 : 22 Ldn : 1.000 s. v. rail/road comm<sup>ns</sup>

to Hague

139 rl. cuts 9 road cuts. T.A.F. also covered area on route to G.

V.1. 51 ? 26 destroyed (guns all but 2) 2 reached Ldn.

2 l. sites successf. attacked. Don't know pos<sup>n</sup> of others.

11 V. 2. at Remagen from 125 m range. Remarkable accuracy.

On Antwerp: attack remained low.

Med. 16.700 s. Rlways in Austria/Hung/S. Germany.

T.A.F. v. Brenner & Po comm<sup>ns</sup>

U.S. attacks on Berlin. Jet fighters met but not much success.

S.E.A.C. 12.600 s. for 7 lost.



Pacific. 5.600 s. cpd. With 98.000 other Fronts.  
Loss 8 cpd. with 50.  
Sup. Forts 2 attacks 4/5.000 ft. Kobi, Nagoya. 600. for loss of 4.  
mainly incendiary attack. No offl. Rpt.

### Naval.

C.N.S. 7 ships – 3 U-Bt. 1 EB. 1 mine.  
17 .. 77.369 t. for March.  
2 ships sunk by U-Boats.  
2 U-Boats sunk – one by Can. Frigate.  
Sinkings: 4 : 4 : 6 promising for March.  
12 or more U-Boats are maintaining inshore patrols. In all, 60 at sea.  
Convoy (22) arrived in N. Russia. 2 lost.  
Attack by E. boats on convoy off E. coast – beaten off.  
Midgets 5 : 2 possible.  
Bombardment of Genoa.  
N. Sumatra: bombardment.

### Military.

V.C.I.G.S. Attacks fr. Saar met only organised resistance s. of Moselle. Thus slower.  
Met. n. 3<sup>rd</sup> Army nr Homberg.  
3<sup>rd</sup> Army progress v. striking: all organised resistance w. of Rhine now  
over.  
We estimated 220.000 G. in that area: 150.000 of these believed capt<sup>d</sup>  
or killed.  
Two opportunist crossings & unopposed: a) Thurs/Fri. night Oppenheim.  
8 m by 3 dp. Y'day reported in Dormstadt. & Asschaffenburg.  
b) nr. Boppard.  
Remagen: deepened. 11 Divns. now v. it. 8 U.S. Divns in b'head.  
Rpt. (unconfirmed) tht. armour has broken out to E.  
21<sup>st</sup> Army Group. Attack 9. p.m. Fri. In north 30 Corps (B) nr Rees.  
At 10 p.m. Wesel  
At 2. a.m. 15<sup>th</sup> Inf. Divn. followed.  
Betw. 2/3 a.m. U.S. 9<sup>th</sup>: nr Rheinburg.  
At 10 a.m. Sat. Airborne (2). By mid-day joined up: Bridges over Rhein  
were captured intact. One of main objects of airborne op<sup>n</sup>.  
Casualties to 6<sup>th</sup> Airborne (B.) heavy – Flak.  
.. .. 17<sup>th</sup> .. (U.S.) comp. light.  
By night Sat. 10 Divns over. 6.000 p.o.w. Pos<sup>n</sup> satisfy. save at Rees.  
1.200 casualties (excludg. Airborne) Rennie 51<sup>st</sup> Divn. killed.  
Prs. now 10.400.  
Opposition heavies in N., v. British.  
Monty. Expects heavy fighting before break-through possible.  
Diff. to see where G. will get any reserves. No prep<sup>d</sup> line of defence

W. of Rhine.  
Expect to break out into mobile operations.  
Only 57 (nominal) G. Divns on whole front = 26 B.

Burma. Arakan. 15<sup>th</sup> Corps landing moving down are 8 m. N. of Tannup  
They will then move towards Prome. Plan: draw of Japs from  
Slim.  
Fort Dufferin taken. Mandalay cleared 20/3. Mopping up continues.  
W. bank Irrawaddy cleared:  
Meiktila: Force coming s. from Mandalay. But Japs are attacking.  
On r. of front we've taken Myingyan.  
Most of Japs are opp. 14<sup>th</sup> Army & will prob. fight it out there.

Russia. E. Prussia: stubborn resistance of isolated garrisons.  
R. have reached coast between Danzig & Gdynia.  
Last b'head over Oder opp. Stettin eliminated.  
G. report continued attacks in Kustrin area.  
22/3. Successful op<sup>n</sup> nr. Oppeln. U. Silesia.  
24/3. G. counter-off. in Hungary defeated: & R. adv. 44 m. on front  
60 m. N. of L. Balaton.

2. Air Raids & Casualties.

H.O. 51. Av. 7 p.day. 19 in Thurs/Wed. 24 hours } Rockets  
39.2% in Ldn: below average. }  
49: 20 on intruder mainly in Norfolk. 1. J.U. 88 destroyed.  
No casualties: little damage.  
Total casualties - 70 : 310 : 638 : 11 unclassified.  
[ Exit C.O.S. Enter O.S.

3. Affairs in Cobber-Belt. Case of Mr. Maybank.

O.S. As in memo.

L.P. Local demand for his return?

O.S. Yes: tho' Govt. believes it artificial. Chosen as Genl. Secy. of Union

M/L. Adhere to decision. Necessary to promise what we'll do at end/war  
Germany.

O.S. Prefer to say it now: rather than wait for agit<sup>n</sup>.

M/L. No obj<sup>n</sup> then.  
Agreed: as in Memo.

4. Release of Staff of Electoral Registration Officers.

- H.O. Nos. prob. less than 2.000. Not more than 2.000: may be only 1.000.  
V. urgent. Election may come v. soon. Work will be heavy. Immediate  
action needed if machinery of election is to work.
- M/L. Constant pressure = miners, builders etc. Fear real disturbance if  
demobil<sup>n</sup> scheme eaten into thus.  
Have said I wd. agree to temporary release of men in Army at home.
- P.J.G. Strongly supported.
- M/L. Believe they are not people employed full-time on this work. They are  
Merely people in Town Clerk's Office for whom he will ask.  
Told that from U.K. alone enough won't be produced.
- L.P. All kinds of l.a. staff are turned on to this at election time. Won't  
they have people to draw on who know somethg. about it.
- H.O. L.a. are much pressed.  
We cd. consider letting them go back to Services after the Election.
- L.P. Electoral registration: hasn't much of the work been done.
- P.J.G. Those who have experience will be pretty elderly: & shdn't therefore  
be overseas.  
Home Army shd. be enough to meet it.
- S/S Air. If we have to give any up, we shd. want to bring men from Eire to  
take their place.
- L.P. Danger tht. T. Clerks will use this change to get back staff they want  
for other reasons.  
Where are these people? Home Army, .....
- M.A.P. Begin by saying that we will release from Home Army: & ask for  
nominations, so tht. we see where these people are.
- M/L. Fear the 1918 rot setting in.
- L.P. Industry, Home Army & Govt. service: try them first.
- Ch. Ask for names on that basis & promise consid<sup>n</sup> on merits.
- H.O. Won't take responsibility for this election unless this requirement is met,  
As in Memo.
- P.J. - general agreement - no one from overseas.

M.A.P. Special release of people in home Army (plus industry & civil Depts.):  
then see what is size of remaining problem.

S/S Air. RAF fights from home: I want a quid pro quo on allocations – or Eire  
intake over & above allocations.

M/L. Can't do that.  
Agreed: Temporary releases on this basis.

Poland: Draft Telegram to F.D.R.

Cadogan. Suggested dangerous to imply San Francisco may be jeopardised by  
failure on Poland.  
U.S. so keen tht. they might.  
Suggested alterations of para. 4.

Ch. Para. 11. "If we want San F. to be a success ...."

B.B. Against telegraphing. Better let Halifax explain to F.D.R.

L.S.A. Why not transfer to end of Para. 11 the addition to para 4.

M.A.P. Put the message to Stalin in a followg. telegram. That wd. shorten  
x/ & wd. give a clearer lead. Wd. bring paras. 4 & 11 nearer.

L.P. Decisions needed a) right line  
b) .. text.  
Will put to P.M. suggestion as at x/.

1. Channel Islands: Proposed Warning to German Commander.

H.O. Ev<sup>cc</sup> not conclusive. Official warning not wise. If any, better give it unofficially.

M.A.P. Let events be a sufficient warning.  
Agreed: no action.

2. Asylum for Refugees.

F.O. No criticism now that we haven't done enough. No need to do anything.

3. Double Taxation. Agreement with U.S.A.

J.A. Case for such an agreement. V. high rates create new problem. Will be serious obstacle intern. intercourse unless some relief. Only agreements now with Doms. & those not v. satisfy. to us.  
Hope this Treaty may be model. We've secured all our demands save one. Apart fr. obvious case U.S. agreed a) treat c. aviat<sup>n</sup> as shipping: tax only where co. is based, i.e. where effective control is. b) tax<sup>n</sup> on interests or all royalties will be levied only in country of receipt. U.S. tax is now levied on interest on U.S. loans: as it is not on our War loans. c) U.S. withholding tax (imposed on dividends paid abroad in add<sup>n</sup> to ordinary tax on the firm's profits) – at 30% on us. We asked for nil: they have agreed to reduce to 15% wh. is special rate they now give to Canada.

Thus we stand to gain substantially, both as a Govt. & as individuals. Disc<sup>ns</sup> showed no chance of Agreement. unless we will go some way to meet them on exchange of inform<sup>n</sup>. They tried to get us to act as collectors: then asked for lists of individuals: we got them down in the end to inform<sup>n</sup> wh. we think necessary to prevent fraud & avoidance. Diff. to refuse reciprocal exchange of this information. It is inform<sup>n</sup> relevant only to the taxable income,

In reply to M/L: does have the result tht. a man pays no more than the higher rate of either.

B. Such an Agreement may not benefit U.K. Depends on balance income paid here on U.S. earnings & income paid in U.S. on U.K. earnings.

J.A. Disagree: first ques. is effect of taxpayer, not on revenue.  
We cdn't leave them under d. taxation merely because it paid the

Exchequer.

Anyway you can't estimate in advance.

- B. My main obj<sup>n</sup> is interference with intern. money market.  
Affects shares of non-residents who send their money here (hot money) to escape unjust U.S. taxation. Finance Act '39 enabled us to refuse inform<sup>n</sup> to U.S. This proposal wd. bring the hot-money market to an end: to the loss of lawyers, accountants, banks etc. The U.S. will then get the hot money market.  
U.S. taxation system is intolerable. Taxation by diff. States. The Banks here enable U.S. residents to escape this. Disclosure will break the racket.  
Similar racket in Nassau will be stopped.
- J.A. Doesn't affect Nassau at all.  
Agreemt. doesn't expose a/c. of Banks to U.S. insp<sup>n</sup>.  
How can we refuse to disclose inform<sup>n</sup> requ<sup>d</sup> to prevent fraud & avoidance.  
Wd. the Banks use B.'s arguments?  
Examples: a) U.S. owned firm in Glasgow supplying goods to U.S. w'out profit. Pays no U.K. tax. We shd. be able to check their returns by inform<sup>n</sup> from U.S.  
b) U.S. have agreed to reduce w'holdg tax to 15% for B.s while retaining 30% for others. They will deduct 15% from all div. issued for paymt. in U.K. but will want returns from us of foreigners resident here who aren't entitled to the 15% rebate  
B/England think tht. where evasion clearly shown inform<sup>n</sup> shd. be disclosed if nec. to deal with it. Nec. for reput<sup>n</sup> of City.
- B. On ethics. a) evasion b) avoidance. B. courts have said b) is legitimate.  
U.S. taxation auth<sup>ies</sup> are ruthless. They have in past attacked B. Banks as responsible for capital gains taxes. They haven't our experience of taxation methods & principles. Risk of exposing to these sharks foreigners who've sought protection here.
- J.A. This Agreement is concerned in the main with plain evasion: not avoidance.
- B.B. a) Is this a good bargain? We've sold out our investments in U.S.: the U.S. holdings here are enormous.  
b) J.A. referred to tax-free loans issued here. £13 m.p.a. profit made by City because of its skill, efficiency & reput<sup>n</sup>.  
Disclosure of foreigners balance will prejudice this.  
B. Bankers Assoc<sup>n</sup> & Clearing Banks wd. take a diff. view.  
Must not interfere with their earning capacity.

- J.A. Carry a principle too far & you will endanger the system – too far = using secrecy trad<sup>n</sup> to cover up known evasion.  
This is in interests of B. traders: can't estimate precise balance in future.
- M/L. General bona fide trading is bound to benefit.  
Hot money market may not.  
Which is the more important. Qua empl. first certainly outweighs second.
- J.A. Clearing Banks won't give an opinion until they see Agreement as a whole.
- P.M. What is the urgency? Climax of war: diff<sup>ies</sup> of foreign political ques.: problems of demobilisation.
- J.A. For exactly that reason. Resumption of foreign trade. Just as important as Income tax reliefs on development & re-equipment. Double taxation is a barrier now to international trade.
- A.E. Why not limit to U.S. nationals?
- J.A. It is U.S. taxation liability, whatever the nationality.
- W. Does J.A. propose to disclose any inform<sup>n</sup> other than what I. Rev. already have?
- J.A. No. Limited to inform<sup>n</sup> already available to us for purposes of our own tax law.
- M/L. Risk of hurting the hot money market is nothg. compared with value to genuine trading.
- J.A. Remember this is reciprocal. U.S. companies here may be doing us in the eye.
- M.A.P. Don't overlook the solid advantages of the Agreement. 15% on w'holdg tax. 30% on royalties etc. All more dollars for us.  
The more U.S. money here exceeds U.K. money there, the more we benefit: for we charge the whole U.K. tax and receive.
- B. We cd. get these advantages without disclosing. Canada has done it: they have always refused & yet secured the 15% rate.
- J.A. Gregg says no chance at all of getting the Agreement w'out going as far as this on disclosure.

P.M. Don't accept a moral obligation to play the detective for U.S. tax authorities.  
Gain to Revenue?

J.A. Any double tax<sup>n</sup> agreemt. must involve some loss of revenue to both countries. The inevitable loss of revenue if offset by larger advantages. Will be more than outweighed by subsequent increase in income due to expansion of trade.  
There will be criticism from Banks: how much I can't say. Haven't bn. able to disclose while under disc<sup>n</sup> with U.S. auth<sup>ies</sup>.

P.M. Can't you consult one or two Bankers in confidence?

J.A. Yes: if Cabinet authorise me to do so.

H.O. Supported J.A..

O.S. V. advantageous to traders. Wd. be necessary to show v. great damage to banks to outweigh that.

Ch. Gain to trader seems to exceed loss to banker.  
Will attract U.S. money here because they will have only single taxation.  
We don't want that by way of buying up B. firms: we do want it by way of starting new businesses here. [ Exit M.A.P.

P.M. a) Figures: how much hot money  

..	..	U.K.	..	}	}	
..	..	U.S. money	}	wd. be affected	}	?
					}	
					}	

B. And amount of trading profits which will be touched by it.)

P.M. b) Alternatively, ask some Bankers in confidence?  
General sympathy with J.A. proposals: but review on results of a) and b).

4. Trade Union Representation at San Francisco.

A.E. Delegation large & representative enough as it is.

P.M. What have they to do with this?

BS. Give way to him; and you can't deny the Churches.

M/L. Keep it to Govt's.  
Agreed: decision to be comm<sup>d</sup> by letter.



- M/L. I.L.O. shd. not be merely an observer.  
Russian views. Don't invite her to come back into I.L.O. Let her  
come in automatically thro' membership of world organisation.
- A.E. Give me a memo. & I will approach the U.S.A.
5. Poland.
- A.E. Interview with R. Amb.
- P.M. Perhaps R. may refuse to go to 'Frisco.  
Stalin's telegram re p. of w. Shall ask him for examples.
6. Poland.  
Naturalisation & Settlement.
- P.M. The Dom. replies are not unpromising. Why not naturalise them even  
tho' it doesn't carry admission to B. Doms? Useful for occup<sup>n</sup>  
of Germany as B. force, releasing B. soldiers to come home. Then,  
if things don't clear up, we will give you B. nationality.
- H.O. Want an opportunity to put counter-arguments.
- P.M. a) gratitude to the Poles b) population is wealth. c) precedent  
K.O. German Legion settled in Africa: stayed steady with  
British in Boer War.
- H.O. My Dpt. views must be heard.
- P.M. My honour is engaged.
- M/L. Any chance to consult France, who always had large Polish labouring  
pop<sup>n</sup>.  
Wd. she not wish to recover what she regarded as fruitful?  
This wd. be a useful contribution.
- H.O. a) This represents large no. of foreign population.  
3 of 4 Doms. hold out no hope of taking any.  
b) Many of those who've passed thro' the Army are pretty poor  
people. Many had no serious intention of fighting: the  
admin<sup>n</sup> has bn. shoddy. Many also are Fascists.  
c) Many other lots of foreigners want to stay here. Many have  
"fought" in Pioneers to escape internment. They will  
press for what you give to Poles.  
d) Any large increase in foreign popul<sup>n</sup> increases risk of disorder -  
anti-semitism is just below the surface.

- P.M. I'm concerned with Poles, not Jews.  
Actually we had a v. small J. pop<sup>n</sup> cp<sup>d</sup> with other countries.  
I'm concerned only with Poles - & Poles who have really fought. We  
have a sacred duty to them. They are not without their troubles:  
& they have bn. led on by pledges & promises of ours.
- S/S Air. Behaviour of Poles: v. good reputation in Scotland, in spite of  
being R.C.'s.  
Remember they came to our aid in B/Britain; & their pilots were then an  
indispensable re-inforcement.  
Not much we can do for them. If in the last resort we can do nothg. else,  
surely let us do this for them.  
The claims of the Teutonic Jews are not to be compared with them.
- L/P. Matter of definition: to keep it to the real fighting men.
- M/L. Cdn't we study this a) on definition b) with Doms. how that number  
can be absorbed. Some remain in Army/Occup<sup>n</sup>: some go to  
France. Practical approach.
- J.A. Make service in B. Forces a ground for nat<sup>y</sup>: but def<sup>n</sup> needed.  
Doms. O.K.

W.M. 38(45).

3<sup>rd</sup> April, 1945.  
(11.30. a.m.)

Post-war Trade: Views of M<sup>r</sup> Baruch.

P.M. Optimism of Baruch, readiness to offer facilities to float our import requirements: confidence in world boom cond<sup>ns</sup>.

J.A. Credits will be offered: diffy. will be to refuse those whose terms are not satisfactory.

World Organisation.

P.M. Will Doms. object to multiple vote?

D.O. They don't like it: but will register their protest..

P.M. If there is a row, I ought to be there.

D.O. Prob. Thursd<sup>y</sup> p.m. when F.O. giving genl. picture of foreign pol.

P.M. Russians mayn't go because Lublin Poles not to be asked. Even so, wd. be disposed to go ahead. There will be 40 odd States there. Unless events here side-track it.

D.O. Shd. we go on with Yalta compromise on voting if Russia doesn't attend?  
It was based on assumpt<sup>n</sup> tht. great Powers wd. pay the game. Diff. to defend the veto if it is apparent tht. Russia can't be relied on.

P.M. Agree don't like it: but we must face the facts, includg. R.'s power. Change of atmosphere since Yalta – suggests tht. Stalin is not in supreme control.  
We don't suffer from giving fuller rep<sup>n</sup> to small nations: ques is wtr. it is worth makg. that concession to get R. in.

D.O. But we shall have tied our hands – by giving her a veto.

P.M. What alternative – unless you are prepared to fight against Russia. We have bn. able to save nothing in the Balkans except Greece: R. is fastening own types of Govt. in all other countries, includg. now Vienna. Czechoslovakia: Poland: Yugoslavia.

D.O. Agree we can't slam the door. Wd. it be wiser to postpone the Conf<sup>ce</sup>.

M.A.P. But on merits believe compromise is sound & realistic – fr. our angle too.  
P.M. To indicate no conf<sup>ce</sup> w'out R. wd. increase her sense of self-importance.

- M.A.P. Most unfortunate to postpone S. Fr. on tht. a/c.
- P.M. Agree: another matter if collapse of G. made postponement inevitable.
- International Aspects of Colonial Policy.
- P.M. Agenda for S.F. was to be world organ<sup>n</sup>. Territ<sup>l</sup> trusteeship to be mentioned but no business to be done of that.
- C.O. Must be some disc<sup>n</sup> in U.S. before S.F. U.S. intend to raise it there, & do some business there.
- P.M. Our answer shd. be: ready to have same relations to a parent body as we had with L/N.
- L.P. But want to be rid of some hampering rest<sup>ns</sup>.
- C.O. Now propose to drop earlier scheme: accept continuance of mandates: but seek to remove some limiting rest<sup>ns</sup>. E.g. tht. we can't have fortified base in a Mandated territory: wh. we breached on loss of Singapore: tht. we give unrestricted field to mission schools: they must fit in to the agreed plan for education.
- J.A. We had to stop Missionaries going into N. Nigeria.
- C.O. Modif<sup>ns</sup> wd. need disc<sup>n</sup> in detail. At S. Fr. do us more than accept in principle continuance of system & reserve its detailed disc<sup>n</sup> for later mtg.
- P.M. All we have promised to discuss – a) territories taken from enemy  
b) L/N. mandates c) territories wishing to put themselves in trust.
- L.P. Fear that U.S. might suggest that all existing colonial dependencies should come under “trust” cond<sup>ns</sup>.
- Cad. “Voluntarily” means the will of the sovereign power, not that of the Dependency.
- Ch. That shd. be made clear. And anyway it will provoke agitation.
- P.M. Not much to fear: the world organisation wd. make a mess of it.
- Cad. Nothing to prevent such agitation, whatever to say in the agreement or at S. Fr.

- M.A.P. Has bn. agreed at Yalta. c.f. W.P.(45) 208.
- Cad. And obviously means “placed” by the sovereign power.
- P.M. That must be made abundantly clear at S. Fr.
- C.O. Even so, some alarm. Cd. be done w’out prov<sup>n</sup> for it. Providing for it implies tht. it is going to be used. We must therefore either  
a) say at once we don’t mean to use it or b) leave all Colonies to worry themselves to death over it.
- P.M. Yalta doesn’t preclude us from raising this sort of ques. (as against W.P. (45) 208). All is open for discussion.
- J.A. Yalta means: This is to be discussed: and the rest are limiting phrases. Limiting the scope of the matters to be discussed.
- P.M. Agreed: important so to record it.
- H.O. Supported C.O. view: power is inherent: needn’t be provided for: if it is, may mislead – for we at least have no intent<sup>n</sup> to use it.
- P.M. No reason why you shdn’t raise that sugg<sup>n</sup> in disc<sup>n</sup>. These are only points for disc<sup>n</sup> & nothing to prevent us from submitting that argument. We are perfectly free in the discussion. I do not accept para. 3 of W.P. (45) 208.
- C.O. Timing. B. rep<sup>ve</sup> to go to Washington for talks. Decided not to go until Tuesday: so as to let Doms. have a chance. F.O. now say wanted on 9/4 if there’s to be time. Does D.O. still think such delay is inevitable.
- D.O. Some Doms. have strong views: their rep<sup>tes</sup> will want to consult Govts.
- C.O. No final dec<sup>n</sup> at W’ton. Main thing to be said (continuance of Mandates) is acceptable to them.
- D.O. Let C.O. ask them after end of disc<sup>n</sup> with Doms. to-morrow. But if they then ask for time, hard to deny it.
- Ch. Let them start: telegraph inst<sup>ns</sup> to them after arrival.

#### World Organisation.

- (a) Non-Permanent Membership of Security Council.

- D.O. Summarised Memo. Canadian pressure for recognition of “middle Powers”.  
S. Africa against: Australia will support.  
Para. 11. plan – assumes no increase in size of Council.  
Don’t like the plan because it discriminates between Doms. But can’t think of a better. May I put it to the Dom. Conf<sup>ce</sup>.
- M/L. Believe you can’t adjust the voting on so narrow a Council. S. Am. States will hang together & work a majority.
- Cad. Put this point to AE. who feels v. strongly that smaller is more effective.  
Also any extension will mean U.S. will try to add Brazil.  
U.S. & R. will be against any increase.
- H.O. Solution by informal agreemt. (as in L/N.) that one Dom. will always Have a seat.
- P.M. Larger Council – wd. mean tht. all business wd. be done behind the scenes between the great Powers.
- L.P. Hasn’t S. Africa as good a case as Belgium. Latter only justified by includg. coloured popul<sup>ns</sup>.
- M.A.P. U.S. wdn’t agree this list – with only one S. American State in it.
- P.M. How will this list strike others. 3 “Doms” included. India, they will say, will do what U.K. Govt. say. Foreigners won’t like it: and 2 of our Doms. will be affronted.
- L.P. Better basis: one Europe: one Asia: Africa: America (N. and Central and S.): Australasia.  
Agreed: put this basis forward in lieu of para. 11.
- (b) Obligations of States not represented on Council.
- D.O. Canadian proposal wd. take all the teeth out of the organisation. Must be rejected. [Agreed.]

World Organisation: Outstanding Points.

- a) Guarantee of Territorial Integrity.  
Such a prov<sup>n</sup> led to rigidity in L/N. constitution.  
U.S., R. and ourselves agree on this. Essential if any scope to be left for Treaty revision.
- Cad.

D. Oaks plan made no prov<sup>n</sup> for this: & no rep<sup>ns</sup> against its omission.  
Australia now propose to raise it: & N. Zealand has criticised it.

P.M. Indicated some doubts.

Cad. Deployed other arguments.

b) Guarantee of Political Independence.  
Cad. As in para. 9.

D.O. V. diff. to defend not giving this guarantee. If they press it strongly  
at Dom. Conf., diff. not to give way. – neither territorial nor  
political.

M.A.P. Do we guarantee pol. integrity of Ukraine?

J.A. And what of India?  
Then, if we agree, we have to define it. [ Agreed: can't do it.

M.A.P. Every Treaty derogates fr. pol. independence.

c) Domestic Jurisdiction.  
Cad. Under L/N. States were under no oblig<sup>n</sup> to submit any domestic issues.  
This wd. give the new Organisation a right to intervene.

d) Control of Enemy Powers.  
Cad. As in para. 16. The Permanent Members bear the burden.

D.O. ? Add review in 5 years..  
Approved W.P. 209 as basis for disc<sup>n</sup> with Dom. Govts.

Relationship of I.L.O. to new World Organisation.

M/L. Labour & employers approve this.  
[ Agreed.

W.M. 39(45).

3<sup>rd</sup> April, 1945.  
(5.30. p.m.)

Review of World Situation.

P.M.

Welcome to Forde – for first time: and to others on their return.

V.2 weapons. New departure in diplomatic relations in future.

R. relations have deteriorated since Yalta. Seems to suggest that U.J. is not all-powerful in Russia. Hope we shall get through: but only by unity. New balance (or lack of balance) of power in Europe.

Hope thy will come to S. Francisco. But if they won't I wdn't prevent the world from rallying round the English-speaking peoples.

Achievements of U.S. in bldg. up their present military force.

14/1500 ships in operations in Lu Chu, while this great effort is being made in W. Europe.

These are the dominating world facts. How can we match them?

Only by our superior statecraft & experience & above all by our Unity. I rejoice therefore at this evidence, in our mtg. to-day, that in spite of our independence we have this centripetal force wh. will give us the power of survival of the Empire.

Smuts.

World is stratifying on power lines: 3 groups. 1) Russia: gt. continental block, now pushing into west. W'out past or background, new world phenomenon. 2) N. America, whose potentialities none can calculate. Both favoured by territorial concent<sup>n</sup>.

3) B. Commonwealth – extended with vulnerable lines: but human Record & prestige behind it.

World future for gen<sup>ns</sup> depends on these 3 in balance.

B. Commonwealth – all independent. India, after years of B. tutelage, cd. be gt. power in East. Only bond = our comm<sup>ns</sup>. Unity: but must be based on somethg material as well as physical. One of our main problems must be to safeguard our comm<sup>ns</sup>.

M/East – visited again – is a vital nodal point. Problem altered since Treaties with Egypt or over Suez Canal sufficed.

Future of world depends on our being able to pull our weight; & that we can do only if we look to our weak spot i.e. comm<sup>ns</sup>.

No longer the first power at sea.

Pos<sup>n</sup> radically changed since last war.

World needs our maturity & experience. Danger of power suddenly acquired w'out experience & mature responsibility – exemplified by Germany & Japan. Hope won't be true of U.S. & Russia.

We have renounced Imperialism. But what of the economic imperialism of U.S.A. & the ideological imperialism of U.S.S.R.



Eire is a warning tht. we may easily break up, as did Roman Empire.

Fraser. Interested to be here. Was here 1939. Again in 1941, after Greece & Crete, & Dunkirk. Again in 1944, on eve of D. Day. Now, our task is to turn v. Japan as soon as Germany is out.  
Glad R.N. has bn. given a chance to partake in war v. Japan – a N.Z. warship & hospital ship with them.  
Must adhere to principles for wh. we went to war.  
In Pacific we must be friendly with U.S. Apart from one incident (air) we've got on pretty well with them.  
Conference comes at an awkward time. But postponemt. wd. be regarded as weakness. Must go on, even if R. won't come.

Forde. Thanked P.M. for welcome. From No.10. B. Cab. gave inspiration & leadership to Comm. and whole world when in 1940 B. stood alone v. Nazi tyranny.  
Australian regard for bravery & sacrifices of U.K.  
When R.N. came to Aust. waters under Bruce Fraser, widespread rejoicing & inspiration in Australia.

P.M. We shall double it soon.

Forde. Confidence in B. Fraser & his staff.  
Australia deeply interested, not only in Comm., but in world affairs. The spirit of isolation has gone. Co-op<sup>n</sup> in war a) in Comm. b) in U.N. can and will be used in tackling problems common to all democracies.  
Agree wd. be mistake to postpone S. Francisco. Bad for R., I wd. be misunderstood.

Evatt. Referred to earlier visits 2 & 3 yrs. ago. Decisions then to send fighter planes.  
Rec<sup>d</sup> over 900 Spitfire since then. Pos<sup>n</sup> since then v. much changed.  
Ground for restrained optimism – both in W. and Pacific.  
Diffy. in getting Aust. Army deployed.  
Must co-operate with U.S. also – post-war.

P.M. Recalled our debt to Wavell as mil. commander. Proof that we cd. strike as well as defy the enemy.

Wavell. "Bits & pieces" of that campaign came from all parts of Empire.  
India is one of our most urgent problems. a) Prestige & power depends on our finding a solution. b) India is in pos<sup>n</sup> to play vital part in the East.  
Contrib<sup>n</sup> of Indian Troops to the war.

Noon. Pleasure to be here again. India fighting with Doms. the 2<sup>nd</sup> war:

& this bond of common sacrifice will bind India to U.K. & Doms.  
No subst. Indian pol. opinion wh. doesn't favour contin<sup>d</sup> co-op<sup>n</sup> w'in  
B. Commonwealth.

Surprised at China being regarded as 5<sup>th</sup> great Power, when we compare  
our war effort with hers. China may go Left: anyhow we must  
make India strong to take her proper place.

W. clarity/vision & firmness of mind approachg. our const<sup>l</sup> problems  
we shall find a solution – patience too. But unity with B. Comm., on that  
there is no issue in Indian politics.

Feelings of brotherhood with other Doms. reflected in our attitude twds.

S. Fr. As we are fightg a war, we ought to differ as little as poss.  
among Allies: wonder therefore if we shd. go on if it's likely to  
upset Russia.

P.M. Encouraging speeches: much food for thought.

Must do prelim. work together before going to S. Fr.

\* Agreed to send message to Hughes – from this mtg. of War Cab.

#### Naval, Military & Air Situation.

##### Air.

C.A.S. B. Command: Comm<sup>ns</sup>: oil: U-Boat yards  
Padeborn & Hamburg heaviest  
570 t. for 5 lost Mossies.

P.M. Average loss per large sortie 1½% now cpd. with 5% on last Dom. visit.

Oil: 10 months' intensive attack have produced followg. results –  
27/3. 11½% of Apl. 44. Petrol 5%.  
Minimum needs: not attained since Dec. '44. And now petrol  
is less than 1/5<sup>th</sup> of minimum needs.  
Stocks exhausted.

March bombing (U.S. & U.K.) Total 206.000 t. on Germany = 3 times  
total on U.K. in whole war.

T.A.F. 146 lost. RAF twice U.K. – prob because persistent attacks on  
columns in Holland.

Transport claims – 18.000 veh. d. & dam.

Eu. Aircraft: 215 : 26 : 184. ind. 22 : 7 : 24 jet.

Active off Norway. G.A.F.

Coastal: 1300 s. lost 7. Attacked 11 U-Boats. 3 possibly.

Sank tanker, R. boat & fl. dock. Dam. 16<sup>m</sup> ships 1 destr.

Crossbow. V.2. 11 in 1<sup>st</sup> 36 hours of period. Nil since 5 p.m. Tuesday.  
Counter-measures reduced.

V.1. 3 days. None since Thursd.

No V.2. since 29/3 No V.1. since 30/3 on Continent.

Still troops there: & rockets available.

Med: B.C. 3.000 s. 5.000 t. Rlways Aust./Hung./S. Germany.  
Tank factories in Berlin. Airfields – 140 on  
grd. incldg. 31 jets.

Balkan: Comm<sup>ns</sup> in Zagreb.  
260 enemy sorties only.

SEA. 14.000 s. (inclgd 9.000 transport) 10.000 t. stores:  
6.000 troops. Lost: 13 for 6.

Pacific: 6.400 s. for 8 lost 37 : 32 enemy. Airfields & support of  
landings nr. Phillipine group.  
Succ. Attack 35.000 t. m. shipping 6.000 escort. Shipping  
off Indo-China.

Japan. 530 s. loss 6. 2.000 t.

### Naval.

C.N.S. 3 m. sh. 2.751 t. 1U-B. 1 Mid. 1 mine or torpedo.  
21 .. 87.367 t. for March.  
1 U.Boat sunk (prob) in Minches: plus 2 promising  
4 : 6 :7 for March.  
26 ship convoy arrived from Russia w'out loss.

E. India. Destroyers with Liberators attacked convoy off Andaman ts.  
Attacks on Lew Chew Island. 574 s. from B. Fleet.  
210 dest<sup>d</sup> grd. + 1 in air. 31/3 resumed. ¼ attacked by  
10 airctaft: 4 shot down: Indefatig. damaged at base  
of island – still reasonably operational : Ulster destroyer hit  
& makg. for Laiti.  
Further details of attacks given.

### Military.

C.I.G.S. 2 minor b'hds Wesel & Remagen. In 8 days we have done  
90/100 m. on 200 m. front.  
Can now swinging n. 2<sup>nd</sup> B. to Osnabruck & Munster.  
Fr. working twds Carlsruhe.  
Duisberg – Hamm - Dureu = limits of hemmed in  
Germans. Now trying to get out at various points: but held  
at most points.  
15/20.000 prs per. day.  
B. & Can. casualties 3.191. 536 k. excludg. 6<sup>th</sup> Airborne.  
U.S. 1<sup>st</sup> 1.800. 3<sup>rd</sup> 1.800. 7<sup>th</sup> 1.400. 9<sup>th</sup> 1.700 = 6.900. 976 k.  
Airborne: 6<sup>th</sup> B. 1.300. 17<sup>th</sup> U.S. 1.500. Not yet finally  
checked : may be less.  
Arnhem – Bl. Forest: advance of 100 m. represents almost  
1/3<sup>rd</sup> of way to R.

Russia. Mainly in S. Both sides of Balaton. Cleared Hungary & now  
into Austria.  
Small dent opp. [Breslau] Gleiwitz.

Glogau cleared.

Danzig: 40.000 k. & 40.000 p of w.

Courland. 16 G. Divns.

Italy. Minor attack at E. of line nr. Camaccio.

Burma. At edge of Taungup.

S./Mandalay twd. Meiktila: interval now cleared of Japs.

To N.E. nearer the road to Lashio.

Wavell. Japs have most in front line: little left if that is smashed.  
Now mainly in dry left & we can fight there thro' monsoon.

P.M. Done v. well, considering we cdn't send him what we thought  
necessary.  
Done well also v. bugs.

Forde. Scrub typhus giving some trouble since.

C.I.G.S. Okinawa landing – successful & little oppos<sup>n</sup>. 50.000 Japs there.

#### Air Raids & Casualties.

H.O. Cessation since 12.45 on 29/3.  
Last rocket. 16.54. 27/3 Orpington.  
V.2. 11. 2 p.day lowest since Oct. 137 : 111 : 87 : 2. Casualties.  
135 : 77 : 86 : 2 were in London.  
Stepney: 5 storeyed block/flats. 131 : 40 : 4 : 2 missing still.  
V.2. 45 : 17 : 4 Ldn. 33 shot down : 27 : 13 land.  
5 : 4 no killed.  
Deprecated any sugg<sup>n</sup> that it is all over. May be something yet to come.  
[Enter: R.A.B.]

#### Preliminary War Histories.

R.A.B. Prelim. volumes w'in 18 months – as on p.3. of Memo.  
Campaign volumes will take full a/c of naval & air effort.  
Civil side: progress already made. General synopsis only.  
In neither case will these preliminary vols. preclude more detailed  
studies.  
Doms. informed in Mar. 43. of our programme. We haven't yet  
discussed with them this project for prelim. histories.

Evatt. We're well ahead on early vols. Gavin Long = Ed. In Chief.  
Fraser & We have Editors at work.  
Smith.

Evatt. Shd. aim primarily at early publ<sup>n</sup> of documents – so tht. private historians  
can get ahead. We are so procdg.

P.M. Many documents cd. not be published early. Close co-op<sup>n</sup> on this.

Wavell. Intended to publish despatches of Comm<sup>rs</sup>.

P.M. Yes – when war/Europe is over.  
W.P.(45) 14. app<sup>d</sup>.

(b) Scientific History.

L.P. Care will be taken on security side.

Ch. Agree shd. be done: diff. to do it: want to avoid scramble to claim priorities. Believe this chap will be safe on that point.

J.A. Dangerous – to be left behind. Penicillin.  
Radar – agreemt. with U.S. for joint publicity.

O.L. wd. be glad if Radio Bd. cd. be consulted on that part of it.

W.M. 40(45).

5<sup>th</sup> April, 1945.

Crossword. Communication from Stalin.

- P.M. Read Telegram 734 to P.M. from F.D.R.
- H.O. What happened at Berne?
- P.M. Early March O.S.S. contacted Wolff in Berne, who offered to speak of surrender of G. forces in Italy. Alex. authorised to send officers to arrange a mtg. at his H.Q.  
R. informed. U.S. objected to R. rep<sup>res</sup> attendg. first mtg. in Berne. We accepted because risk of getting into Switz. R. rep<sup>res</sup> who were not in dipl. Rel<sup>ns</sup> with Switz. R. made angry protest forbidding all parley in their absence. All that we were then negotiating was a mtg. in Italy at wh. R. wd. have bn. present.  
Negot<sup>ns</sup> came to nothing. Kesselring moved to W. Front.  
A preliminary point, in time: 2 – 3 wks. earlier approaches made to Eisenhower from another source re surrender in west. E reported to U.S. Govt. that Genl. Westfal was convinced G. was beaten & shd. make terms. Not reported to R. – no mtg., nothing came of it.
- A.E. F.D.R. had exchanged messages with U.S. wh. we haven't seen. Molotov's letter. U.S. agreed no reply shd. be sent.
- P.M. Read Molotov's letter to Cl. Kerr.  
Referred to U.J.'s rude answer to his long telegram about state of war.
- H.O. Never heard of this Berne business.
- P.M. It never came to a point: early feelers only.  
U.S. now in forefront of row with Russians. No great cause for alarm.
- L.P. We have wondered why U.J. went sour. Now we know. Perhaps the whole thing was done by Germans to embroil us with R. - & G. stoking them up all along. If we can clear this up, atmosphere as a whole may be better.
- P.M. Read draft telegram to U.J. – copy to go to F.D.R.
- S/S Air. R. = v. bitter & suspicious people.  
Mol. Says "negotiating for 2 wks". Shd. tht. not be specifically corrected – with precise statement of how many mtgs etc.

A.E. Alex. has telegraphed all details to R.

Ismay. Not sure he has.

J.A. Worth putting in, at front of telegram, some such words as –  
“The follg. is full & precise statemt. of sequence of events as known to me  
& my colleagues.”  
Is it quite certain tht. nothg. has passed betwn O.S.S. & Germans which  
may have come to knowledge of R. Add: “ev<sup>ce</sup> available in  
support.”

A.E. Reed. 11/3 p.m. Telegraphed to Moscow 2.a.m. 12/3.

J.A. } Quite content.  
E.B. }

P.M. Also add sentence suggesting whole thing was a German plant. This  
lets R. out.

E.B. Don't think para. 3 is v. strong point. Death of G. envoys isn't v. much  
a thing to regret.  
Agreed: omit [ ] fr. para 3.

Ismay. Don't refer overmuch to Alex. havg. kept R. informed. Doubt if he did  
as much as we wanted him to do. Referred to Alex. telegram 1/4.  
Agreed: P.M. to consider omitting { } in para. 3.

A.E. Read Tel. 1268 of 15<sup>th</sup> March to Moscow from F.O.  
On 20<sup>th</sup> March told to go ahead on those inst<sup>ns</sup>.  
Agreed: P.M. to telegraph in this sense, subject to points  
discussed.  
Ismay to arrange for full print of all telegrams etc.

J.A. Is it worth referring to Courland?  
Agreed: omit this sentence.

1. Naval, Military & Air Operations.

Air.

C.A.S. 6 days: better weather: 4.000 – 5.500 s. p. day average this wk. & last.  
Effect of decision to reduce area bombing.

B.C. 1% losses. Nordhausen 2.400 t. in 2 attacks. Day  
Lenne 1.000 t. & other oil centres by night.  
Hamburg. 1.000 t. & U-Boat harbours at Hamb.

U.S.A.A.F. 3.300 t. on Kiel.  
4.500 t. on rlways. 2.600 t. airfields.  
2.600 s. for 14.000 t. in all.

G.A.F. oppos<sup>n</sup> on only 2 days.

T.A.F. Good week. Bombers reach Berlin by night.  
22.000 s. 110 lost. Lower rate.  
447 : 66 : 441 enemy losses.  
159 tanks 5.000 others destroyed.

Parachute operation. French troops over Holland.

P.M. Why Fr. so far north. Political point about Fr. Zones.  
Shd. not Tedder have raised it with you?

C.I.G.S. Assume only parachute troops he had available.

P.M. Said wd. send personal telegram to Ike.

C.A.S. Coastal. Attacks on U-Boat.  
Jet flew over Hull on reccy.  
Crossbow. Nothg here.  
V.2. 1115. 517 Ldn.  
V.1. 9.250. 5.900 coast 2.420 Ldn.  
Destroyed: 2.005 guns. 19.78 fighters. 278 balloons.

P.M. Don't forget decisive part of Army in over-running the sites. Care  
shd. be taken in any public statement.

C.A.S. Med. 4 good days. 13.700 s. 100 G. aircraft d: Rlways & comm<sup>ns</sup>:  
320 rail-cuts.  
T.A.F., 3700 t. in support.

China. 900 s. v. rlways & airfields. 20 U.S. aircraft lost for 52 enemy.

Pacific. 5.100 s. for 6 lost. 13 : 20 enemy. Shore-based.

Mopping up.

S. Forts. 1.850 t. on 4 towns for loss of 6 v. Japan – night: low flying.



P.M. Ask for separate figures for Anzac cont<sup>n</sup>. C.O.S. to ask for this.  
And M/I. to have this for any publ<sup>n</sup> statement.

Naval.

C.N.S. 11.420 t. 2 : 12.840. total for April  
Sunk s. of Nab.  
U.Bts. 1: 2 :2.  
Scale decreasg. inshore. Anti-convoy in ocean believed likely.  
3/4<sup>th</sup> March. 4 destroyers off S. Norway intercepted enemy convoy.  
6/7<sup>th</sup> & 7/8<sup>th</sup> E.Boat activity. No midgets.  
1.600 aircraft claimed by U.S. in actions off Okinawa.  
Illustrious attacked by suicide bomber: wing-tip touched island:  
bomber fell in sea w'out damage to ship.

Military.

C.I.G.S. Ruhr 17 G. Divns. Squeezing beginning e-w and n-s.  
North: twds Emden. Advance cut almost to Zuider Zee. Heavy fightg.  
Attack by Canad. to-night to drive them in: shd. clear Arnhem.  
Nr. outskirts of Bremen.  
Hanover likely to be encircled soon.  
Advance dir<sup>n</sup> Erfurt.  
Resistance Hanover to Erfurt = weak: oddments. Form<sup>ns</sup> all in N. or S.

Russia. Progress mainly in S. Both sides Wien. G. retreated from salient.  
Wien encircled save one outlet to north.  
R. in a bit of Königsberg: not clear how much of this they have got.  
V. few G. left there probably.  
Retirements by G. in Yugoslavia. Abandoned Sarajevo. Tito not  
doing much to stop withdrawal.

2. Presentation of British Share in the War.

Air Raids.

P.M. Wd. we publish a statement on V.1. and V.2.  
Get it ready: will consider date of publication.

M/I. Crossbow rpt. Wd. do it v. well.

Fraser. Need for film showg. U.K.'s ordeal achievements as a whole.  
From Dunkirk on.  
Full-length epic. For Doms., U.S. & the world.

P.M. 3 U.S. Army films were good.

Fraser. Yes: but one: for B. people.

M/I. We have one in prep<sup>n</sup>.

Fraser. As the film with Leslie Howard.  
Need to be prompt: now is the time.

Forde. Naval pageant in Albert Hall is doing much good.

P.M. Followed by separate films for special, e.g. India's part etc.  
x/ Let B.B. make a report to Cab. on this.

Fraser. Film of London 2 yrs. ago made prolonged impression in Doms.  
Agreed: at x/.

3/4. Foreign Affairs. a) Poland. b) World Organisation.

A.E. Poland. No answer. Press rpts. Suggest R. attempt to collect some more  
rep<sup>ve</sup> Poles & present us with fait accompli.  
How long can P.M. & F.D.R. await an answer.

P.M. Cond<sup>ns</sup> in Poland mayn't be as bad as we feared.

A.E. Rpts. varied. Litaner's good: but he is prejudiced. Fr. rpts not so good.  
20 P.Q.'s on matters affectg R. policy. Diff. to hold it, S. Franc.  
approaching.

P.M. Nothg. this week. But ? debate next week: to report progress on these  
matters: put of answers to P.Q.'s.

A.E. Promise of full statement wd. be enough – w'out debate.  
Debate S. Fr. on Tuesday: statement on Wed. when that out of way.  
They might not then press for a debate.

P.M. Topics for debate?

A.E. Voting procedure. Veto of Gt. Powers.

Evatt. Veto extends beyond security ques. to any ques of amending the Charter.

A.E. We argue tht. we aren't bound by that. We are comm<sup>d</sup> only to veto for use  
of force or sanctions. Veto not to be used to prevent discussions or  
appl<sup>ns</sup> by small Powers.

P.M. All resources of public opinion will be open & Gt. Power concerned, as  
well as small, will have neither veto nor note.

Political not judicial issues on Security Council. This is additional to all other safeguards.

- M.A.P. Agreed. After area of disc<sup>n</sup> & entry into area of action, the basis is political action not juridical. The issue = will we use military power to enforce our view.
- Evatt. No gt. diff<sup>cc</sup> of view on this point. Only ques: we don't agree that the Veto shd. extend to any amendments of the Charter.
- S/S Air. What of quarrel betwn 2 small Powers? Cannot force be invoked to support the majority view?
- A.E. We shd. argue veto shdn't apply there. R. may say it should.
- P.M. Anyhow advantages of public discussion in mobilising world opinion against the wrongdoer.
- Evatt. Not the fact of the veto, but the extent of it: that worries us.
- P.M. Many voices will be raised at S. Francisco.
- Smuts. We've agreed to argue tht. the veto shd. be restricted to cases in wh. a great Power avows herself to be concerned.

[ Enter M/W.T.

5. Situation in Holland.

- Smuts. Profoundly concerned. Since arrived, seen pp. & people.  
Agree with mil. advice: no good to send Army. Forces rightly deflected elsewhere: & fighting it out wd. cause a shambles in Holland.  
But we can't do nothg. while this tragedy is consummated.  
What can we do?  
Can't we agree with G. thro' Swiss to get food in: for distrib<sup>n</sup> thro' Red X.  
If they decline they brand themselves as criminals before mankind.  
And we cd. declare tht. we wd. treat them as such.  
21½ -3 m. in occupied Holland – they are literally dying. We must exhaust every means of avoiding it: & if we can't put the blame where it rests.  
Propose therefore: tell G. we are willing to send in food for dist<sup>n</sup> thro' Red X. If they decline, say you declare yourselves criminals & we will treat you as such.
- P.M. Most troops mobile moved out?
- C.I.G.S. 2 mobile & 1 static Divns. left.

P.M. Object of airborne op<sup>n</sup> ?

C.I.G.S. To assist move twds Emden. But Canadian attack tonight is aimed w. into Holland: & Monty has allocated 2 Divns. to clear the area & take on their feeding.  
Bottleneck = crossings over Rhine: all wanted to support our movement eastwards thro' Germany.  
Military relief beyond what is planned is bound to have repercussions on our eastward movement.

S. Why not use barges vice bridges.

P.J. We are using everythg for our eastwd. Movemt.

C.I.G.S. Exam<sup>d</sup> this a.m. Ike's plans for relief. We app<sup>d</sup> in minute to you.

P.J. 1 m. rations ready now for free dropping: preparing 2 m. more.  
Magnitude: stocks for 2 more = 130.000 t. v. big transport problem.

P.M. Any reason v. askg. F.D.R. to join in notice to G. thro' Protecting Power: time limit for answer: tht. respond. on them:  
as they haven't discharged it we are prep<sup>d</sup> thro' Red X by  
x/ such methods as are available supplies for civil popul<sup>n</sup>. Invite their concurrence.

A.E. Doing it now thro' Swedes on a small scale, by ship.  
Ques. of extending same principle.

P.M. Add threat tht. if they refuse we shall hold responsible with their lives all the G. troops now in Holland.

Su. Let them first refuse. Do it in 2 stages.

P.M. Then address the threat to G. in Holland not G. Govt. On basis – if  
y/ you resist entry of our Red X convoys.

L. If G. agreed we cd. send it in by ship.

C.N.S. 5 days to clear mines.

P.M. As at x & y.  
Publicity. Leaflets to G. occupying troops.

Wavell. Intern. Red X will have to do the job. Are they ready?

A.E. z/ Tell Prot. Power at once we are makg. the approach. (F.O.)

Agreed: as at x, y & z.

L.P. Stressed need for speed.

M.A.P. Quicker to step up Swedish route.

L. They cd. put on 2 more ships.

L.P. That goes out to E. Holland.

M.A.P. Let them extend it to W. Holland.  
Use both: agreed. i.e. Say both to Germans.  
W.O. primarily responsible for action.  
F.O. to provide draft telegram to F.D.R.

6. Celebration of End of Hostilities in Europe.

S/S Air. Need to have last All Clear? Bells enough.

P.M. (3) I wd. spk. only for 2/3 minutes (as N. Chamb. nn outbreak)  
The King wd. spk. in evening. Keep it clear for King.  
Favour evening – time to be discussed.

P.J. a) Need to emphasise Jap war goes on. Fraser endorsed.  
P.M. promised to see King's speech was consistent with that.  
b) Announcg. programme: effect on troops: dulling their keenness.

C.I.G.S. Are (1) and (2) separate?

H.O. Yes

P.M. (2) cess<sup>n</sup> of hostilities: breakdown of organised resistance.

L.P. In Germany only? C.f. Norway, Italy etc.

J.A. Must be resistance by Germany: not in Germany.

P.M. Decision must be taken on the facts at the time.

M/L. Better if announcemt. cd. be made so tht. we had stand-by for statemt.  
by P.M. Otherwise they will all knock off when Sirens blow.  
Dangerous in some factories.

H.O. Much to be said for ll. a.m.

Fraser. End by "declaration" vice Armistice will involve dec<sup>n</sup> by 3 States.

P.J. My point at x/ refers to disc<sup>n</sup> now e.g. in newsp. }  
} Agreed.

P.M. Agreed: M/I. to see what he can do. }

P.M. Call it V(E) Day: not Cease Fire Day.  
Will have to be made clear it's not the legal end of the war.  
Want a memo by L.O. on this.

Fraser. Reverted to P.J.'s point at a). V. diff. period for N.Z. troops.

P.M. Also for B. 14<sup>th</sup> Army.

P.M. (9) H.O. & Service Ministers to concert a good show, with many  
Bands.  
Several – in various cities.

P.J. Shd. get Home Guard to volunteer. Will spin it out.

L.P. Navy shd. do a show on Thames.

Smuts. Will Commanders in field be consulted? Men won't want to fight on  
after these celebrations. There will be pockets left, even when  
organised resistance is over. Will they go on?

P.M. The War Cab. must choose the right moment. Mustn't be premature.

S/S Air Casualties on Armistice Day. Don't let's have this again.

P.M. Will consult the Comm<sup>rs</sup>. & our 2 great Allies.  
H.O. to bring up revised report.  
I will if necessary make a Parly. Statement. But not now.  
Agree will have to be made sometime, but not yet.  
Exit: Smuts: A.E: Cadogan: C.O.S.:  
M/W.T: Amery: Wavell & 2 Indians.

7. High Treason: Procedure for Trial.

H.O. Summ<sup>d</sup> memo.

Simon. No change in nature of offence: procedure only.

P.M. Cumbering leg<sup>ve</sup> programme – for what reason?

M.A.P. To get hold of Haw. Haw & other radio performers.  
Simon. Treason trial to-day wd. be conducted as fairly as murder trial.

Agreed: & introduce in H/Lds. & see how it goes.

W.M. 42(45).

16<sup>th</sup> April, 1945.  
(12. noon)

Coal: Man Power & Prices.

- H.G. Summarised memo: release from Forces.
- P.J. Wd. tear up demob. scheme. Super-priority over classes A & B.
- S/S Air. Wd. have bad effect on attitude twds. demob<sup>n</sup>. Release & subsequent dir<sup>n</sup> wd. be a new feature.
- H.G. If we don't get these men, we shall face a drastic cut in supplies.
- P.M. Two wks ago sugg<sup>d</sup> to C/E 31/5. date for ending.  
Comm<sup>d</sup> this a.m. with C.O.S.  
Depts. refusing to play because of my qualifications.  
C.O.S. now ready to me to give 31/5 as date w'out qualific<sup>ns</sup>. I take this responsibility here and now.  
For planning. But this is not moment for overt action – Armies are stretched.
- P.J. Already arranged to cut tank & ammunition prod<sup>n</sup>.
- M/L. Then this coal scheme cd. not operate. It wd. upset demob<sup>n</sup> because cdn't begin until after demob<sup>n</sup> started.
- \*P.M. [F.O. to press, & get U.S. to press, for Swedish intervention in Norway.]
- P.M. Can't give coal priority over housing.  
Can't agree to immediate releases – Armies at full stretch: fighting in Italy may continue.
- L.P. Any hope of coal in autumn from Ruhr or Saar?
- H.G. Transport will be the diffy.  
Prod<sup>n</sup> here: more diff. if war is over.
- P.M. But Jap war will continue. Propose on Thursday to cry down idea tht. V.(E) Day implies any relaxation of effort.
- M/L. But Bevin boys scheme can't continue after V.(E) day. Might be one more draw.
- P.M. Reducg. standstill from 3 mos. to 6 wks. wd. help a bit.  
Can't now see clear enough to warrant riskg. scheme in W.P. 190.



When organised fightg. over, we might try explaining to Army need for Class B. releases for coal & housing. Move cautiously: and not until fighting has stopped in Europe.

V. day not a legal terminus a quo: incident in progress of war, like ringing the bells for Alamein.

M/L. Much must be re-considered then – for many plans based on Orders etc. lapsing “at end/German war”. Used in White Paper as point for end of certain labour controls.

Must be clear: & people must be told.

P.M. Can make a start twds. this in statement of Thursday.

M/L. Cd. we distinguish a) V(E) = end of organised resistance.  
b) End of German war for administrative and semi-legal purposes.

M.A.P. and c) Legal date for end/war.

Agreed: Offl. Cease Fire Cttee to consider & report on this.

S/S Air. ? Associate the celebration with capture of Berlin, not with end of all organised resistance.

P.M. Agreed.

P.M. y/ Coal: prepare scheme for releases from Forces pari passu with housing: but can't say now when it shd. be touched off. Consider adding coal to Class B. Also cond<sup>ns</sup> of paid furlough etc.

H.G. Don't expect, or need them badly, at work until Sept.

P.M. Probably some relief on coal consumption after German war because of over-estimation of munitions needs.

M/S. No: over-all shortage for industry anyhow: signs now: will cause unemplt.

L. And Sept. is too late for transport.

L.P. Experts to consider Saar & Ruhr. - transport & coal exports, with Military.

P.J. x/ Officials of M/L., M/F&P., W.O., M/Supply: to review results of officials rpt.

M/L. in Chair: Report by Tuesday for Cabinet on Fri/or Sat.

Black out.

H.O. Earlier decision of War Cab. H.G. now says we can't afford the coal.

P.M. Can't hope to keep black-out on after V(E) Day.  
Dim-out no longer affected by mil. consid<sup>ns</sup>. But other consid<sup>ns</sup> may  
affect it: e.g. shortage of man-power to re-equip.  
[Enter R.S.H.]

Coal prices.

J.A. Comm<sup>d</sup>, in policy, to makg. coal industry pay its way. Burden must be  
put on consumers. This is only way to create right atmosphere  
about coal industry.

M/S. Lack of output is cause. If you increase it, the Fund may get into  
credit again. V. serious step.

J.A. Optimistic to expect decrease in costs by anythg. you can do soon.  
Debt is concealed by subsidy. Must bring it into open.  
This was settled policy – to keep Coal Charges Account in funds.

B. Supported M/Supply.

L. This must be passed on to consumer.  
Increased output perhaps but not p. head.

J.A. Exports subsidy perhaps. But can't agree to concealed subsidies.  
Increase at 1/5 because of summer stocking.

B.B. Effect on small incomes. V. hard.

P.M. Agree: save on timing. I wd. have thought it better to wait until  
they have stocked.

A.V.A. No: accustom them to higher charge before normal stocking.  
Also hard, if you delay, on those who can't stock.  
Agreed: increase as from 1/5.

Man Power Allocations for First Half of 1945.

J.A. Can now get down to 2<sup>nd</sup> half on basis of firm date.

M/L. First clear up ques. of labour dir<sup>n</sup>. Alloc<sup>ns</sup> no use w'out it.

J.A. That issue will have bn. cleared by Cab. on Rpt of Coal-miners'  
Releases.

M/L. Need re-statement of Govt. policy – on new Cab. decision – and above Politics.

P.M. Pl. re-submit your proposals.

Double Taxation.

P.M. Now support C/E Memo.

J.A. Assoc<sup>n</sup> of Clearing Banks have bn. consulted & will support me.  
Agreed.

[Exit R.S.H.

International Aspects of Colonial Policy.

D.O. More agreemt. than I hoped. Want to get unanimity.  
x/ Must make it clear to Doms. tht. we don't intend to apply it.

L.P. Dom. Govts. View – badly administered territories near them:  
French & Portuguese.

A.E. Do they still want this, if they know we aren't go to apply it.

P.M. Why not speak on this with diff. voices?  
Agreed on x/.

A.E. Ques. is wtr. we shd. oppose the “specific provision”.

P.M. No need to oppose, so long as x/ is made clear.  
Agreed - i.e. as in Memo.

P.M. Not for us to take the lead in breakg. down the ties which bind  
Colonies to the Motherland.  
Take up a strategic pos<sup>n</sup> behind the { French, who will surely oppose it.  
{ Dutch

Harry Pollitt. Exit Permit

H.O. We agree: no obj<sup>n</sup> but no facilities. Then he won't get there.

P.M. Why give him anything?

W.M. 43(45).

12<sup>th</sup> April, 1945.  
(3.30 p.m.)

1. British Prisoners of War.  
Telegram 745 from Berne read to War Cabinet.

A.E. Wd. like to do it.

P.J. Partake in G. war only.

A.E. If "Allied" means Anglo-Am. don't find diffy: will never get R. consent.  
Consult U.S. & tell Russia.

P.M. Send to U.S. & R.: strong resolve is to accept it at once: not askg. for  
consent. We are prep<sup>d</sup> to agree for ours, whatever you do.

A.E. They ask for agreemt. of "Allied Govts."

B.B. Russians have now allowed public sugg<sup>n</sup> of agreement with Germans  
allowing us to advance in West.

Evatt. Applies only to G. war.

P.M. Dangerous to mention that.  
Agreed: not resting it with us entirely.

A.E. If we & U.S. agree, I wd. tell G. so.  
Tell the French. They wd. get the benefits. No need to ask them.

2. War Criminals.

Evatt. Have discussed with our rep<sup>ve</sup> on Comm<sup>n</sup>, who agrees.

A.E. V. good.

M.A.P. Disagreed: mixes pol. & judicial dec<sup>n</sup> with disadvantage to both.  
No real trial for Hitler: facilities to argue in disproof. Will be criticised  
not proper trial: give him chance of harangue.  
Neither proper trial nor pol. act – worst of both worlds.

A.G. Gestapo – wd. be a proper trial.  
Prosec<sup>n</sup> leadg. up to charge of conspiracy to commit war crime.

P.J. V. large nos. – hundreds of thousands.

P.M. Trial of Gestapo as a body first. Then procdgs. against selected members. Not proposed to arraign them all.

A.G. At first trial 6 or so of the leaders: to establish the general case.

M.A.P. Better to make a pol. dec<sup>n</sup> in favour of punishg them by forced labour.

S. Rosenman tells me U.S. won't agree to penalties w'out trial.

P.M. And Stalin too insists on trial.

S. Quite clear that you wdn't get agreemt. to MAP solution. My para. 4 is put up because I'm satisfied U.S.won't agree to execution without trial.

P.M. Bill of attainder not an impeachment.

H.O. Para 3., on the whole, acceptable to me.  
On para 4. I agree with M.A.P. Believe all major Allies comm<sup>d</sup> to execution of Hitler. This mock trial is objectionable. It is really a political act: better to declare tht. we shall put them to death.

P.M. Agree the trial will be a farce. Indictment: facilities for counsel. All sorts of complications ensue as soon as you admit a fair trial.  
I agree with H.O.: tht. they shd. be treated as outlaws.  
We shd. however seek agreemt. of our Allies.

S. We've bn. trying: & this is what U.S. want.

L.S.A. Advantage of summing up statement of their crimes.

A.E. Getting into position – depends entirely into whose hands he falls.

P.M. I wd. take no responsibility for a trial – even tho' U.S. want to do it. Execute the principal criminals as outlaws – if no Ally wants them.

S. Cd. we at least agree on paras 1-3.  
Para 1. Agreed.  
Para 2. P.J. Not easy to arrange: Polyglot court.  
S. Duo-glot wd. be enough.  
Moscow decl<sup>n</sup> doesn't cover offences comm<sup>d</sup> in Germany.

Smuts. Para 4. cases. Summary execution dangerous – as I said when here last. A dangerous precedent.  
Ordin. crim. trial out of ques.  
Thus, somethg. half way betwn. with some formality. Attracted by precedent of Bill of Attainder. Give him his chance to make

his statement in reply.  
Not a known crime: thus act of State needed to legalise his execution.

P.M. I wanted all Nations to declare them outlaws in advance.  
Too late now for that.  
? Get Resolution of 3 Allied Powers.  
Allow an attainder & a reply: then are you going to allow argument.  
If not, then it apes judicial procedure but brings it into contempt.

H.O. And makes in certain tht. he will be a martyr in Germany.

S. Had assumed W. Cab. wd. want to reach agreemt. with out Allies. Then we can't have our own way. However much we may favour summary execution, don't believe you will get Allied agreemt. U.S. won't: & I gather Stalin won't. We must therefore compromise or proceed unilaterally.  
Full trial out of ques. But advantages in a) putting fwd. a document of our case. You cd. do that & then execute w'out opportunity of reply. Or b) go further & have tribunal to deal shortly with his answer.  
c.f. Allied statement re Napoleon after Waterloo.  
Draw up document now.

P.M. Wd. agree to a) & execution.  
Will not agree to trial which can only be a mock trial.

H.O. Put these arguments to U.S. & R.

Fraser. Simon, Evatt, Smuts & Cripps cd. marshal the arguments.

P.M. Let U.S. & R. deploy their case, while we hold back.  
I wd. protect myself by Act of Attainder.

M.A.P. Have one Act against the whole bunch.

S/S Air. If Hitler is a soldier, we can refuse to give him quarter.

P.M. Get S. Fr. to establish a list of grand criminals & get them to agree that these may be shot when taken in the field.

M.A.P. Document of arraignment v. Nazi Party.  
Hand it to any captured. Give them 2 wks to reply. Then shoot.

A.G. { Can we transmit to Stimson the obj<sup>ns</sup> to even the mock trial. }  
x/ { }  
H.O. { Also accepting paras 1 – 3. }

Death of President Roosevelt.

- P.M. Profound shock.  
Leap into unknown. Truman's statement. – will keep present Cabinet, & prosecute the war to the utmost v. Germany & Japan.  
Truman will be well man: F.D.R. has been a sick man for months.  
On Tuesday: I shd. move resolution (Houses of Commons).  
Wish among Party leaders – only one speech. Procedure: passed new. con. Spker shd. be asked about that  
Had thought of going to-day to Funeral. But v. private: in room at White House. Interment at Hyde Park: relatives & Can. only.  
Suggest A.E. shd. be present.  
Debate Tuesday on S. Francisco. L.P. to open: P.M. to wind up if me.  
Thursday on Poland & Foreign Affairs = P.M.  
Identical resolution & procedure (one speech) in H/Lords.
- B. View in U.S. = that Stimson will wield main influence.
- M/L. Belief Stettinius will rise in power & influence.
- J.A. He is v. well disposed to us.
- P.M. King & Queen wish to attend Memorial Service. Tuesday a.m.  
Abbey or St. Pauls?
- J.A. If tradition is not against it for celebration of international event,  
Abbey wd. be more convenient.  
Agreed: Enquire: presumption in favour of Abbey.
- P.M. Will send personal telegram to Truman.  
  
Relations with Russia.
- P.M. Accept quietly U.S.'s apology on Crossword.  
Poland: Will draft telegram circulate to War Cab. & send to A.E.:  
he must get Truman to agree. Essential that our Polish policy  
shd. be unanimous.
- A.E. Was to see Mik. to-day.
- P.M. Hope he will at least declare friendliness to R. Can't press him on Soviet  
if he won't do that.  
If we cd. get 3 from here & 5 from Poland, we cd. rest content.

P.M.

Then, after a short delay, I will send the telegram about prisoners.  
(i.e. warning to Germany).



W.M. 45(45).

16<sup>th</sup> April, 1945.  
(12 noon)

Naval, Military & Air Situation.

Air and Naval Operations - separately recorded.

Military.

C.I.G.S. Arnhem a) to Apeldoorn b) Arnhem. Joined: area being cleared.  
This N.E. area of Holland more or less cleared: coast reached.  
Further East, s. of Bremen greater resistance. At Helzen, resist<sup>ce</sup> by  
troops fr. Denmark. Monty now workg. up from s.e. of Bremen.  
U.S. 9<sup>th</sup>. Consid. progress: little oppos<sup>n</sup> because gap of G. armies in  
Ruhr., B'head's. of Magdeburg.  
Hartz Mts. outflanked on both sides: But somethg. left there in centre.  
Ruhr. V. little left. 120.000 prs. in last wk. in Ruhr alone.  
¼ m. last wk: ½ m. since Rhine crossed. P of w. over whole Front.

P.J. State of liberated Holland. This = normal surplus area: no reason  
believe crops destroyed.

C.I.G.S. G. ready to be split in two, by junction with R. in Dresden/Leipsig area.  
N & S. Fronts quite separate now. They will defend ports in N. & route  
to Denmark. In South, first defend entry to Czecho: then fall  
back to Redoubt.

Italy.

Amph. on r. flank. Now nr Argenta gap. = 8<sup>th</sup> Army.  
5<sup>th</sup> now started also.  
On W. advances beyond Massa & Carrera.  
6.500 p.of w. for wk.

Burma.

Adv. down fr. Mand. to Rangoon – shaping. 2 routes, road & river.  
Move of 20<sup>th</sup> Divn. twds Magwe. thro' Meiktila. Also thrust twds.  
Taungdwingyi. J. prob. in pocket there.

Russia.

Berlin-Leipzig-Dresden area = prob. function.  
Centres of resistance – Prague: then W. Austria.  
R. up Danube U.S. down thro' Nurenberg will prob. meet.  
G. likely to be driven fr. N.E. Italy into s. of Redoubt.  
R. advances mainly in S. Apart fr. small advance nr. Königsberg.

C.I.G.S. G. strength 25 Divns W. 150 Divns E. – “equivalents”.  
Prod<sup>n</sup> - will be centred rd. Prague.  
Food supplies – no rpts of scarcity.

A.J. In N. Germany food danger = cultiv<sup>n</sup> was forced labour & they have bolted. Land well prep<sup>d</sup> - but no more workers.

W. Are we living on the country.

P.J. Think not.

P.J. B. p of w. released. 10.000 back in U.K. Not v. reliable.

Air Raids. Casualties from Flying Bombs & Rockets.

H.O. Total casualties

V.1. June 12/13. 6.184, 17.981, 24.493 = 48.658.

V.2. from 13/9. 2.754 : 6.522 : 15.438 = 24.715.

General statement under prep<sup>n</sup> now – air-raids, V.1., V.2., - showing both casualties, damage etc.

President Roosevelt: Memorial Service.

H.O. Memorial Service - BBC. want to do live b'cast. Can send it to U.S.

A good thing. But they want to say King is going – before he arrives.

This may cause us to relax genl. stop on repts. of King's movements.

Propose to agree, subject to consult<sup>n</sup> with Palace.

No risk to-morrow. Only ques. is for the future.

C.A.S. No significance qua air risk in cancelling the genl. proh<sup>n</sup>.

M/L. Two minutes silence to-morrow – over the country as a whole. Timed in relation to the Service.

H.O. May re-act on doing it at end/war.

M/L. This is at least as important. Good effect in U.S.

J.A. Is there time to organise it. Buses, trains etc.

M/L. Do it, wherever possible. No other opportunity for genl. public.

J.A. Diffy. is to get absolute synchronisation. Not impressive otherwise.

Won't work without maroons or somethg. like it.

Will only annoy if it isn't done properly.

Cr. Toll bells at a given time - over the whole country.

M/L. Works cd. do it because linked with B.B.C.

Agreed: H.O. to consider & report to evening Cabinet.

Foreign Affairs. Poland.

- R.L. Pol. National Day. As in AE.'s Minute to P.M.
- L.P. Postpone decision until we see how Moscow negot<sup>ns</sup> go.
- S/S Air. At least send our messages to Polish Forces.
- L.P. Bring it up to-night, when P.M. in attendance.

1. Migration.

- Cr. Draft agreements – now acceptable to Australia.  
Canada, N.Z. & S.A. not forthcoming. Australia = only Dom. offering to play.
- a) One outstandg. point: relation of B. & Aust. ex-servicemen.  
Pref<sup>ce</sup> to Aust. ex-servicemen for 7 years: wd. place B. migrants at serious disadvantage.
- b) Another: on the other agreement. Assistance twds. passage money.  
Beg C/E. to reconsider. Don't discourage Aust<sup>ns</sup>, who are only Dom. who have tried to meet us on this. May have lasting effect on their attitude. Won't cost much because small nos.
- L.P. Take a) first. Awkward for us if we sent them out & they had to return.  
M/L : P.J : W. in favour of pressing for equality.
- H.O. Not keen on sendg. our best people away – on a declining population.
- Cr. Not v. serious. In 3 yrs. pre-war more people came fr. Doms than went there.  
On (a) agreed to press Australia to agree.
- J.A. On b) wh. applies to non-service passages. Ex-servicemen get free passages.  
Sympathy with H.O. views. Earlier migration policy took a/c of Eire.  
Diff. for me to proceed as tho' £10 to-day = as big a contrib<sup>n</sup> from the individual as pre-war £11. We (Govts.) shd. be paying more than twice pre-war rate. Wdn't insist on 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of total cost – but somethg. more than £10.
- L.P. { What will be paid for wife of ex-Service man.  
x/ {
- J.A. { I wd. be ready to make a concession for dependents of ex-Service men.
- Cr. (At request of C.O.) Australia are askg. for Maltese. They cnd't pay more than £10.  
On x/ EEB. ascertained that free passages extended to dependants of ex-Service men.
- J.A. Wd. settle at £15 if Cab. impressed by D.O. arguments.
- P.M. Do we want to encourage migration? We want population.

- Cr. But Australia must increase her population  
Don't think v. large nos. will go.
- P.M. What about preferential rate for women, of whom we have too many.
- S/S Air. From R.A.F. pt/view – trained in Doms. anxious to know of facilities  
to go back & settle.  
Can't alter our policy. Rather go forward e.g. & get some agreemt.  
with Canada – at least on facilities for R.A.F. men to re-join  
wife married in Canada during training.
- M/L. Want some B. stock to maintain the race in Australia & other Doms. That  
is the basis of this scheme – facilitate those who want to go.
- J.A. Ask the man to pay £15.
- Cr. Australia may call it off then.
- J.A. They can't dictate what we shall pay. Their financial pos<sup>n</sup> is better  
than ours.
- P.M. Against increasing the incentive to migrate.
- Cr. Then I will close with J.A.'s offer of £15.  
On (b) agreed at £15.
- M/L. Then also efforts to reduce the farce. Get it down to £45: then it will  
be 1/3<sup>rd</sup> each as pre-war.
2. Harry Pollitt. Proposed Visit to Finland.
- H.O. Conference opens 17/4. We wd. allow people of other colour to go.  
Refusal of exit permit wd. cause Parly. row. We won't give  
priority for air passage, however, & he won't go even tho' exit  
permit given.  
Are we to maintain in Parlt. that this is a pol. Party whose members will  
be treated differently from any other?
- P.M. Wdn't mind making out a case for so maintaining.
- H.O. He can't get there w'out special priority for air passage.  
It is still a lawful political Party.
- R.K.L. Cadogan on 7/4 wrote to Pollitt saying tht., without any priority,  
F.O. wd. do their best to provide travel facilities.
- H.O. That is a reason for granting the exit permit.

- R.K.L. "Our best" won't get him to Finland now!
- W. Why not say: can't provide travel facilities: thus no point in giving  
x/ exit permit.  
Agreed: as at x/.
3. President Roosevelt: Memorial Service.
- H.O. Favour tolling the bells. Ready to issue Press notice at once.  
A muffled peal will be tolled at St. Paul's at end of service.  
Govt. hope, wherever possible, ring bells at 12.15 p.m.
- M/L. Cd. you ask employers to let it be broadcast thro' the works.
- B.B. V. late to arrange it now.  
Agreed: { M/I. to do what he can on "works" point: not  
{ to be more than 2 minutes of b'cast bells.  
M/I. not to do this if it will be untidy.
4. Organisation for Military Government in Germany.
- P.J. Clear now tht. 3 Zones will have to be administered separately for long  
period.  
a) adjust arrangements to that conception  
b) appoint the Deputy who will have to function.  
c) give him dir<sup>ns</sup> for period betwn V/E day & full centralised  
machinery.
- P.M. Why did we agree to this v. unfavourable Zone?
- P.J. At Quebec Conf<sup>ce</sup>. We wanted the sea-ports in N.W. Germany: or at  
least keep U.S. out of it. This carried with it the obj<sup>ns</sup> of takg. over  
food deficit area & devastated at that.
- M/L. On the memo. – a Mil. control: but wd. ask P.J. tht. mil. shd. have more  
civilian aid subject to their control. Afraid wrong kind of G. helper  
may be taken on, by mil. w'out advice. Add fr. Control Cttee  
civilians with experience who can advise on industrial side.
- P.J. That is the intention – civil staff earmarked.
- J.A. Para. 7. 1<sup>st</sup> sent<sup>ce</sup> = ambiguous. - As in note passed to P.J.
- P.M. We have responsib<sup>ies</sup> save security of our Armies until all resistance is  
over.

Comm<sup>ns</sup> will be restored etc.

- R.K.L. Cont. Comm<sup>n</sup> can operate only after agreemt. of all. Day-to-day admin<sup>n</sup> can't readily be run like that – as E.A.C. has shown.
- P.M. I wdn't take over our Zone, outside own mil. pos<sup>n</sup>, until all resistance ended & agreemt. reached e.g. on supply of food to deficit areas from surplus areas. Meanwhile, let U.S. sort it out.  
This memo. omits a stage – in wh. we are responsible only for area in wh. our Armies are operating.  
3-power agreemt. on food in Germany first.
- M/L. You'll want the proposals in Memo. even for limited area occupied by our Armies.
- P.J. Whether for Zones or for occupied territory, must be period before central machine begins to function. Important therefore to appoint the man i/c & let APW. tell him how he is to run whatever area he has charge of.
- P.M. V. well: agree on basis tht. extent of territory = what our Armies hold on V(E) Day.
- M/L. Viz "B. occupied area" vice B. zone in para 5.
- P.M. Area occupied by D. on V(E) Day.  
And add para. Negot<sup>ns</sup> with U.S. & R. for sharing equally betwn. G. pop<sup>n</sup> in the 3 Zones whatever food is produced in Germany before we move to take over prescribed Zone.
- P.J. Then tell C-in-C. stand fast on ground held of V(E) day until f. notice.
- P.M. Agreed.
- P.J. May we proceed on assumpt<sup>n</sup> tht. Monty will be appointed?
- P.M. Certainly - & talk to him.
- P.J. And announce it soon?
- P.M. Yes – stay where he is until thinks begin to settle down – 6 months or so.  
Agreed: P.J. to submit draft announcement to P.M.
5. Occupied Holland. attitude of Germans. No circulation record.
- P.M. Gerbrandy at wk-end. Recent visit to Nijmegen. Underground movemt.

in Holland estab<sup>d</sup> contact with Seyss-Inquart. He proposes: he & Genl. Busch will defend themselves so long as G. Govt. & Army to which he is in duty bound remain. Best method of resistance is to blow the dykes – because small forces can defend the high ground there remaining. Per contra, they offer “if you can defer further attacks on us until G. Govt. is over, we will surrender. Meanwhile we will facilitate Red X. entry into Holland: fire no further shot etc.”

Alternative. We cd. threaten them – they are in a trap. They wd. be treated as war criminals: & they know they wd. be caught. Have drawn a Memo. on the alternatives. Telegraphed the inform<sup>n</sup> to A.E. as he can discuss personally with U.S. & Russians. Prime facie disposed to let it be sealed off until G Govt. go down. Wd. release 2 Divns. for Lubeck/Kiel area. S-I says he'll to it anyway, wtr higher G. auth<sup>y</sup> agree or not. Circulate the telegrams at once, w'out waiting for memo on conversation with Gerbrandy.

[Enter L.S.A. & H.F.C.]

6. Empire Telecommunications.

- J.A. Studied since June last. Cttee agreed save Ld. B. Can't leave it alone: for promised full cons<sup>n</sup> of Anzac plan. Doms will expect now we've had it for months.
- Bs. C & W. v. strong – much more than U.S. competitors. 30 m. capital but 200 m. assets. Speciality of Press rates. V. efficient. Attack made by C.C.C. – stimulated dissatif<sup>n</sup> in U.S. who don't like pref. rates available to B. subj. only. No reason for brkg. up the Co. – save tht. Australia wants it. S.A. & Canada don't want to partake in cent. control. Break this down when trying build up integrated Dom. Services e.g. in civil aviation. We lose central influence: also revenue. Urge delay: bring in C & W. ask about their strength & prospects.
- J.A. Ty. fear C.O.'s pos<sup>n</sup> precarious – partly because compet<sup>n</sup> air mails, w'less telephone & partly because determ<sup>n</sup> Doms to maintain services. Austr. & N.Z. combined to put fwd thro' C.C.C. plan for break-up with no central body. Result of Reith plan wh. includes central auth<sup>y</sup> - only dissent being Can. & S.A. who want to attend only as observers. C & W. obv. doubtful of their future: for they've proposed conv<sup>n</sup> to p.u.u. with State subsidy.
- P.M. Will this scheme of yours require leg<sup>n</sup>.



- J.A. Yes. But next step wd. be consult<sup>n</sup> with Doms. at Ministerial level.
- B. C & W. say plan put fwd. on compulsion.
- J.A. They don't believe they can maintain their pos<sup>n</sup>.
- B. Cables becoming more popular.
- Cr. B.'s idea "intrigue on C.C.C." Deeper than that. Doms. dislike central control fr. Ldn. on Dom. affair. In this, part<sup>ly</sup> by a private co. The Doms. are not prep<sup>d</sup> to go on with this. They wd. break away & make separate agreemts. & Dom. scheme wd go. R.'s scheme is acceptable. Doms. are at least united in disliking B.'s scheme.
- L.S.A. Agree with D.O. Dominatg factor = need for rapid & cheap dissemination of comm<sup>ns</sup> through Doms: not necessarily obt<sup>d</sup> thro' private company. Have followed this since started C.C.C. while at C.O. If we reject both R. & Australin plan, risk is tht. Doms. will break away from C.C.C. & no Dom. cohesion at all. R. did well in getting so large a measure of inter-Dom. agreemt.
- W.s Will each Dom. take share-holdings?
- J.A. Interlocking companies – but Can & S.A. won't agree to be bound by decisions of central body.
- B. S. Africa & Canada don't want it. Australia won't want more.
- P.M.G. Agree with Cttee. Rpt. Diff<sup>ies</sup> have lasted for years: this is best way out. R. done much better than we expected. Doms. can bankrupt C & W. at once by continuing the W.T. circuits establ<sup>d</sup> during the war. Pre-war C & W. didn't pay standard dividends. Since war they have because of war-time increase. In long run cables may become cheaper than w'less. But will take 15/20 years to put the new cables in.
- B. Rate of cable transmission has bn. stepped up My sugg<sup>n</sup> is tht. Cttee shd. now consult the Co.
- J.A. We have done, at official level. Their estimates for future are pessimistic: and their own proposal is for formation of p.u.u.
- B. Well let R. scheme be put to C & W. & their views be invited.

- J.A. Next step wd. be to invite Dom. rep<sup>res</sup> here to discuss whole situation.  
We've delayed that – for they had put up proposal we didn't like.  
Various pts on R. scheme not yet discussed with Doms.
- P.M. Then say HMG. have given genl. approval but not reachg. hard &  
fast dec<sup>ns</sup> until heard what Doms. have to say.  
And C & W. shd. be allowed to express their view.
- J.A. Of course.
- W. Why not bring them in first?
- J.A. The Co. was set up for Imp. purpose: has relations with all Govts:  
something to be said for Govts talking first.
- P.M. V. well: I'm not supporting that point.  
Conf<sup>ce</sup> won't be over before this Govt. ends. The concl<sup>n</sup> & certainly  
the leg<sup>n</sup> will be for another Govt. & Parlt.
- L.P. Agree with Conserv. colleagues on Cttee.
- A.S. Serv Dpts to be brought into Conf<sup>n</sup>.  
Agree: provided we're not committed.  
{ no leg<sup>n</sup> in this Parlt.  
{ Co. consulted at proper time.
- B.B. a) Best news-service in world.  
b) U.S. jealous of their efficiency.  
In war, team has broken down: cables have proved more reliable.
- J.A. ? a) Summon Conf<sup>ce</sup>.  
b) Tell C & W. Give them Rpt & ask their comments.
- P.M. Yes: subject to making it clear we're not irrevocably comm<sup>d</sup>.
- Cr. That will be pos<sup>n</sup> of everyone who comes to the Conference.
- P.M. Add to b). They can have facilities to appear before Cttee to put their  
case orally.

1. The Budget.

Statement by C/Exchequer.

2. Electoral (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill.

H.O. Have informally consulted Party rep<sup>res</sup> – broadly agreed.

P.M. Assimilation of L. Govt. franchise has vastly increased e.g. electorate to disadvantage of Conservative Party.  
Business voter, equally: so arranged that people didn't exercise their rights.

H.O. Had to be a date.

B. Gateshead only 5 out of 617.

We can't appeal because confined to those reg<sup>n</sup>.

x/ We wd. like to extend time for appeals by people who failed to get on register. – L.O. to advise wtr. this is legal.

P.M. Won't affect no. of seats.

H.O. May affect about 6 seats.

Don't object to referring to L.O.

This will be a bad register: the next (Oct.) will be better.

e.g. London bldg. workers fr. Provinces: won't have exercised right to vote here as absent voters. Equally evacuated persons will never go back to evacuation areas.

Agreed: H.O. to consider x/.

P.M. I exclude leg<sup>n</sup>.

H.O. It cd. go into this Bill.

H.O. (a) Add 25% for first election.

B. Wd. prefer to fight this Election on old law. i.e. financial arrangemts. shd. be left over to another Bill. Increased cost of newsprint & printing.

H.O. See App. II. The Party Agents think this enough save Lib. Nat who want £50 more for counties.

P.M. Spkers' Conf<sup>ce</sup> – 2 years ago. Circs. have changed.

- M/L. It was unanimous recomm<sup>n</sup>: why not consult Parties again.  
P.M. Apathy of voter will be feature of Election. Want to get as many votes as possible.
- M/L. Don't want to impose this on the Parties.  
y/{ Consult M.P.'s who served on Spkrs Conf<sup>ce</sup>.  
{ & 4 Party Agents.
- B. Or 4 Chairmen of Parties.
- H.O. No: why not keep the consult<sup>n</sup> with Parlt.
- P.M. Will consult with E.B. Alternative: do nothg. & leave it to pre-war scale.
- A.S Supported sugg<sup>n</sup> for consult<sup>n</sup> with Members. [Agreed as at y/.  
Much pressure fr. all Parties for action on remaining recomm<sup>ns</sup> of Sp. Conference.
- J.A. S.IV. Special Spring reg. Needed only if 2<sup>nd</sup> Genl. Elect<sup>n</sup> next year and if Oct. Register not good. This will cost £3/4 m. Lot of money: is it necessary? General view: it is worth doing.
3. Release of Candidates from H.M. Forces.
- P.M. Told P.J. to prepare inst<sup>ns</sup> for candidates to return at once. May be a Poll in 80 days from now. Not too much time e.g. in county constituencies with 60/70 villages.  
No one to come who is in contact with enemy.
- M/L. Wrote a letter to P.M. on this. Para 4. Army pay & allow<sup>ces</sup> cease after 4 wks.
- P.M. But can't be compulsory.  
Not willing to leave it to dissolution.
- A.S. Favour day of dissolution. Release at once will cause heartburning – for many of the best won't wish to leave their jobs. Fairer to bring all out together later on.
- M/L. Apply to candidates same rule as M.P.'s.  
When bona fide adopted, can be released f.with.
- P.M. x/ { The M.P. has a right to come away at once – subj. to mil. necessity.  
{ App<sup>d</sup> candidate on same basis as sitting Member .. ..  
Agreed as at x/.

4. Release of Staff for Reg<sup>n</sup> Officers & Returning Officers.

- H.O. Outside figure 2.000. Appl<sup>ns</sup> 110 to date: but more will apply.
- A.S. Shd. know the extent of liability.
- M/L. Diffy. for me: everyone is asking for people. Have stood out against release from overseas. Can't believe they are really experienced in reg<sup>n</sup> - none since 1935. – they are staffs wanted by l.a.'s.
- H.O. We let the Party organisation have their people.  
We can't do less for the official machine.
- P.M. Must do this.
- A.S. Exempt S.E.A. Command. – covered by mil. necessity.
- P.M. x/ With assurances they were employed on reg<sup>n</sup> work.  
And limit of 1.000 all told – not worth a limit.  
Agreed: subject to x/ & try to avoid S.E.A. Refer back to War Cab. if necessary to withdraw any from S.E.A.

5. Paper for General Election.

- P.M. Outraged tht. Cons., with 150 majority over other Parties, was to get only 500 out of 1.800. 1185 : 615 won't do.  
We shall have the burden of caretaking: we shd. have a larger share.  
Preposterous that Liberals shd. have same quantity as Cons. & Labour.  
Where are his promised 400 candidates? If in the event they run only 200, they can use double quantity of paper for them.  
Must be proportionate to bona fide candidates.  
Are co-op<sup>ve</sup> really a Party?
- H.O. As much so as Nat. Liberals.  
y/ If Party running enough candidates to run a Govt. they shd. have same quantity. Their existg. membership is irrelevant.  
Liberals are fighting Cons. & Labour.
- P.M. No. They are against Cons. & have interest in a deadlock.
- A.S. We are fighting for ourselves – w'out Allies.
- P.M. My test = produce your candidates.
- A.S. Series of discussions – we all accepted.

P.M. I won't agree.

A.S. We shall certainly run 300-400.  
Accept the criterion of H.O. above. y/

P.M. My criterion wd. be - relate paper to no. of candidates.

H.O. Must be 450-500: to justify a claim that they may get a majority.

P.M. I will put in nominal list of adopted Cons. candidates: and get Labour:  
then Liberal must toe the line. Then we will consider.

H.O. This is broadly right, subject to verification of Lib. candidates.

M/L. Approve this: & let them draw up to prop<sup>n</sup> of candidates approved.  
Agreed: this is a fair proposition: if it can be worked out.

J.A. Or assurance from Parties tht. they won't issue more than amount  
correspondg. to no. of candidates running.  
H.O. This will work: M/L. suggestion wouldn't.  
Init. prov<sup>l</sup>. alloc<sup>n</sup> on best estimate give now.  
But on cond<sup>n</sup> they don't put into circul<sup>n</sup> more paper than entitled to  
on a formula (1 ton p. candidate).

1. Building Labour Allocations.

- P.M. Reference to Housing Squad decisions.
- M/L. Doesn't affect these allocations of existing force in bldg.
- P.M. Cd. not a larger share, even of what is available, be given to housing. Referred to excessive allocation for Adm<sup>y</sup>.
- A.V.A. Two main purposes a) to vacate school & other educational purposes.
- M/L. Willing to have someone make re-exam<sup>n</sup> of alloc<sup>ns</sup> in light of new Man Power assumption.
- P.M. Time now to whittle down Service Dpt. requirements & demands. I wd. cut your allocation by 8.000.
- P.J. Allocation for new W.O. works is only 3.000. The rest is maintenance on accomm<sup>n</sup> for 2 m. men in fixed camps & barracks.
- P.M. How many men in it.
- P.J. 600.000 B. & prob. 4/500.000 U.S. [Later verified at 434.000 U.S.
- P.M. Why do you want any new works?  
Now is the time to start cutting at Service demands.
- A.V.A. Pointed out that alloc<sup>n</sup> of 17.000 means coming down to that from 21.000 in Jan.
- H.O. But June figures for Service & Supply Dpts is excessive as cpd. with Housing.
- J.A. 150.000 empl<sup>d</sup> Jan: reduced to alloc<sup>n</sup> of 100.000 in June.
- P.J. Don't forget the further 140.000 empl<sup>d</sup> on Ldn. repairs.
- M/S. .. .. that M/S. alloc<sup>n</sup> covers much work on industrial reconversion. Not purely for mil. purposes: much civil work in it.
- D.S. Standard of maintenance in Service Dpts. is higher than civil.
- P.J. Was examined by Portal & found not excessive.

- M/S. W'out this control, industry wd. buy the labour – & then wd. be none at all for housing.
- W. Pare Service Dpts in 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter's allocation.
- P.M. Let this allocation pass – on understanding tht. in next quarter Service alloc<sup>ns</sup> are reduced by 1/3<sup>rd</sup> (not to extend to M/Supply).  
40.000 target for Services.  
Mil. accom<sup>n</sup> cd. be reduced from 2 m. to 1 m.
- P.J. To start with, 160.000 G. p.o.w. and prob. as many Italians.
- P.M. 600.000 B. 400.000 p.o.w. Then need you keep 1 m. places for U.S.
- P.J. Glad if you wd. ask them to reduce.
- M/H. ? Examine Adm<sup>y</sup> figures –
- A.V.A. a) F.A. Arm Airfields. b) HMS Vernon. c) concrete barges & floating docks for l.c. for Jap war.
- W.O. Only 3% of the total is on W.O. new works.
- P.M. My criticisms to-day will be on everyone's lips 6 months hence.
- M/W. Pass April/May. Put June into next quarter.
- M/L. Can't plan allocations beyond V(E) Day.  
Thereafter, basis to be changed – with the larger pool. Prob. after July.
- M/W. Most urgent need is to scrutinise new works.
- P.M. No new works over £100 to be started w'out ref. to W. Cab.
- M/S. Impossible. Example: much of this labour = new works for Penicillin.  
clearing out factories for reconversion.
- M/L. Considering another reg<sup>n</sup> of building labour- to increase labour force.  
Sure we shall get for housing enough labour – when it begins to flow.  
Agreed: Approve allocations for April & May.  
For June: allocations for Serv. Dpts. 50.000.  
or. rather, 50.000 by end July.
- P.J. Objected to alloc<sup>n</sup> for M/W. (repair of Govts. Dpts): same no. as for Army.
- M/W. Promised to consider reductions.



- P.M. No new works for Adm<sup>y</sup>. w'out my consent.  
 {Enter W.S.M. and R.S.H.  
 Agreed { And all 2<sup>nd</sup> class categories to be reduced pro rata.  
 Alloc<sup>n</sup> Cttee to review { Target: Gleanings to be added to housing. 20.000  
 June/July. {
2. Coal: Release of Miners from H.M. Forces.
- M/L. Described means of increasing mining force by 10.000 vice 20.000  
 desired – as in Memo.
- P.J. The increase to 200.000 is what we will aim at – if things go well. Not  
 firm figure.  
 [Standstill will be only 6 wks.] Will depend on dec<sup>ns</sup> on extent of  
 redeployment.
- P.M. Redeployment. We must deploy as much as shipping can carry.
- P.J. Urgent need for decisions on scale of operations in Far/East.
- P.M. x/ Want a minimum of 300.000 from Germany & Italy: in first 3 months  
 or so: not all wd. be released, prs. 250.000.
- P.J. Can't be done.
- P.M. Why not – once enemy is disarmed. Will consider that on Def. Cttee.
- P.J. x/ wd. involve red<sup>n</sup> in scale of deployment v. Japan.  
 Problem wd. be reduced if Australian Divns. cd. go vice British.
- M/W. Agree with Memo.
- H.G. Situation (on increase of 10.000 only) will be serious – as in W.P. 262.  
 Will have to report to Cab. what effects wd. be.
- P.M. Add to para 9(a) of memo – increase to 275.000.
- A.S. No good putting a definite figure on it.  
 Diff<sup>y</sup> of finding men for Far East commitments.  
 9(a) – to maximum possible: target 250.000: exact figure to be  
 settled when scale of op<sup>ns</sup> in F/East worked out. (Figures =  
 Army only.
- P.J. Won't be possible on present assumpt<sup>ns</sup> re F/East. Not more than  
 150.000. Record.
- P.M. No delay in workg. out: but may be that figures may be modified in light

of F/East decisions.

[Exit M/Supply.

3. Housing: Temporary Houses in Open Spaces.

- M/H. Majority of Housing Cttee agree.  
Had thought it wd. be controversial. Don't think it will.
- P.M. No harm in this – if l.a. must initiate.  
Wd. not apply to R. Parks.
- M/H. 2.000 in London. Won't all be in Parks. Wd. hope to avoid commons.
- W. O.K. – protection = l.a. must apply.
- P.M. Allotments must give way to houses.
- M/L. Opposed it at first because risk to open spaces. As now restricted,  
don't object.
- M/H & M/W } Want Cab. authority to get the Bill quickly. U.S. houses, for example.  
T.C.P. }
- J.A. a) “Open space” definition won't do for the diff. purposes of this Bill.  
b) Don't exclude commons: but be careful about it.
- M/H. Agreed to consider – for Leg<sup>n</sup> Cttee.
- P.M. Projects under the Bill – cd. they go into H/C. Library.
- H.O. Safeguard there = T.C.P. certificate.  
Agreed. [Exit: M/H, T.C.P. and M/W.
4. Pork, Bacon and Eggs.
- M/Ag. Agreed with M/F. & M/W.T.
- P.J. 300.000 t. of shipping immed. after V(E) Day. May it be understood  
tht. this will not interfere with F/East cargo shipping requirements?
- L. Those requiremts. not yet defined.  
But still belief surplus/shipping in 3 months after V. day.
- W. Must maintain the supply after the 3 months.
- L. If we get in a gt. store in 3 mos. we can peddle it out.
- W. Want assurance.

L. 300.000 t. in '45 I believe I can do.

W. What of 1946?

L. Can't say. Hope it will be alright: but can't be committed yet.

M/Ag. Surely shipping situation shd. be appreciably better by end/46.

A.S. Sting in the tail. Immediate announcemt. will commit us before  
M/W.T. can commit himself!

L. I will manage '45. Pretty sure we shall be able to do a good deal in '46.  
Must make a start sometime on this.

P.J. U.S. C.O.S. are seekg. to establish over-riding priority for personnel  
shipping for F/East: & doubtless will extend that to cargo.

P.M. Won't agree to priorities w'out allocations.  
Agreed. [Exit: R.S.H. M/W.T.]

5. Control of Employment (Civil Servants) Order.

J.A. As in Memo.

H.G. My Dpt. 85% temp<sup>y</sup>. - need something. But this is one-sided: he has  
no appeal against dismissal.

J.A. But under D. Work Order you can get rid of redundant staff.

P.M. In favour of the Memo. - dirty civilians need have no consideration.

H.G. This goes up to 60. What of comparison with office-soldiers.  
Can we have same cond<sup>ns</sup> for temp. & permanent.

J.A. Will try to meet the hard cases. But fear a landslide.  
Must give the staff as a whole the impression of fair dealing.

W. For those of mil. age the case is quite clear.

P.J. W.O. & Adm<sup>y</sup> originally objected because we. have had to satisfy each  
establ<sup>mt</sup> that cond<sup>ns</sup>/ service were reasonable. That doesn't apply  
now. Don't therefore object.

H.O. Want it applied to permanent staff, too.

P.M. Steady percentage release: but right to prevent landslide.  
Be generous to the women – esp. the young ones.

- M/L. The Serv. Dpts. shd. constantly review the Womens' Services – with a view to rapid reductions.
- P.M. And release rate needn't correspond precisely with the men's. Wd.like a target. 3 months from V(E) day any who don't want to stay cd. go.
- P.J. That wdn't to at all. No hasty generalisation.
6. Transfer of Warships to Canada & Australia.
- J.A. Ships worth £11 m. requested as a loan. They may prefer to pay for these, rather than give us dollars.
- P.M. Australia - I defer to J.A.'s view.  
Point out deterioration in our financial pos<sup>n</sup> in rel<sup>n</sup> to theirs & suggest they might pay for the ships.
- PUCL D.O. want a free gift & recover: as in Memo.
- A.V.A. We would get more out of them that way.
- P.M. Here are ships: our fin. pos<sup>n</sup> makes it nec. for us to ask the equivalent in whatever way is most convenient.
7. Compulsory Military Service.
- P.M. Spoke in high commend<sup>n</sup> of para 8. of W.P. 242.
- M/L. Procedure. Our idea was for leaders to consult responsible people in Party, before an announcmt. made.  
Econ. side - with raising of school-age this wd. remove 3 age-groups from industry & commerce.  
Age: wd. like flexibility between 17½ and 22.  
All these implications shd. have bn. worked out before we consult our Parties.  
Background of national will before we announce.
- H.O. Risk of leak: but better than blank announcmt. followed by a row.
- P.M. Can't wait to work out details.
- M/L. Not of plan – but of implications.
- A.S. Govt. have agreed on principle of mil. courses for length of troubled times after the war.  
Is that what we consult about. Their reactions & sugg<sup>ns</sup>.

- M/L. Discuss the principle. Here are the facts tht. force us to it.  
Don't discuss the details.  
Believe we can carry them with us.  
What they will want to end is tht. all Parties shd. say the same.  
At Leeds I asked tht. Defence & Foreign Policy shd. be above Party  
Politics. Fan mail has bn. good on this.
- A.S. Popular in theory – diff. in practice.  
Negot<sup>n</sup> with my Party: best approach wd. be strong lead: we've decided.  
What do you say, what sugg<sup>ns</sup> have you to make.
- P.M. That is my instinct, too.
- H.O. But difft. methods for difft. Parties. For Labour Party that method of  
approach wd. invite diffy.
- P.M. Don't fear a leak: wdn't worry about that: fear a dusty answer.  
Agreed: defer for a few days decision on procedure.
8. Polish National Day.
- P.M. If it were a united Polish Day, good & well. But this London Govt. – no.
- R.L. Trouble in H/C. fr. Polish enthusiasts & a bit shabby.  
But certainly the Poles wd. make use of it if it went.  
On balance, I'm against going this year.  
Wonder if P.M. wd. issue a message to the Polish people.
- P.M. That wdn't be popular with any section.  
Think we shd. be rep<sup>d</sup> unless in the interval there has bn. a change in  
the Pol. Govt.  
Suggest M/State shd. go representing A.E. We recognise them until we  
can get a free Pol. Govt.
- J.A. & A.S. Indicated agreement.

Naval, Military & Air Operations.

Air and Naval Operations separately recorded.

Military.

W. Front.

Basle. – Stuttg. – Nurb. oppos<sup>n</sup>, esp. nr. last. But Sat/Sund.  
almost brk. thro'.

Fr. reached Bodensee & pushed down.

U.S. armour reached Danube Ulm. Bridge Dillingen

Line betwn ?Bayreuth & Chemitz straightened.

Leipzig nearly cleared. Hartz Mt. encirclemt. completed:

H.Q. G. 4<sup>th</sup> Army & 3 Corps Comms capt<sup>d</sup>.

Ruhr – Allied control by Wed. 17 Divns incl. 4 Pagero 32.000 p.o.w.

U.S. Divns freed.

U.S. 9<sup>th</sup> Re-groupg. & resistg c/attacks on Elbe b'head.

B.2<sup>nd</sup> Army. Rt. up to approaches Hamburg. Elbe reached nr. Luneburg.  
Defence too strong to get across easily. Others in s. suburb of H &  
Bremen. W. app. Bremen contested.

N.E. Holland clearance almost complete.

Canad. virtually sealed off W. Holland. Grebbe line.

Flooding. contrad. rpts. Only flooding seems wht. is necessary to prevent  
our further advance into Holland. No ev<sup>cc</sup> of “unnecessary”  
flooding.

Casualties 13.000 B. & Canad. 38.000 U.S. } since crossing

Prop<sup>n</sup> = same. } of Rhine.

P. of w. Over 1.000.000 }

Supplies to Holland: nothg. gone in yet: ready to move by ship.

We are standing on Grebbe line – don't feel we can do more in  
Holland w'out prejudice to op<sup>ns</sup> v. Bremen & Hamburg.

Russia.

Pockets of G. N.W. Königsberg & mouth Vistula & peninsula  
Hill. (Dansig)

16/4. Major offensive betwn. Frankfurt & Eberswalde. } G. Rpts.

17/4. Another betwn. Forst. & Gorlitz. }

R. maintg. unusually gt. security silence.

S of Stettin & b'heads over Oder but failed to exploit.

Due E./Berlin to 12 m. off City. Armoured drive to N. & in N. suburbs.

W'in 15m. Dresden. Main weight to Berlin from S.W.

N. of M. Ostrava advance.  
Moravia 5 m. off capital.  
N/E Wien. centre of oil ind. capt<sup>d</sup>. but no advance of Danube.

P.M. Chance of R. reachg. Lubeck first.

Nye. They will push there – qua limit their Zone. But Monty arranging to cross Elbe at Luneberg at earliest opp. to get across the peninsula.

Italy.

Heavy fightg. whole front. 20/21. genl. brk. thro'. Bologna entered sim. fr. both sides. Now threat to split the 2 G. Armies.

G. attempted to hold e. hinge south Ferrara. But reached that. Argenta capt<sup>d</sup> - the gap – fanned out to Ferrara & 2 miles of Bondino. E of Bol. slower progress. 13<sup>th</sup> Corps switched & pushed on to N/E 24 m. n.w. Bol. in outskirts of Modena. 46<sup>th</sup> Div. arrived & will be ready by end Apl. 25.000 p.o.w. 10.000 casualt. B & U.S. Moving up to seal crossings of Po. No. of G. Divns to W. may be cut off.

Both going well.

P.M. Brilliance of this victory – in spite of w'drawal of troops for a) Patch's Riviera attack b) 6 Divns w'drawn for Greece & W. Front. Army thus bled wd. have done well merely to hold the 170 m. line. G. superiority in numerical Divn<sup>l</sup>: Strength, if not numbers. V. diff. terrain. Now in the plain. Armour may be deployed. A v. polyglot Army. Hope press will take notice of this – even tho' eyes are focussed on Germany.

Proposing telegram of congrat<sup>n</sup> to Alex & Mark Clark.

B.B. W.O. hand-out won't do any good.

P.M. decl<sup>n</sup> wd. be better.

Burma.

Marked progress on both routes to Rangoon.

On W. moved twds. Magwe & further S. 8.000 Japs cut-off.

On E. opp<sup>n</sup> on road by-passed. airfield at Toungoo capt<sup>d</sup> 1 m. out of town. 175 m. n. of Rangoon. 20.000 J. in R. area.

Junction with coastal advance expected nr. Prome.

Black-Out.

P.M. Compliments to H.O. on the end of the Monster!

V - Weapons: Publicity.

[Enter Sandys.

B.B. C.O.S. first said wd. aid research. I said already in Press. C.O.S. now say omit M. ques. This is the plum of story. Public shd. know how near they were to disaster. Urge therefore publ<sup>n</sup> of Rpt.

P.M. What wd. public re-action be? Not all gratitude. Some wd. say why were we so far behind: did we not mis-manage. Not a v. good story tht. we didn't know how near we were to disaster until we capt<sup>d</sup> the sites.

B.B. R.A.F. exploit in brkg. factories.  
Govt. well informed of dangers – more than G. thought.  
Warning v. relaxing defences.  
Comfort in U.S. will be shaken – by knowg. what risks we ran.

D.S. We weren't ill-informed. Summer '43 we were on to it: & bombed as they grew.

P.M. Much we didn't know – until Army rescued us.

C.A.S. a) No obj<sup>n</sup> to handing out inform<sup>n</sup> so long as Rpt. itself not given.  
b) No offl. inform<sup>n</sup> about M. gun because other nations wd. accept it as accurate.  
c) No obj<sup>n</sup> to unoffl. inform<sup>n</sup> about the gun.

H.O. Cd. the gun fire at longer range?

C.A.S. Don't know.

P.M. No need to give anything the C.O.S. think dangerous.

H.O. Public wd. feel premature: nervous about somethg. else coming along.

B.B. M. gun: inform<sup>n</sup> known to B & U.S. newsp. Won't get more w'out official release.

C.A.S. We never wanted anythg. publ<sup>d</sup>: but if we put it out officially now it will be taken as official & accurate.

B.B. But correspondents were taken to see the sites at M.



- L.S.A. Supported B.B.
- J.A. Ques = merely of timing. Must be publicity in the end.
- H.O. Won't cheer Ldn. now. They will be moved to fear by somethg. else.
- B.B. That argument wd. have applied to V.1. film – wh. did much good in U.S.  
Want release mainly for benefit in U.S.  
Can we have a book prep<sup>d</sup> for publ<sup>n</sup> in 2 months' time covering the whole story.
- C.A.S. Our argument wd. be the same then. For what they are worth our security objns. wd. remain. To give chapter & verse on B. Govt. auth<sup>y</sup> will dispel any doubts others may feel about accuracy of inform<sup>n</sup> released.
- P.M. Put it in context of our havg. the antidote in the latest 12.000 t. bomb.  
Agreed: Prepare the book: W. Cab. to decide before publ<sup>n</sup>.  
C.O.S. to have discretion to soften anything technical.  
M/Inf. to prepare draft & submit to C.O.S.

[Enter Willink & B/T.  
Exeunt C.O.S.]

3. Housing. Bulk Orders & Production Agreements.

- D.S. Summarised memo.  
Specially nec. to facilitate use of p.o.w. labour – who cdn't be handed over for emplt. by l.a.'s.  
T.J. wants Scotland excluded fr. powers to build houses & prepare sites.  
Point out safeguards: M/W. cd. act only at request of S of S & with agreemt. of l.a. Leave in Bill pro.tem.  
2 year time limit.  
Rapid movemt. now: want Bill quickly.
- J.A. What figure?
- M/W Discussg. with Ty. Revolving fund £25 m.  
Shd. prs. extend to bldg. i.e. be expressed in terms of bldg, tho' wanted only for housing.
- H.O. a) This is only ancillary. Pity can't be done by D.R.  
b) Might be expedient to turn over R.oF's. Why shd. Bill preclude that?  
d) Why shd. Bill last only until 1947. Housing programme won't be finished.
- D.S. Brings it into line with other Housing leg<sup>n</sup>. e.g. subsidy. Cd. be extended together if necessary.

- P.M. In Parl. they will try to tack on other provisions.
- A.S. Don't favour applying it to Scotland v. advice of T.J. Extension of powers of M/W. might fan flame of Nationalism. Victory for critics if we tried it on & had to withdraw it.
- W. T.J. wants part not whole of the powers.
- M/H. T.J. obj<sup>n</sup> prob. based on earlier proposal without safeguards.
- D.S. No. He is still unsatisfied.  
But don't suggest it shd. go into H.C. Want it left in while I discuss with T.J.
- H.O. How defend omitting Scotland?
- P.M. If Sc. M.P.'s want to move her out, let them.  
Surprised tht. M/W. hasn't power to order components.
- M/L. Don't understand T.J. He takes advantage of purchase: but wants to contract out on erection. Is it diff. because of Sc. Housing Assoc<sup>n</sup>?
- D.S. But safeguards – only with agreement of T.J. etc.
- P.M. Let them contract out if they will – in the Debates.
- J.A. He doesn't want M/W. to have power to build on Scottish land. That is the point.
- H.O. b) above: power to produce as well as arrange for prod<sup>n</sup>.
- D.S. I will consider that. M/L. Supported: P.M. indicated favour.  
Agreed: M/W. to consider takg. that power.  
Agreed: T.J. to argue at Leg<sup>n</sup> Cttee.  
Exit. M/Works.
4. Supply of Equipment to Spain.
- R.L. Summ<sup>d</sup> memo.
- B/T. Dangers in going too far – political prejudice wh. cd. be aroused by Annex.
- M.A.P. Americans are doing it now.
- M/L. Why send them war material.

J.A. Because we have got it to spare.

P.M. Wd. prefer to revise the formula – as in nos on Memo.  
Why hurry with Miles Trainers?

J.A. Want to move back twds. our favourable trade balance with Spain.

M/L. Why yield all our democratic feelings to trade consid<sup>ns</sup>.

P.M. Why not ask U.S. what their policy is.

M.A.P. We know their practice.

A.V.A. In Spain & Sweden will get no change by enquiry.

P.M. F.O. shd. ask U.S. what view they take, so tht. we can pursue joint policy  
x/ indicating no view of our own save obj<sup>n</sup> to purely military supply.  
Worried about U.S. policy on Civil Aviation. Going fwd. with grasping  
efforts to get monopoly airfields – Persia, Rome, Athens. Shd.  
be reconsidered.

A.V.A. Method of approach from Spain: wd. we supply: if not, they wd. go to  
U.S.  
Agreed as at x/.

5. Policy towards Siam. [Enter. M.E.W.]

R.K.L. As in memo.  
M'while Siamese Minister was talking to U.S. in Washington on  
somewhat similar lines.  
U.S. suggested Cttee of Liberation vice Provl. Govt.  
A.E. opposed that because wd. show J. somethg. was going on.

P.M. No trouble with U.S. over Siam as over Indo-China? Only diff<sup>ce</sup> betwn.  
us is on timing.

R.K.L. No (not yet!)

P.M. What does MEW want?

S. In negot<sup>n</sup> with respectable people. Right wing.  
U.S. are more sloppy over Siamese. Finland of the East. Inclined to  
go too fast & take lead from us. If we do nothg. U.S. will go ahead.  
Thus I support A.E.'s proposals & urge early action.  
Agreed: as in Memo.

6. Future of Tangier.

P.M. No reason for Spain to have this accession of territory.

R.K.L. No. And prob. Spain won't expect to. This memo. sets out method to restore somethg. like pre-war internat<sup>l</sup> admin<sup>n</sup>. - Save a) shd. not be disarmed. b) U.S. to participate.  
Discuss with U.S.: then bring in French: then Spain. Quadri-partite occup<sup>n</sup>. Adm<sup>n</sup> by a Comm<sup>n</sup>.  
Agreed.

7. Andrew Rothstein: War Correspondent.

B.B. This offers futile facilities. Serv. Dpts want not to w'hold inform<sup>n</sup> from R. But in past (Dec. '40. Feb. '41. July '41) has bn. given various facilities to visit mil. installations.

H.O. Problem was as stated in Memo.  
R. was found<sup>n</sup> Member of B. Comm. Party. Tass is related to Soviet Govt.  
Our solution – as in memo – civil correspondent; & let D. worker have the same.  
B.B.'s point is irrelevant.

B.B. No comparison betwn. Tass & D Worker.

P.M. B.B.'s earlier argument doesn't appeal to me – since 40/41 we've had diff<sup>ies</sup> with others.

R.K.L. R. has bn. quite reliable in past. Wd. give him more.  
Wd. distinguish betwn. Tass & D. Worker.  
Under this scheme, civil comm<sup>ns</sup> wd. mean by letter.

P.J. Ample facilities now for civil. Altered since my earlier Memo.  
Agreed: as in Memo.

Ministers' Correspondence: Franking for Postage.

J.A. Return obt<sup>d</sup>. Ministers' constit. corr<sup>ce</sup> - practice varies. Not a good story.  
Income tax allowance for constituency work on part of sal. Ministers, as of Members.  
Will be raised on Adjournment. Can two Ministers go into this & report.

P.M. Simple: they shd. pay. They are men who can draw the line: & their word can be taken.

J.A. Driberg will raise it before Recess. Want Govt. to decide line of reply.

- P.M. Ministers pay save when corr<sup>ce</sup> arises from nature of Dpl. work.
- H.O. Supported sugg<sup>n</sup> for enquiry.
- J.A. Wd. prefer tht. Ministers shd. pay on all constituency correspondence:  
but then give Ministers same tax allowance as Mmembers.  
Need for a rule.  
Many concern Govt. policy – not merely policy of own Dpt.
- P.M. All personal letters – paid for.  
All conn<sup>d</sup> with Govt. bus. wh. wdn't have rec<sup>d</sup> if not a Minister – franked.

Poland.

- P.M. Whole series of telegrams on conversations with Molotov in W'ton are being printed.
- M/L. Regard Polish issue as crux of R. good faith?
- P.M. Crux of U.K. & U.S. good faith. Depend for much on U.S.: must keep in line.
- M/L. Will Truman stick to his line?
- M.A.P. How does "associate" translate into R. Might be weak. "Fully support".
- P.M. Not the end: ques. wtr. R. will show us any consid<sup>n</sup>.
- J.A. Bluff by Soviet?
- P.M. At least concentrating on small things to neglect of large.  
At Crimea no one wd. have thought this wd. happen.  
Public statemt. in U.S. tht. no agreemt: & now going to S. Francisco.
- M.A.P. Molotov is more obstinate than Stalin.
- P.M. Only hope now is a show-down.  
We've let U.S. take the lead throughout: we must so continue, strongly supporting them.
- H.O. What wd. be our defence of AE. statement tht. we can't open S. Fran. until Pol ques. settled.
- P.M. That pos<sup>n</sup> has bn. abandoned. They have all gone to S. Fran.

1. Standing down of Civil Defence Services.

- H.O. a) Partial – nos. or Regions. S.W. Midlands, Wales wd. be safe.  
But admin<sup>ve</sup> tasks of red<sup>n</sup> wd. be great & wd. involve retaining. Reg. staffs.
- b) Wholesale stand-down on C.O.S. advice.  
Wd. save money & man-power.  
Future of C.D. wd. have to be considered – cd. wait
- M/L. N.F.S. ?
- H.O. Diff. because of peace-time services. Are reducg. this: no ques. of stand-down for them.
- M/L. Cd. you not reduce quickly to Stage II level for N.F.S. Short of drivers, & able-bodied men for other work.
- H.O. Am reducg. steadily: can't go down quickly to Stage III levels.
- A.S. R.O.C. Vital part of A.D.G.B. If permanent members go, it will become operationally ineffective.
- H.O. If case for standing down C.D., is there any for R.O.C.?
- A.S. Want R.O.C. included with stand-down plan for C.D.  
But probably diffy. in retaining nucleus for reconstituting R.O.C. in emergency.  
Must also find other means of carrying out its function in relation to aircraft safety.  
Want therefore to work in with H.O. – includg. any announcement.
- M/L. Para 3. Cd. C.O.S. give us a report in a week?  
All told 100.000 includg. able-bodied & useful admin<sup>ve</sup> staffs. Want them quickly.
- H.O. Can I go ahead, with A.S., as soon as C.O.S. give the word.
- P.M. No need for C.O.S., is there?  
Let them meet to-day. We want to give the 2 months' notice at once, subject to their "Veto" - reported to me to-day.
- M/L. Shd. be reduction of V. points protection – factories etc.
- J.A. This is being taken up.

2. Legal Basis of Economic Control in Transition Period.

- H.O. Considered by R. Cttee: W. agrees & concurs in present<sup>n</sup> to Cab. Field for exercise of def. powers after end/European war will be narrower & Parlt. will want to review.  
Increasing use of Def. powers for peace – not war – purposes.  
Many things will have to be done, or undone, at short notice.  
Parlt. last June said shall want a statement before next time showg. what powers will be used after end/war. Europe.  
Must be told before August.  
Recommend frank statement of what we intend – new leg<sup>n</sup> - coupled with increased Parl<sup>y</sup> control i.e. over orders.  
Extent to wh. future Govt. uses these powers will be w'in control of Parlt. We shd. get the new powers through. A proper function of Coalition Govt.
- P.M. Leg<sup>n</sup> is permissive.
- W. Yes: but all that it does make must be laid. And orders too.
- B. New basis of control. See p.2. 1(1)(b) implies use in peace.  
P.M.'s statement applied only to end Jap/war.  
Bill also contradicts A.S. statement in '41 (P.M. auth<sup>y</sup>) tht. all emergency leg<sup>n</sup> affectg. liberty of subject will disappear.  
We can go on with existing Bill. Parlt. was restive only over security Regs.  
L.O. opinion tht. E.P.D.A. covers overcomg. the dislocation.  
Propose postponemt. until after end/Jap. war.  
26.6.44. R. Cttee: 4 Ministers favoured new leg<sup>n</sup>. Others (6) relied on existg. Acts.
- H.O. There was a later mtg.
- W. At R. Cttee we tried to recognise tht. shortages won't end with end/war = control will have to continue: we wanted to restore Parly. control over admin<sup>n</sup>.
- M.A.P. L.O. not definite that existg. Regs. cd. be used for transitional purposes.  
After last war Cts wdn't enforce some of them.  
Need for fresh Parly. sanction.
- B. Quoted from E.L.(44) 14. "dislocation".
- H.O. What about priorities for furniture, housing etc. How relate that to war?
- B. 9/10. R. Cttee. A.G.'s views.



- M.A.P. Letter from A.G. 11/10. "wd. like to see it given a run on the basis that it is intra vires."
- M/L. Convinced somethg. must be done – not sure about form.  
Met bldg. trade – dilution accepted at cost of specl. agreemt. for house-bldg. for 2 years.  
But under what power can I do it?  
What about a National Recovery Bill, to cover that period only.
- W. Doesn't this Bill do it?
- M.A.P. Impossible to re-enact under new Bill. Need to carry on all the stuff which exists now. – or some of it, which is requ<sup>d</sup>.  
Better to put that to Parl. & get fresh sanction than hope courts won't challenge cont<sup>d</sup> use of Defence Acts.
- P.M. Don't see how it fits politically. Conservatives wdn't like it. Labour wd. want more. But prs. answer to this is permissive character of the Bill.  
Demand for abrogation of controls – can be met by progressive relaxations. Cons. wd. want to do that.  
Can't tell what other controls we may need after war. Situation less susceptible to forecast than was first 2 years of this war.  
Dreadful conditions likely in Europe.
- B.B. Another aspect – many people believe controls will hinder recovery.  
Shd. W.S.C. be identified with this?
- H.O. Cons. Govt. cd. say we are not comm<sup>d</sup> to extent of using these powers.
- B. You cd. go on with Def. Acts. Rationing, for example.
- P.M. For housing I wd. advocate v. extreme Govt. measures.  
And why not clear a slum area at the same time.  
  
Pass the preamble.  
Next week consider the text.

Stockholm Telegram.

- P.M. Must tell Stalin statim.  
Nothg. but simult. surrender on all fronts to all Powers.  
Only ques: shd. we delay for a few hours to consult U.S. Think not:  
inform U.S. & Soviet simultaneously. But I cd. telephone to  
Truman: telling him we're bound by separate Treaty with R. not to  
make separate peace.  
This is too big for Ike.  
What's needed is for Himmler to tell all G. to surrender to local  
commanders, & be treated as p.o.w.  
To whom do they surrender in Norway? To local resistance movment.  
In Denmark to the Danes. "to representatives of N. Govt."
- M/L. N. Govt, have some rep<sup>res</sup> in N.
- P.M. Too far: easier to fly someone over from here.  
Genl. agreemt: fly people over rather than risk surrender to Quisling  
Mayors.  
We shd. send someone too - & to Denmark.  
Read draft telegram to Stalin.
- J.A. ? Add: nothg. to prevent any mil. form<sup>n</sup> from surrendering at any time.  
this is an approach from a central auth<sup>y</sup>. Must therefore deal with  
3 Major Allies.
- P.M. Will say this to Truman.
- C.A.S. May Eisenhower be told? Wd. P.M. invite Truman's concurrence in our  
telling him?
- P.M. Will tell him.
- C.A.S. Wd. U.S. C.O.S. accept Himmler's offer – or advise U.S. Govt. to that  
effect. Wd. you then be in diff<sup>ies</sup> with Truman for having sent this  
message at once to U.J.
- P.M. The R. wd. certainly regard that as bad faith. We are pledged to R. not  
to negotiate separate Armistice.
- J.A. Points to be worked out e.g. surrender of G. navies etc.? & forces in  
Norway, Denmark, Yugoslavia, Italy etc.

At this point P.M. spoke to Eisenhower on telephone (from the Cab. mtg.) - read out to him the telegram from Stockholm and P.M.'s message to Stalin. Explained that Himmler was representg. G. State - thus a matter for Govts. not for Eisenhower. E. agreed: a matter for Govts. P.M. agreed to have it read to E. at dictation speed.

P.M. W.O. to fly copy over to Monty. (for his own inform<sup>n</sup> & keep it dark) – for the knowledge might affect his plans.

P.M. “Nothg. in above teleg. shd. affect release of our orations on the link-up.” To be added to telegram.

W.M. 53(45).

27<sup>th</sup> April, 1945.

Stockholm Message.

P.M. Message from Stalin. V. satisfactory. F.O. have sent inst<sup>ns</sup> to Stockholm.

Zones of Occupation.

P.M. Read Telegram No. 18 of 27/4 to Truman.

France.

P.M. Have telegraphed to de Gaulle may congrat<sup>ns</sup> on capture of Ulm.  
And have received a v. flattering reply.

Poland.

P.M. Have prepared reply to Stalin's last telegram.

B. Believe you can get agreement with R. on Poland on basis of S. last telegram.

Crossword.

P.M. Great progress of Italian campaign.  
King/Belgians arrived in Switz. O.S. not confirmed yet.

Poland.

R.L. Alan Graham M.P. came to see me about P. underground leaders.  
R. capt<sup>d</sup> P. underground leader = forcing him to make bogus confession  
tht. worked v. R.  
Proposed ques. had no confidence in Pol. Underground Army.  
Said Tash wdn't accept it.

P.M. We certainly won't vouch for it. [Exit. O. Sargent

V. Day Celebrations.

H.O. On declaration of end of resistance basis – diff<sup>sies</sup> are v. gt. And public opinion is swinging against. My memo. is on that basis. Against celebration: diff<sup>y</sup> being agreemts of M/S & G.P.O. on holidays.  
A Rest via celebration.  
But now, Himmler approach. Genl. surrender. Day of celebration more suitable. Shd. we damp down & control it?

P.M. You can't control it. Don't try.

Let us agree to meet & decide when to loose it off.

- B. There will be a newspaper holiday. T.U.'s won't work.
- H.O. Pay – pensions – food etc. Some control over it must be retained.
- P.M. Minimum to sustain essential services with compensatg. holiday thereafter.
- E.E.B. Want to know what conception is – so that we can plan.
- R.L. Dom. Govts are anxious tht. they shd. be able to announce V. Day: and not merely get it on a b'cast from here.

W.M. 54(45).

27<sup>th</sup> April, 1945.  
6.30 p.m.

T.U.C. Representation at San Francisco.

- P.M. Looks as tho' L.P. is not disposed to give way.  
If this is conceded, a) where do we stop – e.g. reparations,  
dismemberment etc.  
b) how can they advise unless given full inform<sup>n</sup>.
- M/L. These Conf<sup>ces</sup> are for Govts., who must be responsible.
- H.O. Endorsed this view – esp. in view of threat in penultimate para.
- M/L. Mustn't give way to Citrine.
- P.M. Say War Cab. has held special mtg. & adhere to earlier decision. 28/3.  
Willing to listen to his rep<sup>ns</sup> & consider sugg<sup>ns</sup>.

Agreed.

1. Naval, Military & Air Operations.  
Air and Naval Operations separately recorded.

Military.

- C.I.G.S. Genl. advance Oldenburg. Bremen capt<sup>d</sup> & progress e. of it to Hamburg.  
S/E. Hamburg. Elbe crossed Lanenburg – going well. Another 1. a.m today at Bleckaed: by new U.S. Corps: to be directed on Schwerin. & Wismar.  
On left of this B. 2<sup>nd</sup> Army will go direct to Lubeck. Shd. get there before Russians do.  
Junction at Torgau. also N. & s. of it.  
S. American advance to Linz. W'in 30 m. of Linz. n.e. Passau.
- P.M.. Patton stopped (by his orders?) on frontier of Austria? Statement reported.
- C.I.G.S Movemt. e. into Prague dir<sup>n</sup> is difficult. Strategy therefore is to head S. to Linz.  
No reason to believe he will stop at Austrian frontier.  
Will enquire wtr. any such order given.  
Fighting in outskirts Munich.  
Fr. along Swiss fr. along Bodensa. U.S. establ<sup>d</sup> Swiss frontier S. of Kempten
- Italy.
- G. cut in two. N.W. & N.E. By advance to Verona & L. Garda.  
At frontier nr. Como.  
Main resistance on E. flank, where B. Army were.  
W. from Genoa to Alessandria. (U.S negroes)  
N/E. N.Z. Divn – reached R. Piave.  
News rpt. Yugoslavs from Istria into Trieste. V. Unfortunate if true.  
Alex. will, however, push on to Trieste – less than 90 m. to go.  
Centre over Brenner to Innsbruck. W. light forces to clean up.
- P.M. Surrender 2.p.m. on NAF 935. Extent of Austrian area controlled by this G. Army.  
Developing situation.  
R. I believe will soon be claiming all Austria. No right to appoint this Govt. in Wien. They are in full occup<sup>n</sup> of Wien & won't give the other Allies a fair share there.  
V. serious situation. Asked Truman to join in another rep<sup>n</sup> to U.J. Most

important therefore tht. we shd. get in quickly to Austria: U.S. shd. press on to Linz. We must get on equal terms in Wien & in Austria as a whole.

x/ Had hoped Alex. wd. have amphibious exped<sup>n</sup> ready for Trieste. Truman at one with me: but Staff telegram unsatisf. because assumed R. wd. first be asked to agree to Trieste plan. Have protested r. that. Italian claims to N. Adriatic shd. be discussed at Peace Conf<sup>ce</sup> - & not prejudiced by mil. movemts. No oblig<sup>n</sup> to discuss with R. mil. movemts. w'in theatres assigned to us.

C.I.G.S On x/ Alex didn't intend amphibious simultaneously with these land operations. Now he can get there faster by land.

P.M. Wd. prefer both. Important tht. even if Yugoslavs are there in bands, Alex. shd. get an organised force there & claim command as w'in his theatre and as havg. larger force. Remember, too, tht. there are pro-German guerrillas round there – it may be they who have reached Trieste. Spoke on magnitude of Alexander's achievement- bearing particularly in mind his loss of many Divns. to other theatres. This will be incomparably greater than any surrender in this war. Possibly 300/350.000 men. Opens the S. door into the Redoubt.

Stockholm Message.

O.S. Himmler had our reply 24 hrs. Bernadotte gone to Germany. But not heard that he has returned.

P.M. Goering. Hitler in Berlin. 24/4 Goering, in S., thought moment had come to assume control because cdn't establ. contact with Hitler. He asked Himmler: & Berlin. Hitler said he was traitor: Goering then wrote a crawling letter of withdrawal. Reply to that was prev. good service saved him from death but he cd. resign on sickness. Has done so: & is now under arrest.

O.S. Submitted draft for joint message to U.J. on Austria. [Approved.]

Military Operations. (contd.)

Russia.

W. Stettin – Neubrandenburg: Neustrelitz.  
Berlin holding out.  
Progress N.E. of Wien & Ostrava gap.



Burma

Reached Pegu – 40 m. off Rangoon. i.e. large move south from  
Toungoo.

N.W. line reached Allammyo. i.e. South of Magwe.

2. Civil Defence: Disbandment.

H.O. Going ahead at once with arrangements to disband Civil Defence.  
2 months' notice to whole-time personnel.

[Exeunt C.O.S. & O. Sargent  
Enter M/H.

3. Pay of Nursing Officers.

J.A. V. small sum involved. But awkward repercussions.  
Service Ministers say they are pledged. On the other hand, advantages of  
Rushcliffe scales.  
Cannot first assimilate them to civilian rates & thereafter give them  
Service increments. Wd. be diff. to resist continuing demand from  
civil nurses to same addition.

P.M. Remit to arbitration by M.A.P.? Wd. J.A. agree?

J.A. Yes.

P.M. M.A.P. will also consider repercussions.  
Agreed: M.A.P. to arbitrate: no precedent.

[Enter: Norfolk. P.M.G.  
Two Whips. M/Works.  
[Exit: M/Health.

4. State Opening of Parliament.

P.M. Summarised main features of the Opening Ceremony.  
Wd. like to re-introduce ceremonial.  
If we lend our present Chamber, where can we assemble?

Ch. Whip. R. Prerog. will be involved if H/C. move from H/L. Chamber.  
The Chamber will have to be re-lent.

N. "Ceremonial will be the same" J.A. said. But there wd. be differences in dress.  
Not all can be glorious.

P.M.G. Members P.O. – a use for St. Stephens' Hall, not for one day only,

but as a permanent arrangement.

- P.M. This doesn't interfere with that, does it?  
You cd. remove your hut for the week-end.
- M/W. Want some other arrangemt. for P.O. – to avoid that hut remaining  
there for whole time until H/C. is re-built.  
Cd. take it away & find some other place.
- P.M. At worst, the old Inner Lobby cd. be used while H/C. being rebuilt.
- P.M.G. Hopeless for working cond<sup>ns</sup> for the staff.
- M/W. Also wd. be full of workmen.
- P.M. This mustn't stand in way of restoring the ceremonial.
- Ch. Whip. Select Cttee?
- P.M. If War Cab. agree, I'm ready to go ahead with this.  
Agreed: { P.O. at worst can be pulled down & put up again.  
{ But other solutions to be sought.
5. Ceremonial Declaration of Peace.
- P.M. War wasn't declared by King's-at-Arms.  
Procl<sup>n</sup> was read on M. House steps by City Swordbearer.  
1914/18. O-in-C. proclaiming peace was declared by Officers of Arms.  
5 open carriages: with escort of H'hold Cavalry. They won't  
be available: but Commr/Police cd. turn out escort on 3 days'  
notice.  
No action is necessary at present.
6. Travel to Belgium by M.P.'s.
- R.K.L. Hope on announcemt. he will say, not only are hotels out of ques., but  
Ambassador can't put them up.
- H.O. Will consider that.

W.M. 57(45).

3<sup>rd</sup> May, 1945.

1. Lebanon.

- P.M. Trouble because de G. wishes to send warship to take one batt<sup>n</sup> in & two out of Lebanon.  
Can't stop first lot going in: object to re-inforcement.  
Situation changed: no need now to use Lebanon as training ground for B. troops in Italy.  
We shd. now urge Fr. to conclude Treaty with Syrian Govt. after wh. we will withdraw our troops if Treaty provides for 'w' drawal of Fr. troops. Meanwhile wd. it not be wiser to avoid sending in troops.
- P.J. Arrangemts. in train to w'draw combatant troops – admin<sup>ve</sup> troops will take longer – but Fr. haven't bn. told.
- P.M. V. well. I mean to tell them. Their attitude determined by fear we are going to stay.  
x/ First want mtg. with C.O.S. + O.L., M.A.P., P.J.G. to review pos<sup>n</sup> in light of changed situation.
- M.A.P. Say at same time D.L./de G. agreement is at end.  
[Agreed. at x/

War Crimes.

- S. I prepared a statement of obj<sup>ns</sup> to trial procedure.  
Gave it to Cadogan. But see his later views as at Annex C.  
Esp. para. 2 & 3.  
Situation has changed: if we can't agree on procedure for leaders, let us get agreed procedure for the others. The leaders are being liquidated anyhow.
- P.M. Cd. you negotiate with e.g. Himmler & bump him off later.
- H.O. Quite entitled to do so. And trouble if he isn't – Head of Gestapo.
- P.J. Buchenwald is not a war crime.
- P.M. Don't quibble: he cd. be summarily shot, in respect of some of those in the camp.
- P.J. Diff. to ask mil. courts to try crimes primarily v. Germans.
- R.K.L. 3 types a) war criminals for industrial Govts to deal with

- b) intermediate – Belsen Commandant: heads of Gestapo etc.  
 Rosenman's idea: membership of crim. conspiracy.  
 Main diffy. there = intol. burden on occupying auth<sup>y</sup>:  
 also (P.J.: crimes v. Germans).  
 Propose A.E. { shd. favour provided administratively  
 { practicable.  
 { U.S. to work it out, as they suggested it.
- c) Criminals with no geographical location – de facto the  
 leaders.  
 U.S. & Russians both intent on trials. We have argued &  
 make them change their minds. Prefer not to say: most  
 of the leaders have gone: put the rest into a) or b). May  
 be competitive claims by diff. countries to same man:  
 but procedure cd. be devised to handle choice betwn.  
 competitors.  
 6 out of 8 Italians in our list have gone.

- M.A.P. No reason why you shdn't bring them all into the conspiracy issue  
 under (b).
- H.O. Wd. it help with U.S. to run the arraignment idea?
- A.G. Tried: but no effect.
- M.A.P. Sugg<sup>d</sup> to Smuts arraignment + right of written reply only, with no later  
 hearing.
- S. That really moves further away from U.S. preference for trial.
- R.K.L. Handed in draft.
- P.M. Don't make a big fight with U.S. & R. on this. We are in weak pos<sup>n</sup>. Say  
 2) if that is their view, we won't oppose in principle: provided before  
 giving our final assent they put it in concrete terms.  
 1) Position changed by liquid<sup>n</sup> of so many of the leaders.  
 3) Class (a) above can be dealt with.
- M.A.P. More for a single trial of the lot on conspiracy basis.
- M/L. Put MAP. point interrogatively?
- W. Leave it to them.
- R.K.L. A hint wd. get them moving that way.
- P.M. I wd. rather see their plan. Don't want to put them off.

- S. Remind AE. of previous W. Cab. decisions. a) no treaty b) mil. courts.  
But on c) major criminals: situation changed: but tho' we see diff<sup>ies</sup>  
don't resist their views.
- P.M. x/ Willing to add – fewer trials the better.  
4) Misc. war criminals in Germany – mil. courts : agreed subject to  
to solution of admin<sup>ve</sup> diff<sup>ies</sup>.  
Belsen etc., - tried by mil. courts when directions given by Allied Powers  
to give them jurisdiction.
- M.A.P. In lieu of mixed mil. ct., prefer the mil. ct. of the Power in occupation  
of the Zone.
- P.M. The mil. ct. – sweeping up remainder.  
Fed from various sources –  
a) ordin. war criminal  
b) selected members from condemned categories. e.g. Gestapo –  
who can't be handed to a particular country to deal with.  
On this inst<sup>ns</sup> will have to be worked out for mil. courts.  
The internat<sup>l</sup> court wd. only deal with the few leaders in the various  
categories.
- P.J. Procedure for mil. courts. Changes - B. mil. courts  
a) relax rules of ev<sup>ce</sup> e.g. admit hearsay.  
b) nos. to concur in death sentence.  
c) new penalties: flogging, confiscation.
- P.M. Put that to Cab. Ministers who've bn. dealing with these ques.  
S., M.A.P., A.G. [Agreed.]

1. Registration of Building Workers.

- M/L. Those who have drifted into other trades & aren't reg<sup>d</sup> on cards as bldg. workers.  
Dangerous: but now V. Day nearer safe to do it: & public recog<sup>n</sup> of import<sup>cc</sup> of bldg.  
Ask for approval for reg<sup>n</sup> - in hope of 200.000 being raised. Only 90.000 found so far under designation.
- A.S. One diffy. for Services. Class A releases free to seek empl. during furlough & to remain in it if found. Will they be exempt from reg<sup>n</sup>?
- M/L. Yes: because their trade known they needn't be reg<sup>d</sup>. And I shall do it before releases begin. Don't interfere with released men.
- O.L. Some machinery for consult<sup>n</sup> in special cases before w'drawal.
- M/L. Yes: but doesn't arise on reg<sup>n</sup>.
- W. Supported a) practical grounds b) political effect showg. drive.  
Agreed.

2. Legal Basis of Economic Control in Transition.

- O.L. & J.A. Prefer to omit Preamble.
- H.O. Agreed to omit.

3. Lebanon.

- O.S. Amendmt. to para 4: shd. be add<sup>n</sup> not substitution.
- P.M. C.O.S. suggest omitting both arguments.  
Agreed in principle: O.S. amendment to be brought in, instead of [ ].

4. Denmark.

- O.S. Reports of R. dropping reconn. groups by parachutes in Denmark.  
(S.E. Zeeland)
- P.M. Telegraph at once to Truman: This wd. affect all U.S. lines of comm<sup>n</sup>.  
Spoke to Eisenhower on 'phone.

2. Legal Basis of Economic Control in Transition.

- P.M. Much impressed by last mtg's discussion. Don't see what harm will occur.
- H.O. Objects: a) enable D.R. to be used for economic purposes of transition.  
b) increase Parly. safeguards.  
Life of 2 years only: subject to renewal by affirmative procedure in Parlt.
- W. Puts the powers beyond challenge in Parlt. or etc. Also (b).
- J.A. Puts us beyond criticism that we are using powers for purposes never intended.
- H.O. Wd. like P.M.'s name on the back of Bill.  
Agreed, to omit preamble: otherwise agreed in principle.  
[ Exit Law. Sargent

5. Burma.

- L.S.A. Short Bill before 10/6 requ<sup>d</sup> to carry on S.13g of Burma Act: for 3 years: to be reviewed by Parlt. later: may be shorter or longer.  
When direct rule ends, Burmese can discuss future constitution & confer with us on Treaty required fr cont<sup>d</sup> help etc. Then, subject to Treaty, they wd. enter into full self-Govt. w'in B. Commonwealth.  
(In reply to P.M.) normal tenure of Govr. wd. end in June '46: prob. shd. be renewed.
- S. Cttee. are unanimous.
- L.S.A. Publish statement in W. Paper: & publish that & the Bill before Whitsum. (7-10 days)  
(In reply) Burmans are welcoming us: & B. Nat. Army now fighting on our side.  
Leg<sup>n</sup>: S.13g must be renewed by 10/6. Must have it quickly.
- J.A. No reason to expect any controversy on this.
- S. Statement of policy. Don't like first sentence because of way it cd. be used re India.  
Not "establish" – say "use their best endeavours to promote".
- I.S.A. Amendmts to be communicated to L.S.A.  
Print of White Paper to come to Cabinet after disc<sup>n</sup> with India Cttee.  
[Enter E. Brown, Ch. Whip & Whiteley.
- I.S.A. Bill cd. start in H/Lords,

P.M. Invited Ch. Whip to see that Bill passed.

6. Electoral Reform.

(a) Expenses of Candidates.

H.O. Rpted. results of conference. Clear tht., far from wanting more, they wanted less than my proposed addl. 25%.

Ch. Whip. Was present as mtg. Majority were not anxious for increase. Feeling is that no case for changing recomm<sup>ns</sup> of Spkrs Conference, tho' a number wd. prefer the 25% increase.

P.M. Let us stand on the 25%.

H.O. Not now you've had this consult<sup>n</sup>. Propose as in Spkrs. Conf<sup>ce</sup>: let Parlt. opinion express itself.  
Or if you prefer put it at 15% and stand firm.  
Decision suspended.

(b) Use of Schools.

(c) Expenses by unauthorised persons.

(d) Employment of speakers – payment of expenses.

H.O. Now propose to postpone legislation on this.

(e) Venial Errors.

P.M. Not essential to the holding of an Election.  
Diff. to pass all this stuff in time.

H.O. Bill cd. not be passed in time for election earlier than October election.

M/L. Cd. we approve in principle; and get the timing decided later.

E. Br. On 3<sup>rd</sup> Memo. if Oct. election assumed unnecessary to do this v. unfair thing.

P.M. Proceed with drafting: but no commitment of principle.  
[Exit Simon.

7. General Election: Paper.

Agreed, as in memo. from J.A.



8. General Election: Service Voters: Burma.

H.O. Made report tht. Service men in Burma cannot vote.

P.M. Let me have it in writing.

9. V. Day: Celebrations.

P.M. Read letter from Speaker.

If House is sitting – wd. like spontaneous Service.

x/ If House isn't sitting on ordinary wk.end adjournment – wd. not propose to summon them back. On the first sitting day thereafter wd. have Service: & pre-arranged Service with wives wd. be feasible.

Ch. Whip. Church auth<sup>ies</sup> don't want Service after 6.p.m.

On x/ Agreed to reverse previous Cab. decision.

W. Lords propose to fix a day in advance.

Victory in Europe: Celebrations.

- P.M. E. proposed y'day announce 3.p.m. 8/5. I telegraphed to T. & U.J. – synchronised times.  
U.J. accepted. But before then E. said c'dn't be held until then. I then sugg<sup>d</sup> 6.p.m. to-day. T. replied via Leahy indicating c'dn't agree unless U.J. did – even tho' I pointed out that G. had released it. At one min. before 6.p.m. message from Leahy tht. U.J. wdn't agree to departure from 3p.m. 8/5. T. then said he wd. not release in U.S.A. even if we did.  
C.O.S. had released all details. And on B.B.C. at 6 p.m. Decided to cancel at last minute to save snarl from U.J. Will therefore postpone until 3 p.m. 8/5. Hope War Cab. will agree.
- M/L. Workpeople?
- P.M. Cd. we say announcement at 3 p.m. - & no need to go to work. Meanwhile to-morrow will count as first of 2 V. Day hols. & no work will start.  
Govt. don't feel justified in calling on workers to go in.  
By virtue of an announcem. to be made offly. at 3 p.m. to-morrow.  
a/ "It is understood tht. in acc. with an arrangem. between 3 Gt Powers an offl. announcem. will be b'cast by P.M. at 3 o'clock on Tuesday p.m. 8/5 in pursuance of agreemt. betwn. 3 Gt. Powers. In view of this fact to-morrow Tues: will be treated as V. in Europe Day & will be regarded as a holiday. The day following will also ....." Agreed on genl. lines of draft in question.
- R.K.L. May we tell French – for de G. is preparg. to B'cast to-night. Agreed.
- B.B. Make the statement to Parlt. first.
- M.A.P. 2.45 in H/C.
- P.M. Then what of the Service?
- B.B. Can't do it earlier than 3 p.m.
- P.M. B'cast first: then go over to Parlt. & make a statement.  
/ Message brght. in: de G. insists on makg. it at 8 p.m. to-night. H.M. will thereafter want to see Cab & C.O.S. – Press can leak that a.m. Press.

B. H.M. to b'cast at 9 p.m. Leak that to Press also.

P.M. Leave it until I speak at 3 p.m. Tues.

Later: Add "H.M. King will b'cast to his Peoples of B. Emp  
to a/ & Comm. to-morrow Tuesday at 9 p.m."

Add. "Parlt. will meet at usual hour to-morrow."

Thanksgiving Service St Pauls.

H.O. V. rep<sup>ve</sup> collection. Will fill the Cathedral. M.P.'s shd. be in  
constituencies.

P.M. Will be angry if you keep them out.  
Must give them an offer.

H.O. Tickets ready: diff. to exclude any of the others.  
Consider space for limited no. e.g. 100 places.

Parliamentary Services

P.M. Announce to-night – so that Members will be prepared.

Parliament. Foreign Affairs Questions. - No discussion.

W.M. 60(45).

13<sup>th</sup> May, 1945.

Venezia Giulia.

- P.M. Event: Truman's message: apparent intent<sup>n</sup> to see things thro': sent after consult<sup>n</sup> U.S. C.O.S.  
Firm front to Tito may see this thro' w'out direct affront to R.  
Was worried at Alex. dispos<sup>n</sup> to take humbler line – nec. in view of uncertainty re. U.S. but situation entirely changed by T.'s telegram.  
Referred to own telegram of 11/5 on Poland.  
Also to telegram on general diff<sup>ies</sup> in Europe - & prob. intentions of Russia. Pos<sup>n</sup> when Anglo-American Armies reduced.  
Read Truman's telegram No 34. Then earlier telegram of 30/4 – the tone of that had been worrying: but all wiped out in No. 34.  
Shows that T. is ready to change his mind if facts warrant it.  
We can feel secure, if U.S. come along – as they now will.  
Firm stand now will avoid a long course of appeasement.  
Read Washington telegram No. 3296 of 12/5.
- R.K.L. Br. Press want a line on this. - Agreed R.K.L. to see dipl. correspondents.  
BBC. statement Sat. p.m. re B/Yugosl. troops in Trieste - sugg<sup>d</sup> impending trouble.  
Our Amb. instructed.
- O.S. Nothing said to Stalin. Now or after comm<sup>n</sup> made to Yugoslavs.  
Vital that Stalin shd. be told by us not Tito.
- P.M. Will send short telegram to Stalin (F.O. to draft).  
This shd. include the text of the comm<sup>n</sup> to Y. Govt.: also background of policy.
- O.S. Haven't got exact final text.
- P.M. Ask our Amb. to let us know if possible before he delivers the note.  
Let Truman see what we are sendg. to U.J.  
War Cabinet endorsed action taken by P.M.
- C.I.G.S. a) If it came to mil. op<sup>ns</sup>, we shd. have to put it carefully to our troops.  
Turning against an Ally at end/war.  
b) Consent from N. Zealand & S. Africa?
- P.M. Have sent the whole story to Prime Minister Fraser.  
Tell A.E. to inform Smuts. – too late. I will telegraph to Smuts.

Law will concert all this & cover in any gaps.

C.I.G.S. c) Shall have to stop re-deployment for a time: may affect SEA. oper<sup>ms</sup>.

P.M. May affect the proposed red<sup>n</sup> of 3 mos. to 6 wks. for demob<sup>n</sup>. But don't believe it will come to fighting.

Germany – Military Government.

P.M. Asked for - & received from J.A. & E.B. – assurance that it is not our policy to insist on direct Govt. by Allied auth<sup>ies</sup>; and that we shd. leave as much responsibility, and exposure to criticism, as possible to Germans.

Laval.

O.S. The Spanish now want us to take him in B. ship from Barcelona to Marseilles.

P.M. Not our business: leave ~Franco in his diff<sup>ies</sup>.

Demobilisation.

M/L. Premature disclosures in Press of date (18/6) & size of early demobilisation.

1. Naval, Military & Air Operations.  
Air & Naval separately noted.

Military.

C.I.G.S. Final map of Europe.  
halvia salient liquidated.  
Island of Bornholm occupied by R. Danes sending troops in.  
Breslau capitulated. Link up in Czecho. nearly completed.  
In N. & S. Austria contacts also made.  
N. Yugoslavia – situation somewhat obscure.  
B. up to Danish frontier. Holland wholly cleared.  
Assumg. coal, de-flooding shd. be completed by end/year except  
Walcheren. Spring saving will be pracl. - normal by '47. Food  
sit<sup>n</sup> better than expected.  
Supplies flowing in v. fast.

P.J. 60 days food was much more than Dutch underground expected. They  
have oversung their food shortage.

C.I.G.S. 180.000 p.of w. (101.976. to Shaef reported) 163.000 recovered.  
Rep<sup>d</sup> 97.471. B. Commonw. prisoners.

Burma.

Rangoon front – minor advances eastwd.  
In Irrawaddy – large advance from Prome – recon to L.....tan.  
Prome – Toungoo joining up is progressing.

2. Conference of U.N.N.R.A. Council.

R.K.L. Invitations to issue not later than Tuesd. What to do re Poland.  
Clear no invit<sup>n</sup> to Lublin Poles: Agreed.  
Ques: shd. he invite Ldn. Poles or follow San Fr. precedent & invite  
none.

P.M. Can't ask any.

R.K.L. The Ldn. Poles are now members of the UNRRA Council.

P.M. But if Ldn Poles invited Russians wdn't come.

R.K.L. The U.S. favour inviting none. But v. near to de-recognising them.

There are Cttees. sitting all the time: London Poles & Russians are sitting on them!

P.M. Postpone until AE returns – with implication tht. UNNRA  
x/ Council mtg. will be postponed. Two weeks' delay for each.

M/L. No decision wd. mean machine wd. work automatically & Poles wd. be invited.  
Why shd we intervene?  
Agreed: as at x/.

3. Germany. Civil Government.

P.M. Can't attempt direct Govt.

J.A. etc. No one has ever suggested we shd. try.

P.M. Disbelieved apparently what he was told.  
Demanded figures from W.O., in 12 groups, of civil administrators to be despatched by W.O. to Germany.

[Enter O. Stanley  
Exit O. Sargent.

4. International Aspects of Colonial Policy.

O.S. No prev. disc<sup>ns</sup> in Washington.  
Then at San Fran. U.S. put in a memo. So did we. Then a week's talk to find a working text.  
Cranb. is in diff<sup>y</sup> - he can expect v. little support in this Cttee.  
Even if all grt. Powers agree to this text, any of them will be free to move amendmts in Cttee.  
Caution needed therefore in makg. concessions as it isn't final text.  
Main diff<sup>y</sup> arises from trying to cover in one document 3 diff<sup>t</sup>. cases:-  
a) existing Mandates  
b) new Mandates: no one need take over unless they accept cond<sup>ns</sup> with stated rights  
c) "placed under" cases: no one need do it .. .. .  
One main & oblig<sup>ns</sup> point = distinction betwn. strategic & other areas =  
U.S. device for securing mandates for all save themselves. Agreed at outset tht. Cr. shd. oppose that because U.S. wd. be left with no incentives to make mandate system work.

P.M. Why not put off decision for 6 months?

O.S. I was against talking about this at all. But now U.S. have insisted on discussg. it: talks have proceeded for 3 wks.

M.A.P. All we want to ensure is tht. it doesn't apply to existg Mandates.

Re-draft para. 5. to make it clear existg mandates excluded.  
Then we needn't bother what they do with the rest.

- P.M. x/ Leave C.O., M.A.P. & Cherwell to settle: submit draft to P.M.  
{ Don't oppose U.S. wish to take territories they have acquired  
{ fr. Japan.  
{ We don't object to their taking. We give nothing.  
x/ Agreed: C.O. to draft telegram in consult<sup>n</sup> with M.A.P. & Cherwell.  
If L/N. ceases as mandate comm<sup>n</sup> those administering carry on until a new body is constituted: & then we will discuss with it what modifications in mandate systems are required: no alteration w'out consult<sup>n</sup>. i.e. method of postponing for 12 months.
- C.I.G.S. "Strategic area" Our diff<sup>y</sup> is saying "against whom".  
If you exclude our mandates, however, that diff<sup>y</sup> won't arise.  
Agreed as at x/ x/.  
Agreed: same Cttee to [Enter: M/F., M/W.T., M/Ag.  
{ continue in being Exit: O. Stanley.  
{ to deal with similar references, provided nothg. given away.  
[Exeunt: C.O.S.
5. Food: World Supply Situation.
- O.L. Ask auth<sup>y</sup> to send telegram as in Memo.
- Ch. Disappointed: don't see how we cd. get more.  
Gains: equality of rations on sugar & fats betwn U.K., U.S. & Canada.  
President has begun to cut U.S. mil. scales.  
may be mil. stocks if searching enquiry made for them.
- O.L. Give Truman time: if he doesn't find the mil. reserves, have at him again.
- M/F. Rations for P.o.W.  
2.986 calories being given to p.o.w. in our control: as cpd. with 2.807 average for civil pop<sup>n</sup>.  
2.900 U.S. for working prs. }  
2.300 U.S. for non-working prs. } = present actual.
- P.J. Anxious to conform to U.S. if I can find what they are doing. They come down about once a week. 21<sup>st</sup> Army Group suggest 1.500 wh. I'm sure is too low. \* Will P.M. put to Eisenhower what the U.S. scales are? Yes.
- P.M. Make up the ration with the things we can best share.  
Para. 7 { app<sup>d</sup> but announcem<sup>t</sup>. to be delayed until p.o.w. scales  
{ brought down to bottom.



Agreed must be done w'in 3 days or so.

6. Trawlers.

P.M. In addition to surrendering maximum no., Adm<sup>y</sup> must give facilities for their repair at the expense of naval new construction & repair.

M/L. Also release the men needed to sail them.

M/Ag. Fish catch now only 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of last pre-war year.

A.V.A. "May be able to do better now the war is over"!

M/W.T. Cd. help with manning from merchant shipping pool.

M/Ag. The bigger trawlers shd. be released first – more economical.

\* A.V.A. to present to War Cab. in 3 days programme of releases. \*

British Restaurants.

P.M. Don't let these go.

M/F. Only when there isn't enough demand to keep them going.

P.M. I will announce their continuance.

B. Beware of the interests of the small man: who went off to fight:  
W.V.S. have taken their place.

[ Exit M.A.P., A.V.A.

Food: Resumed.

M/F. Para. 10. Argentine meat contract.

P.M. How can we stop the other countries?

Ch. Threaten not to deliver other goods – shipping.

L. But they have their own ships & right to use them for carrying own supplies.

Ch. They have little or no refrigerated shipping.

O.L. Must treat people as friends or enemies. Can't jump around.  
Am considering the pos<sup>n</sup> & will shortly have a memo. Expect to be

able to circumvent this.

Food: Publication of Statistics.

Agreed – as in W.P.(45) 298.

Burma: White Paper.

One amendmt. by Simon accepted.

J.A. Last para. Tribal areas not wholly respons<sup>y</sup> of H.M.G. Say “subject of special regime.”

R.K.L. Verbal changes – communicate to I.S.A.

1. Venezia Giulia.

P.M. Telegram re Venezia Giulia. Tito has not yielded.

A.E. Message to Truman might now go off.

P.M. Yes. What is "attack".

Alex. telegram to C.C.S. on action possible: not likely to be serious fighting.

Genl. obsns. on state of Europe – R. designs & Anglo-American Forces melting.

2. Laval.

A.E. Some case under Sp. extrad<sup>n</sup> laws for not handg. L. over to French.  
Awkward too, qua Sp. refugees in France.  
Spain & U.S. are now pressing us to take him & hand him over.

P.M. Why shd. we? Why be brought in?

A.E. Fr. aren't asking us.

If we refuse, he will stay in Spain. U.S. will criticise us for "shielding" him.

P.M. Let us ask U.S. to do it.

Don't object to joining all Allies in demanding tht. Sp. shd. hand him over.

Treat it under the heading of warning to neutrals. i.e. tell Spain again they shd. hand him over to French.

3. German Prisoners of War.

P.J. Shipping another 750.000 here is unrealistic because you can neither ship, house nor feed them. Therefore recommend<sup>ns</sup> as in para. 5 & I'depl. Cttee to allocate.

One controversial ques: I suggest Nazi's be last to be freed & therefore those for work shd. be chosen first to work. S.'s memo. is contrary to that view.

P.M. We want them for no purpose save to work. Wholly uneconomic to keep Nazi's. Nervous in general about too many G. Fear diff<sup>ies</sup> if any unemplt. among B.

M/L. Don't want to commit myself to a no. Estimates unreliable.

a) Remove rest<sup>ve</sup> rule about use w'out guards.

b) Let them be used on any form of work, if agreed – not ag. & forestry only

Again repeal of rest<sup>ve</sup> rule needed.

Willing to run Cttee, as proposed.

Want help from Service Dpts on accommod<sup>n</sup> (camps).

Air Ministry help: concentrate on fewer airfields & use some for p.o.w. A.S. Promised consider.

Nos. Bring them in as needed.

P.J. Want firm decisions a) build nothing  
b) billet no Germans  
c) don't delay demob<sup>n</sup> to provide guards.  
d) let Italians return in 6 months – proceed on that basis.

M/Ag. Haven't the accomm<sup>n</sup> for B. men & women. We can crowd the G. up. An extra 100.000 p.o.w. necessary to get production.

M/L. Only want to tide over next few months – to next spring sowing.

M/W. Large nos. wanted for civil engineering work for bldg. Programme will be seriously delayed w'out them. Tented camps wd. suffice for accomm<sup>n</sup>.

A.E. No punishment to work on English farm: hence no support for sugg<sup>n</sup> of retaining Nazi's.

M/W. Unemplt. Easy to bring p.o.w. off in areas where it appears.

M/F. Supported M/Ag. qua food. Opposed to retaining Nazis.

M/Ag. Cab. dec<sup>n</sup> '44 limits me to 34.000. Only 2/3rds effective. Have accomm<sup>n</sup> for more in E. Counties. Want at least auth<sup>y</sup> to go up to limits of accommod<sup>n</sup> available.

W. Stop for the present at those we have here.  
150.000 here: only 40.000 at work.

P.M. x/ Start by putting the rest to work.

P.J. 60 violent Nazi's. What of them?

L.P. y/ Put them in camps in Germany: & bring corresp<sup>g</sup> no. of mild ones in.

A.S. And what of Italians we are likely to lose, [in 6 months.]

P.M. Retain Italians pro tem.

O.L. Support for y/: generally welcomed.  
 General agreement on x/ and y/ as interim policy.

P.J. O.K. so long as you realise they will be released.

J.A. Why not order Germans to put them into Labour Corps?  
 Anyway cond<sup>ns</sup> in G. will be punishment enough, even in liberty.  
 Agreed: Get 160.000 suitable for work under few rest<sup>ns</sup>.  
 { Get transfer arranged: Nazi's to go to Germany in  
 { discipl. labour camps.  
 { Then review the position again.

{ Cttee under M/L. to get on with this: relaxing security  
 { rest<sup>ns</sup> on guards etc.  
 { Assume Italians will be kept for 6 months.

[Enter M/W.T.  
 Exeunt. M/W. M/Ag. Munster. Selborne

4. Shipping: Indian Grain Requirements.

L.S.A. Spoke to his memo.  
 Other indirect effects – shortage/rice Ceylon: shortage/ground nuts  
 for M/F.  
 Cd. press India on these 2 pts if, but only if, my requests are met.  
 Hope tht. end/war Europe has made shipping pos<sup>n</sup> easier than was  
 forecast when Cttee met before V.E. Day.  
 Viceroy & C-in-C. both confirm anxiousness of situation.  
 18 m. tons/wheat are to come to Europe in 6 months. Needs of India shd.  
 have preference on both mil. & human grds.

L. My offer of 70.000 t. took a/c. of relieving factors at end/war.  
 Never thought of going above 70.000 t. p. month. Have done 80.000 in  
 May. That figure wd. meet psychol. need anyhow.  
 Another shipping survey begins (Washington) next week.  
 Over 1.2 m. tons/wheat being shipped in May/June. Cdn't procure any  
 more.

M/F. 200.000 t. wheat to India for 200.000 t ground nuts for fats here wd. be  
 a v. good bargain for us.  
 Also Ceylon is a quid pro quo need – 25.000 t. of rice from India.  
 Wd. like to see 200.000 t. going to India if we were sure of a return.

L.S.A. I cd. press Govt./India.

W. Pressure won't do: must be a bargain.

- P.M. Windfalls in shipping because of earlier end/German war.
- L. Have sent P.M. programme for second half-year.  
If this further tonnage given to India, somethg. will have to contract  
unless we get unexpected further windfalls. Also qua procurement  
it wd. be at expense of liberated areas.
- W. Danger to health of this country = fat shortage.
- L. At whose expense must I do it?
- P.M. First, let us see wtr. we can get the bargain firm.  
General agreement: let L.S.A., L., Cherwell and M/F. make a plan.  
{ with W. as Chairman for sake of fresh blood.  
[Exeunt: M/W.T. M/F.]

5. Control of Engagement Order.

- M/L. Made announcement in H/Commons.  
All in conformity with Cmd. 6568. But order must be made this week.  
Approved – proposal to make amending order.

6. National Insurance (Industrial Injuries) Bill.

Introd<sup>n</sup> approved - without discussion.

1. India: Constitutional Position.

- P.M. Statement proposed is less than Viceroy asked for.  
Act provided that Council shd. include at least 3 persons who have had at least 10 yrs' service under the Crown. This wd. involve leg<sup>n</sup> wh. can't be put thro' this Session.  
But L.S.A. wishes to make statement wh. will help Viceroy to return to India.  
This proposal – wh. I wd. think wd. do India little good, as all serious matters wd. have to be discussed behind the scenes.  
But, on grds./expediency, I wd. be ready to agree to statement.  
Advantage = Attle & Cripps comm<sup>d</sup> to it; & it may keep India out of the Election.
- S. The draft statement doesn't assume this change will be made as a matter of course – only (para. 10) if it meets with support of Indian opinion. They may well refuse. We only say we are willing to do it if they agree.
- P.M. Main advantage – hope to take it out of politics during Election.
- L.S.A. If they refuse, our pos<sup>n</sup> vis-à-vis world opinion will be strengthened.  
Agreed: statement to be made as recomm<sup>d</sup> by India Cttee.
- L.S.A. Proposed appoint<sup>mt</sup> of High Commr.
- J.A. Strongly supported this.
- P.M. Nothing in the statement wh. require disclosure of secret mil. matters to Viceroy's new Council?
- L.S.A. No.
- P.M. Re-constituted India Cttee & O. Stanley - Agreed.
- P.M. Indianisation of Army: must not be mentioned now. Defer to be dealt with as part or re-modelling the B. & Indian Armies.  
Agreed.
- L.S.A. Release of detenus. Diff. to negotiate w'out bringing some of these in.
- P.J. Viceroy will summon various people to discuss – including Nehru: and he will have to release him for that purpose.
- L.S.A. Discussed by Cttee, who felt cdn't negotiate if at outset excluded Congress leaders.

Alteration in Cttee's report will allow Attle & Cripps to withdraw their support.

This is a useful method of accelerating release of these detenus.

- P.J.
- a) Shd. be made clear to Viceroy tht. this is not beginning of a free negotiation.
  - b) If scheme goes through, Viceroy shd. be careful not to get Council packed.

L.S.A. Accept a) – it is a firm offer. But important tht. some of the Congress leaders shd. be taken in to the discussions.

Detenus: approved as in Rpt. of Cttee.

## 2. India: Industrialisation & Commercial Discrimination.

L.S.A. Willing to omit 2<sup>nd</sup> para. of S 16, as suggested by O.L.

S. Feel gt. diff<sup>y</sup> about this, tho' I have signed the Rpt.  
Recalled the commercial provisions of 1935 Act. This sort of policy now recomm<sup>d</sup> by Govt./India is not sensible until India secures self-Government.

L.S.A. Para. 17(4). Wd. be convenient for I.O. to know what his points are. Can they see him for that purpose?

W. That wd. = opening negotiations.

P.J.G. Agreed with W.

L.S.A. Is it Agreed to warn him off as in para. 16 less last para?

W. Omit "at this stage".

P.M. No Auth<sup>y</sup> to come to any agreemt. Put him off on ground tht. we have other business to do.

## 3. Chairmen of Committees: Resignation of Major Milner.

Williams (Torquay): no need to consider any other }

Chas MacAndrew to succeed W<sup>ms</sup> as Dpy. Chairman. }

These are Ch. Whip's proposals for filling vacancy created by resignation of Milner.

Approved: A.E. to announce in H/Commons.



4. War Crimes.

- A.G. Met Jackson twice. Will Cab. authorise Annex as basis for discussion?  
Main Point: inter-Allied Mil. Ct. for major criminals. Procedure proposed is designed to prevent them fr. using the court as platform.
- A.E. The U.S. have come long way to meet us. No dispos<sup>n</sup> for grand trials.
- P.J. Eminent lawyer & dress him up as soldier? Will that do?
- P.M. Yes.
- A.E. Hess will have to be high in the list, won't he?
- A.G. Yes.
- A.E. This is a pretty good scheme.
- A.G. Cd. S/S War get warrant out quickly so that minor criminals can be despatched.

5. Economic Policy.

- P.M. Need to define agreed statement of policy for purposes of Election.

4. War Crimes (resumed)

- {P.J. This memo. will make it nec. to  
{ amend the warrant – to cover Belsen.  
{A.G. No.  
{P.J. J.A.G. says so.  
{P.M. L.O. view must prevail, on this, &  
{ quickly.
- A.G. 167 minor criminals ready for trial now.
- P.M. Bring this to Cab. if it threatens to involve v. large nos.  
Public opinion will turn on this.

6. Relief Supplies for Prisoners of War & Civilian Internees in Far East.

Agreed.

7. Lancashire Wakes: Effect on Voting at Election.

- P.M. Rpt<sup>d</sup> conclusions of prev. night's mtg.

A.G. Two doubts a) do we know all the places? M/W.T. trying to find out.  
b) Assheton has sugg<sup>d</sup> tht. instead of discretion to  
Returning Officer provide in Bill tht. date shall be  
12/7 in all scheduled places.

R. 10 areas in Scotland, probably.

A.O. Lancs. only 5 or 6.

P.M. Want to announce on Thursday.

8. Empire Telecommunications Conference.

J.A. ? Wants to come 11/7. Smuts also. Will be after Election.

L.P.S. Can we see the documents before circulation to Doms.?

J.A. Yes.

8. Legislative Programme.

Agreed: A.E. to hold mtg. with Chief Whip & other Ministers  
& settle terms of announcement for Thursday 31/5.

at 6.30 p.m.

1. Syria & Lebanon.

- P.M. Read most recent telegrams – including one from Paget suggesting that he shd. take control of all troops in M/East.  
In these circs. I can't send the telegram already approved inviting de Gaulle courteously to come to London to consult.  
Don't see why we shd. take this burden on ourselves: if U.S. won't join with us in this, with token mil. support or even decl<sup>n</sup> of their support, I wd. sooner order our troops to withdraw.
- A.E. Our earlier plan doesn't fit the circs.  
Propose we address U.S. saying we and they can't tolerate this situation because l/c to East & we want their support in dealg. with it.
- P.M. Say we won't act w'out them.
- A.E. Special B. interest – whole of M/E. may be inflamed. If we don't attempt to stop Fr. behaving like this, we endanger our whole pos<sup>n</sup> in M/East.
- V.C.I.G.S. Difficult job for Paget: likely to have to fire on both sides.
- O.L Population wd. be in our favour wholly – not like Greece.
- P.J. 22.000 B. as cpd. with + 7.000 of Troupes Speciales who may be loyal to be Gaulle. 9.000 Fr. in Syria + 1<sup>st</sup> Divn. (18.000) in Palestine.
- P.M. Want to be assured of U.S. support.  
If we order Fr. back to their barracks, we shall enlist support of Arab world.  
But U.S. attributed worst motives to us in Greece.
- P.J. Orders to Paget wd. be to assume control under Lyttelton/de Gaulle agreement. i.e. French agreed. But NB. Paget thinks Fr. won't withdraw to their barracks w'out either a) orders from Paris or b) force.
- V.C.I.G.S. What reply to Paget?
- P.M. Send him copy of telegram sent to U.S. & say make all preparations for action.
- V.C.I.G.S. Read out descriptive draft.
- P.M. Why not send at once for Massagli: & warn him what we are doing.

- P.J. Fr. regular troops draw their rations from us.
- P.M. Stop them: add to telegram to Paget. For the present suspend at once issue of rations & ammunition.
- V.C.I.G.S. Paget already refusing to make up what Troupes Speciales are now failing to get [part of rations] from Bazaar.
- R.I.C. Minute from Sargent brought in. Fr. Amb. had called. Hoped U.S./U.K. wd. now propose mtg. with de Gaulle: as this wd. make it easier to get the fighting stopped.. Sargent said too late: we were now forced to more urgent action. Mtg. idea had bn. put one side, while we considered that: but was not ruled out.
- [Exeunt Nye & R.I. Campbell.]

## 2. India – Constitutional Problem.

- P.M. On reflection ashamed of line I took this a.m. – that a step which I believe to be wrong shd. be taken in order to take the ques. out of politics during the Election and win support from Cripps & Attlee. Those are arguments which can be used by those who believe in the step
- Realised now that Cttee were not unanimous. S., P.J. & R.A.B. were against it. This Govt. shd. be chary of making permanent changes to meet the conveniences of the hour.
- We cd. tell Wavell that this ques. must stand over until after the election.
- L.S.A. Viceroy, all Govrs. & advisers all believe pol. pos<sup>n</sup> in India is growing steadily worse. At end/war that may develop into v. serious pos<sup>n</sup>. Most of them favoured W.'s solution.
- Cttee are agreed that, if any stop is to be taken, this is the best to take. I agree with that: If accepted wd. not affect fundamental contit<sup>l</sup>. pos<sup>n</sup>.
- If rejected, wd. strengthen our standing in world opinion.
- To turn down – v. serious. How cd. Wavell return. Proposals known to Labour leaders: how cd. I defend postponing until after Election.
- If we turn this down now: then (a) if this Govt. returned at Election, this is rejected for ever. (b) if Labour returned, we shall get somethg worse.
- O.L. “Puts us right with World opinion” - don't think they will think much of it.
- L.S.A. Before rejecting it, we must give Viceroy opportunity to state his case.
- O.L. Continuing: they will say it's a sham.

Cabinet: Thursday 11.30 a.m. with Viceroy.

1. Syria (resumed).

P.M. New telegram from Paris. Chauvet pressing U.K. to submit proposals for ending the situation.  
I have now seen Massigli – told him we have given the orders, are seekg. U.S. support. They shd. order their troops to w'draw to barracks & obey Paget's orders.

India: Constitutional Problem.

- P.M. Some opinion in Cab. not convinced of soundness on merits of Cttee's Rpt.  
Agree that, as Labour Ministers favoured it, adoption might take India out of politics. But we must discuss on merits.  
Fear a much less efficient Council wd. result – much less representative of intelligentsia in India.  
Also can't plead that we shd. have got back to a democratic basis - for it wd. have no elective basis. Cd. even be argued that it wd. be reactionary for all serious issues would have to be settled outside the Council. In short you weaken the Council w'out reaching a democratic foundation.  
For these reasons, unlikely to find much support abroad – in world opinion.  
I'm therefore against it.  
Ques. then arises cd. Viceroy go back empty-handed. "Something must be done" is not an argument for far-reaching constitutional change.  
Will not be accepted as serious contribution to }  
constitutional reform } Summing  
.. lessen influence of Indians on Govt of India } up.  
.. win little assent abroad. }
- My solution for India wd. be something much more or much less than this pinchbeck plan.
- Wavell. Inst<sup>ns</sup> when I went out 18 months ago to consider this problem & report in due course.  
Conf<sup>ce</sup> with all 11 Govrs. last autumn – all in favour of a step before end of Jap. war. Some return to Cripps offer: some conference: some elections.  
Drew up my proposals – C-in-C., Home Member & Francis Wylie consulted & agreed.  
Fwd<sup>d</sup> them home in Sept. In Oct. wrote personal lr. to P.M. Had corr<sup>ce</sup> with S of S. for India: at his request consulted Hallett, Colville, Glancy. Hallett (UP) supported: so did Colville: Glancy, favouring a move, feared affect of Muslim League on central Govt. in Punjab. Then asked leave to return for disc<sup>n</sup> at home – Jan., postponed to March, then to June. I pressed to come at once because end/war in Germany wd. be a favourable moment for makg. a move. Also believed capture/Rangoon wd. re-inforce need for a move. Wd. also have liked a decision from Coalition Govt.  
Procedure on approval. Will consult present Ex. Council & cable their views. Wd. then b'cast explanation in India, simult<sup>ly</sup> with Parly. statement here.

- Conference a) those holdg. office as Premier on Prov. Govt. or those who last held it in S.93 Provinces = 11.  
 b) leaders of Congress, Mosl. League, Indep. Party  
 c) 2 senior advisers  
 d) Gandhi & Jinna  
 e) Rp<sup>ve</sup> of untouchables and Sikhs.

They wd. advise me on membership of new Council, if approved.  
 Total 22: only 9 Congress, 6 Moslem League, 7 independents.  
 Don't believe they wd. be unreasonable or irresponsible. Believe they are anxious to for a Govt. wh. will try to deal with India's

- V. & C-in-C.  
 4 Congress & 1 non-Congress Hindu  
 4 M. League, 1 non League Moslem.  
 1 sched. class rep<sup>ve</sup>  
 1 Sikh & perhaps 1 other

Council of 15 only 4 of wh. wd. be Congress Hindus.

Wd. ask them to give pledge to support the war.

Don't under-rate diff<sup>ies</sup> - now or hereafter. But all other courses (wieldg. no action) are even more dangerous. We are stuck now: initial move shd. therefore be gradual not drastic.

Council intellectually wd. not be inferior to present. More nationalist & diff. to handle: but that must be handled if we are to make progress in India.

They wd. have some popular support behind them – nominated by ex-Premiers who were elected.

If they decline the offer, then I wd. go no further – no negotiation.

P.M. x/ Suppose they say 22 if not large enough body to consult: & suggest 200 or so.

W. Release of Working Cttee – wd. consult my Ex. Council. Patel & Nehru are only diff. ones still in custody. The 22 might seek to make it a cond<sup>n</sup> that remainder shd. be released. If this proves diffy., I wd. be ready to release the lot when the disc<sup>ns</sup> start.  
 On x/, subject to report to report to Cab., I wd. refuse to enlarge it.  
 I wd. preside at outset: then wd. ask them how to proceed in nominating. They wd. prob. split into 2 groups, Moslem & Hindus.

A.E. Like this better than Rpt

P.J. & R.A.B. It is not the same.

L.S.A. Yes: it is the working out of our framework.

P.M. If the 22 seek to negotiate, wd. you refuse?

W. I wd. report home recomindg. refusal.

O.S. Quite difft. when Viceroy says he wd. have power to go outside the

nominations made to him – as well as to select from w'in those.  
But that is not clear from the statement.

- L.S.A. Yes: it leaves it open to Viceroy – para 12.
- O.S. What of opening of para. 15.  
V. awkward if you were subsequ. charged with breach of faith. Must  
be made quite clear – includg. power to go outside.
- L.S.A. Agreed.
- P.M. Will they feel any satisfaction if they are told at outset that Viceroy  
will be quite free to ignore their recomm<sup>ns</sup>.  
Much less objectionable as now stated – danger of its appearing  
a “nothing”.
- W. Believe it will be regarded as an advance. Council wd. be almost  
wholly Indian: the p<sup>f</sup>folios of Home & Finance wd. be Indians.
- P.M. Don't want to be pledged in advance to leg<sup>n</sup> on ques of 3<sup>rd</sup> Member  
with 10 years experience etc.
- J.A. Much will depend on extent of desire in India to escape from present  
deadlock.
- W. Believe there is much anxiety to get back into office.
- P.M. We can't end this disc<sup>n</sup> now.  
Viceroy has expl<sup>d</sup> his procedural plan – aim to give him surer  
guidance & broader advice before forming his Council. His  
ultimate power of selection wd. not in form be affected.  
This shd. be studied by India Cttee. Meeting to-day with Viceroy.  
To review draft statement in the light of W.'s explanation  
to-day & our discussion in Cabinet.  
When it comes to action, don't worry about release of detenus. If  
you are going to release Nehru why boggle over release of the  
others.  
Cabinet to meet to-morrow to approve further report of India Cttee.

## 2. Syria and the Lebanon.

Telegrams from Damascus. Telegraph comm<sup>n</sup> now cut.  
Second telegram from Shone. Tels. 448 & 455 Damascus.  
These read out by E.E.B.

- P.M. No answer yet to telegram to Truman.  
Can substance of this telegram be given to Press.



A.E. No need to inflame opinion here. It is inflamed.  
If we don't get reply, I'm inclined to tell U.S. we can't wait & are acting.

P.M. Spoke to Winant: no answer coming in: we shall have to act. Tell Truman.  
W.O. to instruct Paget as agreed. Order Fr. back to barracks, use force if necessary. I.e. to restore order.

1. Syria.

P.M. Truman has replied that he approves message to de Gaulle.

2. India.

P.M. Viceroy told us this a.m. his practical plan. Did not alarm me. Was relieved to know in particular tht. his liberty of choice wd. be unfettered.

a) Add to 12A. "..... His freedom of choice wd. therefore remain unrestricted".

Agreed. provisionally.

b) Paras 14-15 of statement. V. big fish for small hook in para. 12A. That provides only for wider & more rep<sup>ve</sup> advice on his decision. Does that really produce these drastic effects?

S. Wd. omit 15 for this reason. Viceroy's special powers wd. not in my view be qualified by these changes. The result of changing method of appointing the Council is not to limit the exercise of his special powers. If this para. went in, it might be exploited against him.

J.A. Have feared effect of gradual introd<sup>n</sup> of "representative" advisers, because it is much more diff. to over-ride advisers who are "representative" than advisers who have been appt<sup>d</sup> at discretion. This in fact affects the way in wh. powers are exercised. e.g. famine. If we hadn't had Ministers who claimed to be responsible, we cd. have interfered earlier.  
Agree it does not affect the powers: but it affects their exercise.

L.S.A. Don't like the challenge to Parlt. in second part of sentence.

P.M. Accepted the substance – suggested alternative words (in EEB's notes).

W. I didn't want either 14 or 15 – or any suggestion that my powers wd. be limited by this action.

P.M. Want freedom for Viceroy in method of choosing his Council.

L.S.A. in para. 9 insert "under the existg. constitution" - }  
as end/15 is going out. } Agreed.  
in para. 11 composition vice constitution. }

- P.M. Put it as an appeal – come & take a hand pending larger reforms.  
Final view of paras. 14 and 15: omit both: Agreed.  
Agreed: go ahead on this basis.
- W. Read draft of proposed broadcast. - Approved.
- P.M. Thanked W. - important initiative - every support etc. Bon voyage.

C.M. 5(45).

5<sup>th</sup> June, 1945.

Naval, Military & Air Operations.

Air.

C.A.S. 3 wks. to to-day. Europe: transport & supply. 50.000 p.o.w.  
24.000 casualties.

SEA. Curtailed by monsoon & pause after Rangoon. Comm<sup>ns</sup> via  
Siam & S.E. Burma.

Sub-depot ship sunk & other ships damaged.  
32.000 t. 27.000 men carried.

China. 4.500 s. U.S. tactical in support Ch. armies d or d.  
1470. craft. 200 locos. 450 wagins.

Pacific. 18.000 s. 3.200 by A & N.Z.A.F. Airfields & Harbours  
Formosa: Fr. Indo China rlways: close support.  
Super. F. 3.750 s. 80 lost. 2% 21.000 t. Japan.  
Cities Nogoya, Tokyo, (46% severely dam.), Osaka  
and one other.

Naval.

C.N.S. 102 U-Boats in B. ports. 42 still afloat in Norw. etc. ports.  
100 not accounted for, believed scuttled.

{ Coastal Command to be reduced from 80 to 5 squadrons. Personnel  
{ re-allotted.

{ Liberators to transport: others to rescue & training.

{ C.A.S. to submit to P.M. rept on red<sup>n</sup> & re-alloc<sup>n</sup> of C. Command.  
Convoy in N. Atlantic suspended 29/5.

B. Fleet in Pacific w'drawn to refit in Australia.

Syria.

O.S. Fr. Amb. has said orders given to stop Jeanne d'Arc.(?) – tho' told  
by de G. not to say so.

P.M. Asked C.O.S. to consider what we cd. best do to stop her.

C.N.S. Anson & 2 cruisers are in position to stop her. Fear it wd. be  
necessary to sink her.

P.M. Loud-spker. to call on crew to desist.

B.B. Rptd. stopped at Bizerta.

P.M. Rely on C.O.S. to stop her by means least likely to cause bloodshed.  
Short of sinking the ship.

Military.

C.I.G.S. Burma. Nothing v. fresh. Monsoon. Mopping up. 15.000 – at 200 p. diem. Betwn. Irrawaddy & Sittang river. Pushing out eastwds.  
China. Jap w’drawals (due prs. to c. movemt. of R. divisions) threaten their comm<sup>ns</sup> to S. China. Access by sea is precarious.  
Pacific. Okinawa. N. of island cleared easily: heavy oppos<sup>n</sup> in South. Now overcome: rapid advance. From now on shd. clear rest of island quickly.

[Enter M/W.T.]

2. Arabia: Masirah Island.

P.M. Mistake to mar symmetry of our policy – take nothg.

L.S.A. Does this apply to small desert island – aircraft carrier.

R.K.L. Only leasing: no pressure if reluctant.

P.M. Discuss at 3 Power Mtg – view on leasing.

H.M. Freely negotiated lease – no transfer of sovereignty – comp. to our leases to U.S.  
U.S. are acquiring airfield in Saudi Arabia on similar terms.  
We’ve spent much on it.

P.M. Then you must establ. diff<sup>ce</sup> betwn. lease & acquisition  
What do U.S. think?

R.K.L. Must we do it now? 6 mos. later wd. do.

H.M. The more money you spend – traffic increasg. – more we have to gain. Easier to do it now.

P.M. Sound State Dpt. – make sure it doesn’t compromise our attitude on “no territorial claims” – see what they feel about freely negotiated leases.

R.K.L. Got it in our possession between now & Jap war. Some risk even in approaching U.S. at present.

H.M. Link it up with U.S. negotiations in S. Arabia. As they are doing this, we presume no obj<sup>n</sup> to our doing this.  
Proposed. { F.O. to make quiet enquiries.  
{ F.O. & Air Min<sup>y</sup> to consult – free to bring up in a month.

R.K.L. U.S.A.A.F. have similar arrangemt. there – tho’ they have spent less.  
Dangerous to consult U.S. lest they jump in first.

O.S. Bad moment because diffy. with Fr. – it breaches our agreemt. with them.  
Agreed. { Postpone entirely (w'out enquiry) until after 3 Power Mtg.  
{ Again in 2 months.

3. Shipping for Fleet Train.

B.B. Modest requirements in this paper are essential.

P.M. 230.00 t. more allowed to Admy. in April, on undertakg. to replace.  
Train now = 800.000 odd. Now want it raised to 1.100.000 t. odds.  
This makes it too expensive to wage war in F/East.  
Out of prop<sup>n</sup> to our modest force.  
29.9 m. tons for '45 import p'mme. We got only 12 m. in first half.  
Can't get more than 16 m. in second half. Pre-war 54 m.  
The ships servg. import p'mme must be increased not diminished.

B.B. These requirements are much less than Admiral demanded.

C.N.S. They have now had to go back to Sydney to replenish.  
V. small deficits wd. result.

M/W.T. 85 sailing p. month short – not v. small. Ch. = 7 m. tons of imports.  
But provided for no more than 16 m. imports because supply promised  
no more.  
If now supplies increased we shd. be short of ships.  
Of 230.000 t. replacemt. promised we've had only 40.000 t.

B.B. Ques. is wtr. you want to go on fighting in Pacific. W'out this,  
we can't.

C.N.S. Demands (less 15 ships) were known last Dec. year.

P.M. Jap campaign can't be run w'out thrift – regard for civil consequences.  
This cuts into life of countrymen at home.  
x/ You may have to accept some rest<sup>n</sup> on operations.

L. When these ships go to R.N., they are gone for rest of war. And some  
are special ships – new & oil-burning. Earlier we cd. draw from  
Canada: only 2 more of those to come. Diff to find others.  
They wd. have to be surrendered at once.

B.B. We have incorporated in this demand all the high requirements of  
S.E.A.C.

L. Postpone dec<sup>n</sup> until we know C.O.S. other demands for S.E.A.C.

P.M. Meet it fr. over 3 m. tons on Adm<sup>y</sup> a/c?

- C.N.S. They are under voyage charter. intermittent. Give us our choice out of those ships & we will accept that. i.e. meet our requirement out of that.
- L. Want to be sure of my quid pro quo.  
Not so easy. e.g. we cdn't give refrigerated ships.  
W. confirmed. Agreed.  
2.5 m. of this is not intermittent: permanently workg. for Adm<sup>y</sup>.  
At end of European war, we must face release of Allied Ships – under U.M.A. agreemt. we shan't get same value from them.
- P.M. First Lord, M/W.T. shd. meet under chairmanship of J.A. Power to invite other Ministers concerned. Power to settle.  
Don't accept Adm<sup>y</sup> word operationally necessary as decisive – c.f. x/ above.
- { Exeunt C.O.S.  
{ Enter Swinton: Ch. Whip
4. Prestwick Airport.
- R. Suppl. Est. to-morrow.  
Depth/feeling in Scotl. re Prestwick.  
S. intends no special pos<sup>n</sup> for P'wick.
- S. Other Sc. airports – no disagreeemt.  
Freedoms 1 and 2: have to designate an airfield for these.
- P.M. Tough attitude of U.S. – due to disapp<sup>mt</sup> over Chicago. Need for agreement with Truman to ride it a bit easier.  
Prestwick. Sc. is hurt because hopes of great Transatlantic airport dashed.
- S. We propose a) to make Prestwick (£5-6 M for 2 runways to make it) effective. We propose to designate it: so tht. any line wh. wishes will have right to land there as at designated airport.  
We have also excluded any line running out of Prestwick for inland. W'in U.K. operator desiring to run fr. P'wick wd. be able to apply to Tribunal.
- L.P.S. Shd. not exclude Sc. co. from rights available to rlway co.  
You damage civil av. in Scotland.
- R. £3 M spent already – must be in v. good shape. They don't expect it to take place of Heath Row – but until that is ready they think it shd. be the No. 1. airport – not Bournemouth. And thereafter No. 2.  
Not concerned over inland traffic.  
Shdn't be ordered to land at B'mouth.  
Statement proposed will lose many seats in W. Scotland.
- P.M. Want re-assuring statement made.

- S. Prestwick will be designated.
- L.P.S. That won't be enough – cover internal also because Sc. civil aviation.
- S. Any pre-war operator can start on pre-war route.  
That covers Gander Dower. Not Macintyre who has never run an airport.  
Prestwick & Transatlantic. Wd. this do? Can't compel foreigner to land where he doesn't wish to. When P. has bn. designated as airport for all purposes: so far as concerns B. services you require them until Heath Row is ready to make a stop there: But wrong to prevent them going on to Herne (nearer Ldn.). Kind of aircraft B.O.A.C. will be using for early years can use Prestwick.
- P.M. S. & R. to consider with M/W.T. and L.P.S. under Chairmanship of O.L. what statement can be made. Perkins to attend] } Agreed
- R. Prepared to accept x/. Mtg. to be held to-morrow a.m. to } A.  
settle the formula & submit to P.M. by luncheon. }
- L.P.S. There remains the inland ques.
- R. They are satisfied up to a point.
- S. Macintyre cd. apply to Tribunal for leave to run services fr. P'wick to any place inland.  
Liberty to operate abroad wd. breach the whole plan for regulating internat<sup>l</sup> air transport.
- L. Agree wd. cut into all our other plans.
- O.L. Can't re-open the whole issue before to-morrow.
- Ch. Whip. Sc. candidate cdn't agree tht. all rights to expand be limited to English rlways.
- L. Rlways only 35%.
- B.B. Sc. will be cut out of all development.
- P.M. Plays into hands of Sc. Home Rulers.  
Give Sc. more to make up for Engl. greater share in rlways.
- S. Say – Sc. must have a share in the company. That wd. work. But to give B/European Corp<sup>n</sup> right to any operator wd. cut across the whole scheme. Open competition, wh. is involved, wd. wreck all our work up to date.



L.P.S. a) Chicago leaves us free to do what we like with out own.  
b) Financial interest in the one co. doesn't meet the wish to expand in free enterprise.  
Give them 1/8<sup>th</sup> - & freedom to operate.

P.M. ? Say – Sc. is intended to have her proper share in development of civil aviation: that is our intention in principle: arrangemt. is matter of detail.

O.L. Cd. they run 1/8<sup>th</sup> of traffic in compet<sup>n</sup>?

S. They wd. then cut right into the paying routes & do no other.

O.L. Allot them routes. e.g. if Norway was 1/8<sup>th</sup> give them that.

P.M. “Share wh. Sc. is to have in c. av<sup>n</sup> requires detailed consid<sup>n</sup>, wh. is  
{ being given.  
{ guiding princ. will be tht. share will not be inferior to that of England.  
{ tho' expressed in diff. way.”  
Agreed Formula on these lines to be considered at to-morrow's mtg.  
B

S. M/W.T. shd. be consulted.  
If you mean these people are to be free to operate at will on any route, our scheme wd. be bust & the Co. wd. chuck hands in.  
If you mean specified route for Scots that wd. be practicable: we wd. have to exclude it fr. the Co.  
Agreed as at A & B.  
Perkins to attend the Mtg. [Enter G. Lloyd  
Exit Swinton.

5. Exit Permits for Members of Parliament.

H.O. Relax rest<sup>n</sup> now qua M.P.'s. More genl. relaxation can come fairly soon.

P.M. No additional facilities.

H.O. No.  
Proposal approved.

R.K.L. P.Q. on Rhys Davies. to-morrow.

P.M. Say “genl. ques. has bn. reviewed & announemt. will be made by H.O.”.

6. Polling in Certain Constituencies.

- H.O. a) 19<sup>th</sup> July in some cases – can be done. Agreed: Yes
- Ch. Whip. W.O. facilitate circuses.
- P.M. We must have our own.
- H.O. b) the staggered towns, who ask for 2 polling days. Agreed: No.  
c) Govt. advice about staggering. Against that, can't intervene. Agreed: No.  
d) Deletions from list. Ch. Whip consultg. so tht. Members can be consulted.
- Ch. Whip. Not much time to do it all.
- H.O. If clear it isn't wanted, may I have auth<sup>y</sup> to delete. Agreed: Yes.

7. Political Activities of Members of H.M. Forces.

- P.M. Put a) in Memo. Agreed.  
On b) e.g. M.P.'s who went back to Parlt. & those serving at announcement.
- P.J. Restrict to members in this war: not those entitled to wear uniform fr. last war.  
On d) Comm. in pl. clothes holds mtg. nr. own barracks where known & blackguards his offer.
- P.M. Agreed that wdn't do.  
Wd it pay us?
- Ch. Whip. Who are serving or have served in this war. (b) agreed, subject to this change.
- H.M. Is (c) enforceable, qua men. Diff<sup>cc</sup> betwn. temp<sup>y</sup> & man servg.  
7 + 5 is tenuous.
- O.L. Can you distinguish?
- P.J. Delete (d), and no diffy. arises. Repeated point on communists.
- R.S.H. If you allow this, what about temp<sup>y</sup> civil servants? They've bn. instructed that they can't. I have thousands.
- J.A. Clear distinction – no misunderstandg.
- P.J. Will be said to favour the Officer because men have no plain clothes.

R.A.B. Stand on (c) - because of diffy. of distinguishing betwn (c) & (d).

R.K.L. Agreed re (c) & (d).  
Misgivings on (b). Prejudice v. Army in politics. Most on our side.

H.M. The nos. are about even. R.K.L. withdrew his point.

B.B. The Admirals are opposed to (b). } But neither  
 } Minister pressed

H.M. So are the Air Marshals. } the point.

On (c) & (d)

P.M. I wd. drop (c), if told it's difficult to distinguish.

O.S. Meaning of "intervening". You can't stop a soldier asking a question.  
As you can't enforce that, omit it.

P.J. Do these rules apply abroad?

P.M. No

P.J. They can now attend mtgs.  
Make (c) apply to all, temporary & permanent.

P.M. W. { O.S., M/L. to meet to-morrow & recommend solution on c) & d).  
{ Ch. Whip & one Service Minister (Macmillan). Agreed.

1. Naval, Military & Air Operations.

C.A.S. Transp. leaflets 3.500 s.  
2.000 p.o.w. + 2.000 Fr from Italy to M'seilles.  
Air Sea Rescue (B0 13.462 men saved – incl. 2.000 Americans.  
During war.  
SEA. Weather restricting op<sup>ns</sup>. Damage to comm<sup>ns</sup> ??/port =  
bottleneck.  
Airfields often unserviceable.  
Sorties fall fr. 10.000 to 2.500 for 5 lost. Bangk/Sing. rlway &  
mine laying 950m. 2500 t. supplies carried  
China. 250s. only because weather – support/troops – 1 lost.  
Pacific. 5.000 s. for 3 lost. 2 : 6 : 2 on grd. Formosa + airfields,  
rlways, ports  
130 craft destroyed.  
5.650 t. in 1.000 s. for 10 lost – on Japan.

P.M. Will Lincolns be able to attack by day?

C.A.S. Mainly night because U.S. will want airfields by day & will be able to  
use some.  
If all went v. well, 6 months before we cd. drop our first bomb on  
Japan.

Ch. What proport<sup>n</sup> by B?

C.A.S. 1/5<sup>th</sup> at most.

C.A.S. Jap aircraft prod<sup>n</sup> - effects of U.S. bombing. Continued Intell. Cttee:-  
Combat planes: 2.000 p.m. Jan to 1.180 p. month now

Naval.

C.N.S. 463 to us cpd. with 140 to U.S. - total bag of U-Boats.  
Only 4 U-Bts can now be at sea. 78 known scuppered. 110 in B.ports.  
120 G. minesweepers workg. under our control.  
J. d'Arc at Bizerta – troops disembarked.  
Sub. Trenchant sunk Jap. cruiser. Accounts for all operative in  
Singapore area.  
Agreed: telegram to be sent to submarine.

Military.

Burma. - Nil.

Okinawa. - much progress – cleared for miles - op<sup>ns</sup> near an end.

Borneo. Landings by Australian 9<sup>th</sup> nr. Brunei & on island Labuan.  
Two more expected.

Tarakan Island – half (more important half) cleared.

25.000 J. in Island.

2. Foreign Affairs.

P.M.

- a) Improvement - Tito & French (Syria) have submitted.  
generally. French will withdraw from N. Italy by end of  
month. (in reply to U.S. representations)

But no hope of trustworthy relations with France until we are rid of  
de Gaulle.

Glad Herriot is coming over here – better alone than with Reynand &  
Blum: wh.wd. have looked like a demonst<sup>n</sup> against de Gaulle.

\* R.K.L. to report on 40 hr. week.

- b) No satisf<sup>n</sup> from our visit to Vienna. Not allowed outside Gau:  
now allowed to visit airfields to the West. If that refused,  
they wd. have protested. The R. have yielded little & late –  
and we are no further forward.

- c) Prague – Amb. there: but little contact. Pity Eisenhower didn't  
push on.

- d) Big issue now – shall we withdraw to pre-arranged Zones. 16 m.  
or more Germans in the area: need to prevent them fleeing  
westwards.

This advance of R. into heart of central Europe will be one  
of most terrible events in history. Don't believe they will  
willingly go back at least in this generation. 10 European  
capitals fall into R. hands.

Asked C.O.S. to consider form on a show-down. By 1/7 R. will  
have 2 : 1 majority. And U.S. withdrawals from them on  
will make us dependent on good will of Russia –  
unprecedented mastery of Europe, save durg. years of  
Napoleon fleetg.

This points to necessity of maintaining Met. Air Force & small  
naval craft to hold the pos<sup>n</sup> until U.S. can come to our aid.

Re-deployment will now have gone some way before 3 Power  
Mtg.

Strong movement will soon begin in U.S. to bring the Armies  
home.

- e) Non-fraternization policy must be modified. Monty. is putting  
a plan into effect for gradual change.

[ Enter Woolton.

P.J.

In spite of R. fraternisation ev<sup>ce</sup> still that G. will try to get out  
of R. Zone.

- P.M. Zones: never came to War Cab.: straight from A.P.W. to E.A.C.  
 Never came to me until I saw it at Quebec.  
 Tendency of A.P.W. to short circuit War Cab. to E.A.C. now put  
 to an end.  
 [ Exeunt C.O.S.  
 Enter M/F., S.G., Salter.  
 M/State.
3. Reparations.
- O.L. Above G. pre-war exports by £1 m. p.a.
- P.M. R. will demand v. large figure – if only as excuse for not w’drawing  
 from occupation Zone.
- J.A. Rpt. drafted under War Cab.  
 Directive annexed.  
 Dom. Govts. not yet informed – shd. have summary.
- P.M. S.G. shd. go out, with genl. indic<sup>n</sup> of our views, & hear what they have  
 to say.  
 The G. will be relieved fr. maintaining mil. power: & can deny  
 themselves too.
- Ch. a) Only reparations worth havg = G. export markets.  
 Directive takes a/c of that, but shd. state it specifically.  
 b) Also wd. like to omit last sentence in para 15. If we count  
 against R. claim the labour they take, we cd. get the total  
 figure up to \$20 billion.  
 \$16.000 m. value cd. be assigned for 4 m. slave labour.
- P.M. At Yalta R. made it clear tht. their claim was exclusive of labour.
- Ch. Try to get it in. It wd. be to our advantage because we don’t want  
 labour. Wd. also prevent Fr. & Dutch from bidding too high  
 for labour.
- J.A. We all agreed tht. labour shd. be taken into a/c. But we cdn’t find  
 a way of evaluating it w’out risk of much dispute. We thought  
 therefore it wd. be better to use this in general argument.
- Ch. Why not put fwd. a lot of man-values: [ Exit H.O.  
 e.g. as in U.S., U.K. etc.
- J.A. Can only be settled after much techn. disc<sup>n</sup> on the spot.  
 Total figure can’t be fixed because we don’t know what G. current  
 capacity is.
- O.L. We do know that coal in Ruhr & Saar is 4% o normal. And on that  
 all their industrial prod<sup>n</sup> is based.

- Salter.
- a) Imposs. to fix target total. Experience of last war.  
We can fix the percentage shares of unknown total.
  - b) Agree with Ch. about export trade. But doubt wtr. we shd. base our policy on tht., still more professing it. Base on (agreed) policy of destroying war potential & we'll get most of the advantages qua exports trades. Otherwise, we shall get odium fr. allother claimants when they see they aren't getting what they expected.  
x/ Para. 10. insert "consisting mainly of ..."
- J.A. This para. is compromise betwn. Ch. & Salter.
- O.L. Agree with Salter. Publ. opinion wdn't let you go on for long in a policy aimed at killing G. export trade.  
Kill her war potential ind<sup>ies</sup> & you will in fact have substantially reduced her export trade.
- B.B. Supported Salter. Baruch has put out Ch. ideas & they have bn. denounced in U.S. as immoral & impractical.
- P.M. Don't believe Ch. policy wd. withstand publ. criticism.
- L.S.A. No need to say we want to kill G. exports. Thing is not to build up G. exports to pay for reparations.
- J.A. Ch. objective will be secured anyhow. Better to stick to hard line – we take as much as we can get, provided they have a reasonable livelihood.  
Provided: first charge maintenance of occupying troops & payment for essential imports.
- Ch. O.K. if you limit her imports.  
Want S.G. to have exports in mind – not necessary to profess it.
- P.M. Let us hear what R. has to say – and U.S. too. And let S.G. keep us informed.  
We want a guarantee from R. tht. food produced in G. shall be shared thro' G. as a whole. This shd. be taken as part of reparations talks.  
Also think a figure shd. be discussed for labour – & argue tht. it shd. count towards total reparations/  
Discuss with R. - & educate them, on experience of last war.  
Operation Socrates.  
But never let us commit ourselves to a total figure.

- P.J. One ques. on which it may be diff. to stall for so long – i.e. destruction of war potential. E.A.C. askg. for a line. S.G. shd. know where he stands on that.
- O.L. Criterion shd. be – can you hold to a decision in face of public opinion.
- J.A. Agree with Salter we shd. try to settle percentage claim. If R. got 50% we cd. justify 25%.
- Salter. Apart from advantage to export trade – wd. it not help us to use G. labour in bldg. houses here for the early years of bldg. programme. Wd. help bldg. industry here to avoid boom & slump.
- P.M. Big ques. on which H/C. will have to express a view after Election. Personal view = much against. Employment: social etc., objections.
- O.L. Better cont<sup>n</sup> to housg. in prefab. timber houses made in Germany.
- Salter. Then make by alteration in para. 10 – x/ overleaf.
- R.K.L. a) On labour – para. 12 (c). Such a declaration shd. not include any policing responsibility.  
 b) Annex II. definition of “booty” to be narrow. Then try to get reparation for it. General agreement with both these points: subject to letting U.S. take the lead in moving to have a declaration at all under (a).  
 c) Dom. Govts. Don’t want to face them with a fait accompli. Wd. like them to have an opportunity to comment.  
 Agreed: Directive to go there with liberty to comment.
- P.M. { C/E., M/State, Cherwell, O.L., Salter. to be a Cttee on Reparations to  
 { receive rpts. from S.G.  
 To review Directive in light of discussion: & despatch to Doms.
- S.G. Pawley arrived there to-day. I propose to go on Monday next.  
 Agreed.  
 [ Exeunt. S.G., Salter. Law, M/F  
 [ Enter. H.G., M/W.T.
4. Coal-Mining Industry.
- H.G. Decl<sup>n</sup> went v. well.
- B.B. Much less oppos<sup>n</sup> than I thought.
- H.G. Long time to prepare for this.
- J.A. On understanding tht. finance has yet to be worked out.



R.A.B. Doubt if employers can be given right to dismiss: otherwise, we can't keep the men.

H.G. Assume that. When time comes. But won't be included in Bill.  
Agreed.

5. War Damage.

P.M. Cd. C/E. give Cab. report on result of war damage.

J.A. £1.150 M. = nearest estimate. Less than half taken in cont<sup>ns</sup>.  
Conception of 50 : 50 has worked out pretty well  
Cont<sup>n</sup> to be levied over a period of years – on 1/7 last contrib<sup>n</sup> is  
due under statute – it was understood tht. if damage was more  
than twice contrib<sup>n</sup> totals Parlt. wd. be asked to renew: if  
less than twice might be a refund.

[ Enter Lennox-Boyd: Swinton  
[ Exit Ll. George.

6. Civil Aviation.

S. Rpt of Cttee – oral. On lines of my brief to P.M.  
Draft telegrams handed round.

P.M. Will it please U.S.?

S. Not those who want to grab. But won't annoy responsible auth<sup>ies</sup>  
in U.S.

L. They will accept this – it accords with agreement they made.

S. These clauses were drafted by Americans themselves.

Ch. Somethg. like this wd. be satisfactory. So long as they adhere to  
arrangements we agreed with them, we won't oppose their  
acquisition of airfields.

Agreed: draft telegrams approved.

[ Exit Mabane.

7. Filton Airport.

L.B. Want agreemt. on principle, so tht. we can get ahead with const<sup>n</sup>  
of bldg. That wd. not affect other people's rights: but no good  
starting now unless we know we shall later go on with project  
itself.

H.M. Air staff want consult<sup>n</sup> on length of runway. If not to be used  
except to fly it off once, cd. be shorter. e.g. 13.700 vice  
2.000 yds.

- L.B. The bldg. is a final assembly shed.
- P.M. Can't deal with this until after the Election.
- L.B. Then we can't put it into prod<sup>n</sup> until 1950.  
People in Filton are going slow because they don't believe we are going on with our project.
- P.M. New Parlt. meets 1/8. Before then we shall know if we are in power.  
If so, with a majority, week swearing in, debate on Address:  
& by 14/8 hope to go into recess until October. In that period  
& knowg. where we are (with 3-Power conference over) we can  
make our plans. Don't want to rush into decisions committing  
us to long-run expenditure.
- Ch. Isn't this a small insurance. £600.000 for the shed.
- L.B. On yr programme, there will be substantial delay.
- P.M. How much wd. be spent in first 2 months from now.
- L.B. Not more than about £50.000.
- J.A. Case for the shed – as insurance – is strong.  
Agreed: provided not more than £50.000 is spent until  
decision taken in August. Schedule of expend<sup>ure</sup>,  
month by month, to be subm<sup>d</sup> to P.M.
- R.S.H. Large aircraft mnfrs. considering movg. works. L.P. Cttee agreed on  
warning tht. they must move to existg. large airfield. Want that  
warning given, in spite of what is said in M.A.P. memo.
- O.L. & W. Agreed warning shd. be given.  
Agreed: a) warning (private)  
b) next Cab. to consider expense schedule as above.  
[ Exit L.B.
8. General Election.
- a) Use of Service Aircraft.
- P.M. Read his minute.
- P.J. W.O. consulted Ty. Solr., who advised it might be contrary to electoral  
law if no payment made.
- B.B. Ex-Ministers haven't v. heavy burdens – how justify that for them.
- P.M. Some charge can be made.

J.A. e.g. 1<sup>st</sup> class railway fare.

H.M. Lend-lease complica<sup>n</sup>. But could be surmounted.

P.M. x/ Put it on heavy duties of Ministers of Cabinet rank: but add that, if any desire, ex-Ministers of corresponding standing.

O.L. Legal dangers – should be cleared first by L.O.

H.M. Total = 55 people. Facilities limited. They would have to take their chance.

P.M. Must give the service.

B.B. More trouble in this than advantage.

H.M. Return journeys = duty. That would raise much less difficulty.  
 Agreed { Can be done “on duty”.  
 { L.O. to look into law, qua doing it not “on duty”  
 { Bias in favour of doing it.  
 { If payment, 1<sup>st</sup> class fare is enough.

P.M. Repeated his desire at x/.  
 Ques. how charged & whether to be included in election expenses: to be considered by L.O.

O.L. Govt. cars?

P.M. Use them: but pay for the petrol & depreciation.

b) Participation by Members of H.M. Forces.

P.J. (i) Yr. formula would in form cut out questions from body of the hall.

P.M. That was intentional. Service candidate in uniform – rank would be involved.

P.J. (ii) P.Q. for reply to-morrow.

P.M. I will answer as in Memo.

P.J. Then I can issue inst<sup>ns</sup> to Army etc.

1. Berlin Meeting: Visit of H.M. King.

P.M. King will be visiting Army in Germany: suggested he shd. come on to Berlin during 3 Power Mtg. Truman is Head of State: Stalin head of Govt. only. But I see no diffy. Visit of one day only. Must put it to Truman & Stalin first.  
Generally agreed. P.M. to telegraph to Truman & Stalin.

2. Election.

P.M. Can't stop Sinclair because M.P. also.  
Suggest, however, tht. both Lord Lieut. shd. resign i.e. Sinclair & Rosebery – and be re-elected after Genl. Election.

R. No one else will speak if Sinclair resigns.  
Ready to speak anywhere outside County for which Ld. Lieut., when he represents the King.

P.M. I will suggest this to Sinclair. [Enter invitees for 1-3 on Agenda.]

3. Meat Supplies for Liberated Areas.

P.M. Public disquieted by food cuts. Was this a good moment to say it?

M/F. Had to say it to conf<sup>ce</sup> of foreign Food Ministers. Purpose was to get foreign countries to help themselves.

M/Ag. Public don't appreciate gravity – response to volunteered appeal for harvest is worse than last year.

P.M. Give prominence to the need.  
Inform M/I. – concentrate on getting in the harvest. From mid/July on. /x  
Let 2 or 3 Ministers be photographed setting an example.

O.L. If any cut in existg. U.K. rations is involved, agree to withdraw. My proposal wd. apply only to our reserves.  
France & Belgium – none from U.S. in 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> quarters & little in 4<sup>th</sup>.  
They argue tht. they must submit to Combined Food Bd. & where supplies are scarce U.K. & Can. & U.S. take all. Danger of their breakg. away & using their hard currency to make sep. deals with Argentines.  
Diplom. pressure (M/F) won't suffice w'out promise of some meat.

- W. Why will Fr. keep out of Argentine for sake of token quantity of canned meat?
- O.L. From convers<sup>ns</sup> with Fr. rep<sup>ves</sup> have reason to believe they wd. keep out. Bis dat.
- W.M. We might on a quick offer get them to guarantee to keep out.
- O.L. Nor can we maintain “partnership” argument while junior partner gets nil.
- P.M. Has our loan of canned meat to R. been repaid (by U.S.).
- M/F. No. They have given no alloc<sup>n</sup> wh. they ndn’t otherwise have given.
- P.J. 15.000 t. Macochamikie available at once.  
8.000 t. p.m. + 3.600 t. bacon – cut in consumption thro’ cut in  
z/ ration scales of non-combatant troops. Effect not to be given till post/Election.  
Believe troops wd. take the cut for benefit of our civilians – but not for liberated areas. Must talk to Comm<sup>rs</sup> first: & also wait for Election.
- P.M. No reduction of U.K. rations.
- M/F. Wd. affect points for canned meat.  
Cd. use the 15.000 t. Mac. with good effect. Tell Fr. this is a first  
x/ contrib<sup>n</sup>: we’re seeing what more we can do: keep out of S.A.
- O.L. Cd. P.M. ask Truman how U.S. mil. economics are going – i.e. prod on his promise to me at Washington. Saying we are giving the  
y/ Mac. out of our mil. stocks.  
10.000 t. p. month wd. keep France quiet.
- R.K.L. x/ Danger to B. ration if Comb. Food machinery breaks down.
- W.M. Meat profit for us if a gift prevented Fr. from unilateral buying.
- O.L. Gap = until Nov. because they get nothg. until last quarter.
- A.S. Fr. pos<sup>n</sup> is very serious – their shortage is such as to create risk of disorder.
- J.A. Stressed x/. Worth some sacrifice to prevent that.
- O.L. 36 m. tons imports 7 m. food – 8 months pre-war } French  
1.75 tons .. 8 months post/liberation } imports.
- A.S. Difficult to say they must keep out of neutral markets.

P.M. Case v. U.S. – by holding off from Argentine we are now havg. diffy. in getting Argentine contract when Fr. are in the offing with hard currency.

W. How long will it take to get the contract?

M/F. A month wd. clear that, if the French are kept out.

J.A. Danger of price being raised against us, also.

Agreed: M/F. to prepare draft telegram for P.M..

P.M. x & y: but on the basis of telling U.S. we will offer it if they will do the same. And begin telegram to U.S. by explaining how we have bn. put at disadvantage by agreeing to defer our Argentine contract. Situation has turned out as we foresaw. We are now getting less. You promised tht. in this event you wd. help us with food as well as dipl. pressure. Fr. & Belg. have 3 refrig. ships, whose use we cdn't deny them. Pos<sup>n</sup> in France. x & y. = 45.000 from U.S. to be asked for. Not prep<sup>d</sup> to cut U.K. rations.

Keep z. out of it. Also I want assurance from M/F. – no cut in U.K. rations.

If U.S. agree: joint approach inviting Fr. & Belg. to keep out of Argentine.

#### 4. Economic Disarmament of Germany.

W.M. Decision needed before S.G. leaves for Moscow. He wd. otherwise find diffy. in discussing current deliveries for reparation.

P.M. Enough that S.G. shd. discuss in the light of this paper.  
Can't decide to-day.  
Let R. show their hand.

P.J. This is prior cond<sup>n</sup> to reparations – and more urgent because Armies shd. know v. soon what they shd. destroy. Want to give Monty guidance.

Ch. Don't want this memo. to go to E.A.C.

[P.M. Truman has now decided to withdraw U.S. forces on 21/6.  
We will conform. But let them take the responsibility.]

Ch. { Para 5(b) of Annex add after "industry" "as soon as circs. permit".  
{ B.B.'s sugg<sup>n</sup>.  
{ M/W.T. agreed. Amendment accepted.

P.M. Para 5(b) of Memo. can't be approved to-day.

- S.G. Only want a general idea of probable policy.  
 Agreed: subject to omission of para. 5(b) of Memo.  
 P.J. to have liberty to show to Monty & Weeks.  
 [Enter. Ll. George.]
5. Coal in North Western Europe.
- O.L. Propose mil. organ<sup>n</sup> to see Germans extract maximum of coal.
- P.M. No more coal from here beyond present commit<sup>mt</sup> of 400.000 t.  
 of quality we can't use here up to August.  
 Agreed – as in Memo.  
 [Exit. Monckton, Ll. G., Mabane,  
 Salter, M/W.T., M/F.]
6. Future of National Fire Service.
- General Agreement.
- H.M. Air Staff want to be sure that there will be suitable organisation  
 ready for war.  
 Want consult<sup>ns</sup> between H.O. & Air Staff.
- H.O. This must be taken care of, in planning future of the Service.  
 Agreed.
- P.M. No need to announce – at least until I am sure that on balance it will  
 be more popular than unpopular.
- J.A. Diffy. to delay. For Morrison gave a pledge. And I.a.'s will ask at  
 the Election wtr. we are going to honour that pledge.  
 Agreed: form & timing of announcemt. to be considered by P.M.
7. Constitutional Policy in Malaya.
- O.S. Mountbatten wants to go much further. This is as far as I wd. go.  
 Timing – because of C.O.S. anxieties to do somethg. to meet  
 Mountbatten.  
 Not for genl. publ<sup>n</sup>: merely for guidance of officers & civil officials.  
 Agreed.

1. National Health Service.

- M/H. Reasons for announcement – a) large measure of agreement with parties: avoid impression of going back or delaying b) points of unpopularity awkward for candidates. c) this scheme must be in force when N.H.I. scheme is introduced. d) E.M.S & mil. hosp. must be worked into scheme.  
Announce in speech at end of next week.
- R. Supported. Otherwise we shall be in false pos<sup>n</sup>.
- M/H. Candidates want answers.
- O.S. Why delay a week.
- M/H. Not too soon after Parlt. rises. - Agreed: early or middle of next week.
- M/H. Popular with l.a.'s save L.C.C.  
Vol. hospitals are all behind this modified scheme.
- P.M. Moran's views?
- M/H. Puts university region even higher – but we are giving Reg. Adv. Council, which goes a long way to meet him.
- M/H. Chairman of Cons. Party & Chief Whip wd. welcome announcement.
- P.M. Spoke (without much understanding) about health centres.
- H.O. Not enough emphasis in Memo. on facilities for expert treatment – in hospital or by specialists.
- P.M. New feature – centres for diffusion of knowledge. That kind of centre. Aim must be to raise the standard of G.P.'s – by keeping them in touch with centres of illumination on up-to-date medical knowledge.  
Get something new into this.
- O.L. We are at cross-purposes. Health centre is only grouped g.p. practice.
- P.M. Either a) spectacular improvement or b) say this is what Coalition agrees. This paper is only tinkering.
- M/H. No. Points of unpopularity withdrawn.  
Reg. Advisory Councils are also a good new point.  
Improvements – on teeth, eyes & deafness: & capital grants for vol.



hospitals.

R.A.B. Let Minister make announcement of results of his discussions.  
But don't let us be finally committed to a post-Election health policy.

M/H. But I've bn. negotiating on behalf of Govt.

R.A.B. I refuse to decide this to-day.

H.O. Certain phrases in original W. Paper v. unpopular with doctors.  
These changes will cure those diff<sup>ies</sup>. Statement with more auth<sup>y</sup> than R.A.B. suggests wd. be v. helpful.

M/H. Not concessions to doctors only – want 4 or 5 pts. & promise to introduce early leg<sup>n</sup> in new Parl.

B.S. In reply to R.A.B. what, meanwhile, do we reply in Election – other Ministers and candidates.

M/H. Genl. description of changes – at request of P.M.

- a) Planning of the services to be shared between l.a.'s & experts (hosp. & doctors)
- b) 30 areas are limited: hence Reg. Adv. body based on teaching hospitals
- c) L.a.'s keep hospitals vice transferring them to Joint Bd.
- d) No "direction" of doctors
- e) No payment to vol. hospitals from l.a.
- f) No central empl. of doctors by a C.M. Board.
- g) Improvements in teeth, eyes, deafness.

B.B. Support M/H. – because this will placate the doctors.

R. Certain differences in Scotland.

P.M. Assheton should be consulted on terms of speech.  
Also publication (after speech) of statement – progress report – by Govt.

Agreed: on this basis: statement to be submitted to  
P.M. & Assheton.

## 2. Italian Prisoners of War.

R.K.L. Decision by U.S. w'out consult<sup>n</sup> with us.  
We must confirm. Awkward for Italian Govt. if we don't: & they will play U.S. off v. us.  
Decision, not of nos., but in principle – to tell Ital. Govt. we shall send them back as transport becomes available & their labour can be replaced.

P.J. Most will have to stay here for another 12 months – for no transport will be available. Cautious statement must therefore be made.

P.M. Not good foreign policy to seek short-term applause from any country: but solid support of countries whose support is worth having.  
What advantage can Italy give us?

R.K.L. They won't go. And if we lag behind U.S. in this, it won't do us much good with Italian Govt.

M/Ag. Impossible at this moment to let one of them go.  
Co-operators – work singly on farms – good. Others work in gangs.  
V. unfair to let 2<sup>nd</sup> go first. Can't replace 1<sup>st</sup> class by Germans.

P.J. Cd. send a few at a time from M/East.

H.M. Long history at A.F.H.Q.  
a) release those imp<sup>d</sup> in Italy. This is now done.  
b) 30.000 p.o.w. att<sup>d</sup> to Fr. Army as troops. These cd. be released.  
Italian Govt. wd. do better to keep them abroad.  
Why not wait until asked – keep it going – harvest will be in.  
Agreed. { wait: & handle thro' diplomatic not  
{ military channel.  
[ Exit Sandys.

### 3. Civil Service Salaries.

J.A. No change since 1920. Not enough. Foreign Service rates are being promulgated. Propose changes in intermediate grades.  
Total cost about 340/360.000.  
These changes will enable a) improvemts. in scientific scale.  
b) refusal of bonus to A.S. and P.A.S.

P.M. What is the urgency?

J.A. No other opportunity for wks. Dpts. are held up. Temporaries will go. Rep<sup>ns</sup> re scientists: lawyers.  
Further delay will involve grave loss of efficiency.  
Also Foreign Service has got ahead.

O.L. Supported – qua attracting temporaries.

O.S. Col. II was considered opinion of M.G. Gttee. Are we debarred from raising that later?

J.A. No. Discussed with P.M.: thought Col. III was essential for the present: P.M. didn't want to go further now on the highest

grades.

Approved – as in Column II. – postpone announcement.  
[ Exit R.A.B.

4. General Election: Service Aircraft.

E.E.B. Read A.G.'s opinion.

H.M. Re last para.  
Ministers after Dissolution will be based in constituency.  
Permissible therefore to fly them to London and back: where  
necessary for business.

P.M. Go right at it – on grounds of speed. And offer same facility to  
ex-Ministers of corresponding rank because of their duty  
to advise public opinion.  
Ministers must have every facility to save time. As courtesy,  
we extend same facilities to ex-Ministers.

O.S. & H.O. Supported H.M.'s distinction.

H.O. Ex-Minister using aircraft for an electioneering tour. That is the  
red light.

1. Disposal of German War Material in relation to Reparation.

J.A. Booty: in internat<sup>l</sup> law the line is drawn at general surrender.  
Complic<sup>n</sup>: U.S. & B. Armies are w'drawing from areas wh. they occupied & will have to leave behind to R. some material wh. cd. be claimed as booty: reasonable to regard this as w'in reparation.

Further ques.: shd. amount of booty be included in reparation total.  
Recommendations – as in para. 15.

A.C. F.O. Agree.

A.S. Agreed.

Ch. Academic because R. won't tell us anything anyhow & will take all they can.

O.L. Rpt. tht. R. are removing plant en bloc from Austria.  
Pity our instructions are so negative.  
It is to our interest to get the booty credited to reparations total.

A.S. Para (ii) – wd. have to be bi-lateral. R. must have same rights of inspection in our zone.  
Agreed. [ Exit Salter.

2. Greece.

A.C. Two main sugg<sup>ns</sup> a) restrict G. armed forces.  
b) initial equipmt. of 100.000: but let G. maintain.

See top of p.2.

Further devel. since. Conf<sup>nt</sup> with Scobie, who has proposed extended powers for B. Mil. Mission to dismiss undesirable members of G. mil. forces. Alex is against. C.O.S. have recomm<sup>d</sup> P.M. to endorse Scobie's proposal.

O.L. Is it wise for us to propose limiting to what is requ<sup>d</sup> for internal security. Make it certain they'll ask us for help against foreign enemy. They wd. use the words v. us.  
Put it more general grounds.

J.A. Fix a figure: as what they can manage: urge them to reduce to that & maintain them. For us to maintain weakens their sense of responsibility.

Ch. Shd. we not press them to balance their budget.

- Ch. Shd. we not press them to balance their budget.
- J.A. Improvement in financial pos<sup>n</sup> since Varvaressos appt<sup>d</sup>. They have, however, a hard row to hoe. Now on right lines. Memo. is out of date.
- O.L. x/ Anglo-Am. Prod<sup>n</sup> Mission wd. help.
- J.A. Wish to find out first wtr. V. wd. agree.
- R.A.B. Economic situation dangerous. Wages are pegged & prices aren't.
- J.A. That is prob. out of date. They have started on V. plan which includes pegging prices. The V. plan is right: ques. is wtr. they will have the courage to put it into effect.  
Agreed: Plus F.O. to consider x/.

### 3. Civil Aviation: Filton Airfield.

- Ch. Asked to sponsor this Memo.  
Cab. was disposed to agree if not more than £50.000 in first few months.  
This shows only £32.000 in first 2 months.  
Support therefore subject to Ty. scrutiny of total: £675.000 for assembly shed is v. gt.
- R.A.B. Alarming qua labour. 250 – to peak of 1.000 for 3 mos. at 5<sup>th</sup> month.  
{ 1/2 mill. man-hours.
- Ch. 230 ft. span of the aircraft.  
We can't afford to be w'out experience of v. big aircraft because they will prob. be useful militarily. Might be able to defend themselves v. fighters.
- O.L. V. expensive experiment.
- J.A. We've accepted the policy. Can't now re-open it. Only ques. now is wtr. immediate expenditure is justified. Figure will be within prev. Cab. decision. Minister shd. go ahead.  
Agreed.

### 4. Three Power Meeting.

- P.M. Results of Electon 26/7. Poll 5/7.  
Yalta = 9 working days. King's visit = dies non  
Feel now it may be awkward to talk during this interval, when results of Election not known. Had thought we cd. have solid front if CRA came too – his added decl<sup>ns</sup> wd. give us watertight decl<sup>n</sup>

of policy.

But intervention of Laski a) CRA only an observer. That is solved by formula "friend & counsellor": & CRA and E.B. reject the observer doctrine.  
b) no guarantee of continuity of foreign policy. This, Laski has stressed in later speeches: & CRA has not denied it.

Don't feel therefore tht. integrity of my position is assured.

Don't believe there is in fact any divergence of view between me & CRA on foreign policy – e.g. on Greece, Yugoslavia, Syria, Russia.

But CRA's agreement is challenged by leader of Socialist Party. I shd. be leaning on a broken crutch.

Occurred to me therefore tht. it might be better to wait until someone can clearly be responsible for B. policy. Had hoped it might be 15/8: but if it were CRA Govt. fear it cdn't be earlier than x/ 30/8 – unless E.B. as Foreign Secretary went in advance of debate on new Govt. policy: he cd. then get off by 15/8 or so. Not therefore unreasonable to suggest postponement on grd. tht. CRA's credentials are imperfect. It wd. of course be all right if they got rid of Laski. The Soc. Party Executive are mtg. to-morrow to discuss – in light of Laski's speech at Nottingham contemplating violence.

B.B. Risky: a) public wdn't like to feel mtg. [Enter Margesson postponed because party politics.  
b) risk that Truman & Stalin might meet alone.

P.M. I wdn't press the point as far as that.  
Not sure tht. Stalin wdn't prefer it – recent request for postponement of withdrawal to Zones, to 1/7: that wd. be a peg on which to hang my approach in new situation.

B.B. Strong case: Laski has said they will be free to repudiate decisions reached.

P.M. Delay wd. not be my fault: wd. throw light on divisions in Labour Party.  
Have read draft telegrams to A.E. He is willing. I'm not decided. Some of the urgent causes have disappeared – V. Giulia & Carinthia: 1<sup>st</sup> + 2<sup>nd</sup> Ukrainian Armies restd. moving back into R. – others moving east.  
Read out draft telegrams. Change: ask Truman before approaching U.J.  
X EEB. to reconsider dates on assumption at x/ overleaf. X

- A.C. Delay. Some of most urgent reasons have gone – add Poland.  
Delay of about a month wd. not be detrimental, from  
F.O. angle.
- P.M. C.O.S. no mil objection to postponement. But continuation of  
standstill until after Ang. ~Terminal wd. be awkward esp. for  
R.A.F. ~But may not be necessary. [Enter B'brook  
Agreed: no objection to postponement.
- P.M. Ques. then is wtr. it wd. be pol. advantageous.  
Discussion ensued on Laski incident.
- J.A. Can you put the 15/8 as a firm date when it will be for CRA to decide?  
Wd. it be enough to say “not before 15/8.”
- B. Important tht. telegrams shd. not appear to contemplate a Govt. defeat.  
Shd. be hypothetical.

1. Canadians in Aldershot.

- P.M. Riot spreads – cf. 1918 – stern punishment alone can check it.  
Not satisfied tht. all was done to prevent second outbreak.
- C.I.G.S. Respons. with Canadians entirely. Our Commander (Genl. Curtis)  
workg. in co-op<sup>n</sup>.  
Causes a) delay in repat<sup>n</sup> b) given leave & pay at once, then no  
pay on return. c) home rations lower than in 21 Army  
Group.  
First night – surprise: but taken in hand. No looking.  
Second .. 50 addl. civil police & reinforcements of Canadians.  
When show began Can. tried soft tactics first: failed: Curtis  
intervened & sit<sup>n</sup> then recovered. Policy not to use Red-caps.  
100 men now taken into custody: will be ct. martialled if ev<sup>ce</sup>  
warrants it.  
We shall return 140.000 by end/year vice150.000 asked for.  
2.500 being sent away to-day for embarkation. Others being split up.  
A.G. saw Genl. Montague to-day.
- P.M. Why not have streets policed by B. troops?  
See that those responsible lose by it – postponemt. of return, pay for  
damage.  
P.J. to take all possible action. I will wire M. King if desired.
- C.I.G.S. Shortly no Can. transit troops will be left in b-up area of Aldershot.

2. Vigilantes: Housing of Homeless.

- P.M. Read report from Evening Standard.
- M/H. There is power for l.a. to requisition empty houses.  
And small houses shd. be requisitioned.
- P.M. But vigilantes must be checked – by force.

3. Non-Fraternisation.

- P.M. Against nature to persevere so long. Why shd. not our troops discourse  
with G. soldiers. Wd. be folly to attempt same thing in Austria.
- P.J. Russians not behaving so kindly as reports suggest.  
Govt. inst<sup>n</sup> to Monty – modify the policy gradually. I added: try to  
move quadri-laterally if possible. In theory, policy shd. be  
prescribed by Control Comm<sup>n</sup>, but that isn't working yet.



Observer & Times running a campaign: Comm. & G. refugees are responsible.  
Take care.

P.M. Read message sent to-day to Monty.  
Answer: Non-Fr. must stop. 2 mos' lesson. Now must re-educate: can't do so w'out spkg. to them. Monty has wanted to get change, but has had no success "with higher auth<sup>y</sup>" – provided U.S. conform.

P.J. He already has authority to make gradual change.  
This is matter for Govts, not C.C.S. (Save as Channel). Control Comm<sup>n</sup>, subject to their Govts.

P.M. I want to give a lead - & let U.S. follow.  
Monty wants – "broad genl-directive fr. W.O. wh. wd. allow relaxation of present rule w'out encouraging fraternisation"  
x/ & leavg. actual method of relaxation to C-in-C.

P.J. he has had that auth<sup>y</sup> for a month. I wd. like to tell him so.

P.M. Let P.J. say so. Then inform U.S. we have given that order.  
Let us agree a) To x/.  
b) Inform U.S.  
c) Tell Alex. he can do likewise for B Zone in Austria & inform U.S.

P.J. Are we to assume tht. we deal uni-laterally re B. Zone? }  
} (d)

P.M. Yes – with notification to others – pending smooth working }  
of C. Comm<sup>n</sup>. }  
Agreed: as at a) – d): W.O. to act.  
[ Exit. C.I.G.S & Ismay.

#### 4. Cabinet Programme for July.

P.M. 8 Ministers for 4 Cabinets a week.  
We are entitled to act on assumption tht. our responsibility will continue.  
This is a critical time – put on a turn of speed. Running against a current of relaxation.

#### 5. Release of Women from Services.

P.M. As in his memo.  
B. releases – feel our way: might go a bit above 10% if Services will take it.

O.L. No ques. re demobilisation.

P.J. V. little.

R.A.B. I had many from R.A.F.

P.J. Ground staffs are largely AEU members.

P.M. Yes: & safer therefore in civil life.

H.M. Will go into it again: but last sentence of para 2 is governing point. But we can do more. New factor: many don't want to go. Will use tht. by reducg. 6/12 months re-engagemt. to 3 mos.

P.J. All our married women want to go.

P.M. 130.00 is much too few. Try 500.000 in 3 months!

P.J. Haven't got so many. And many branches where 50% are women.

P.M. Shd. like to say women can have industry too.

R.A.B. Assume wastage of 700.000 anyway – don't encourage more!

P.M. Let any woman go who is redundant.

H.M. Accept that formula: will see how it works out.

R. More soldiers now in Scotl. under training than before D. day. }  
57.000 Poles c.f. Can't get houses de-requisitioned or ag. on }  
the move.

P.M. Cd. intensive training be stopped?

P.J. Will look into letter from R.

P.M. { Why not consider Foreign Legion, size of a Divn. [Enter Maxwell.  
{ Cttee. might consider that.  
Vigorous action to cut down over next month.

H.M. Cd. 1/8 date be advanced a little?

P.M. No objection to some fluidity.

Ll. G Will review be confined to women? What of miners.

J.A. We haven't the man-power to sustain the planned strategy for Far/East.

- P.J. 1.300.000 a year hence.  
P.M. Also – Ty. control must be re-imposed.
- J.A. More serious still.
- Ch. 5.130.000 in Services 1/6.  
2.877.000 by mid/46.  
4.240.000 by end/45.  
What we want therefore is to accelerate.
- H.M. Easier – but for age & length of service.
- P.J. Reason for slowness in '45 is large no. of operations in SEAC. –  
because Indian administration can't support them.
- H.M. a) Standstill removed. b) Decided to reduce fr. 116 to 87 squadrons  
the cont<sup>n</sup> to ACSEA. c) V.L.R. – unlikely to get airfields for  
more than 10/ of 30 airfields 20 squadrons. d) 20.000 further  
men to be saved from inactive theatres.  
These 4 factors arisen since M.P. Mtg. Will try to move fwd. '46  
figures into '45.
- P.M. Other Services must aim at bringing fwd. into '45.
- P.J. Bevin didn't want a faster rate because risk of local unemplt.
- O.L. Mistaken policy: must take a risk. [ Re-enter Ismay.
- D.S. Serious situation in bldg. materials industries.
- R.A.B. Doing our best to meet them.
- P.J. C.O.S. shd. be given clearer definition of our aim to make as big a  
cont<sup>n</sup> as we can to war in F/East.
- P.M. V.L.R. work on 10 + shadow scheme for reviving if we get chance of  
more.  
No firm decision involvg. F/East strategy until after Terminal.  
Man Power Cttee to meet: prepare series of queries to Cabinet  
with object of feeding civil needs at all costs.  
Reverse any previous discouragement of rapid demobilisation.
2. Vigilantes: Housing of Homeless. [note – item 2 is split in the book]
- A.M. Police say one crank in B'ton has broken into 2 houses & put in  
families.  
Owner's solr. agreed with Police – no crim. action: only remedy is  
action in Co. Court. Police will support that action – by  
avoiding b/peace.

Danger: publicity will cause imitation.  
Will consult with M/H. & see what can be done.

- P.M. This is lawless action. Shdn't H.O. intervene to check it.
- J.A. ? Criminal conspiracy.
- A.M. Trespass is not crim. conspiracy.
- P.M. We can't tolerate this.
- M/H. First need: tell l.a.'s to use their powers of requisition.
- P.M. Don't let it be said there are empty roofs with homeless about.  
Get a return of nos. of empty houses.  
Owners of houses shd. be told to get eviction orders:  
M/H concurrently shd. provide alternative accomm<sup>n</sup> for  
the families.
- x/ Let Press be told what Govt. decision is: statement to issue  
to-night.
- B.B. Don't publish anything until all Polls are over.
- J.A. Do it quietly.
- P.M. But see tht. Police do stop this sort of thing.

Food and Fuel for Berlin.

- P.J. R. respons. for feeding G. so far. Sit<sup>n</sup> chancy: surpluses for E. won't be forthcoming.  
Hinde's statement wide of mark. Mtg. friendly: Zhukov said merely assumed that each Zone wd. be responsible for own feeding.  
Weekes told to deal on interim basis of supplying food for one month pendg. disc<sup>n</sup> at Terminal. Coal: none in sight: promise discuss Terminal.  
41.000 t. p.m. food. R. estimate Clay will provide from U.S. stock-pile various quantities (quoted) – starting in 4 days. Will see B. and U.S. Zones thro' till after Terminal.  
On coal, Weekes shd. do more because Clay provides the food. Told him to promise enquiry to see what we can do.  
This prov<sup>n</sup> line based on A.G.'s views & mine tht. we can't afford to have starvation in B. & U.S. Zones while Terminal is on.  
Terminal: comes under item of treating G. as one economic unit.  
Two trains a day to Berlin are involved.
- M/F. What ration scale will that suppose?
- P.J. These are R. estimates: scales will be considered at mtg.  
Food.
- M/F. Must see they are not fed lavishly – because troubles in liberated areas, let alone U.K.
- O.L. No meat or fats included – less risk of that trouble.  
Beware of slippery slope with R. – treat this as single exceptional course.
- P.J. That is quite clear to Weekes.
- R.S.H. German harvest shd. now be coming along.
- P.J. Ques. is wtr. R. will disgorge.  
Agreed: qua food, for the month.  
Coal.
- P.J. Joint coal organ<sup>n</sup>: will try to get it set up at this mtg.  
W. given some latitude to keep Clay sweet. But no coal to be moved because Magdcburg bridge won't be working before end/month.  
R. say no coal from Silesia will be available for Germany.

45% pre-war: remainder from Silesia.  
7.500 t. p.day = R. figure. 2.500 by R. and 5.000 by B. & U.S.

- D.F. This is large figure: & wd. sink present p'gramme for lib. areas.  
25 m. tons = target for Ruhr up to end Apl. '46. of wh. 10 m. by  
Xmas. That barely covers lib. areas needs. That is exportable  
surplus.  
1 1/2m. tons off this for Berlin at 7.500 t. p.day. i.e. up to Apl. '46.
- L. Can you do anything in time?
- P.J. No. But he talks willing – qua Clay.
- L. Not a big figure – on need of Berlin. It is really quite small.
- O.L. Only solution for coal in Europe is to step up Ruhr production.
- P.J. No need for further inst<sup>ns</sup> to Weekes, in light of Cab. discussion.
- L. Cd. we ship some coal from Poland to N. Germany.
- P.J. Silesian coal to Berlin: and Ruhr coal to Mag?????  
Confirm inst<sup>ns</sup> already given: & ask Weekes to report again  
if he needs more authority.
- A.E. Will consider with P.J. what advice on these ques. can be obtained at  
Terminal.

C.M. 13(45).

10<sup>th</sup> July, 1945 (3.p.m.)

Naval, Air & Military Operations.

C.A.S. 29 days.  
SEA. Monsoon. 5/600 s. p. day. 21 lost in month. Jap  
retreatg. east & shipping Gulf/Siam. 1 tanker +  
3 coasters sunk: 3 c. dam.  
China. U.S. claims 2 ships sunk + 800 rives craft. 290 locos.  
17 lost. 16:8 enemy.  
Pacific. 18.000 s. 20 lost. 35 : 9 : 20. Airfields, ports: Borneo  
(suppt) airfields Celebes.  
290 small craft d. 400 dam.  
Japan. 64 : 28 : 58 for 18 U.S. lost. 3.000 t. ??????  
26.000 t. + 2.000 t. mines.  
85.000 t. 15.000 on Tokyo = up to date  
[1.400.000 t. 40.000 Berlin.]

Naval.

C.N.S. 101. U.Bts in Allied control.  
146 scuttled.  
783 sunk.  
260 G. ?sweepers – 600 m. p. wk. – under our control.  
H.M.A.S. Australia arr<sup>d</sup> Plymouth for repair after suicide attacks in  
Pacific.

Military

C.I.G.S. Germany. Occupation of Zones nearly complete. Fr. are in Southern &  
nearly in Northern parts.  
Austria. Fr. are in. B. not yet in northern portion nr. Bruck. R. have  
to adjust in 2 places.  
3.494.000 DP. repa<sup>d</sup>. incldg. 1.256.000 Fr. 1.569.000 R.  
2.784.000 still to go back.

M/F. Who feeds them.

P.J. In effect, Army – tho' UNRRA may put up pretence.

Borneo

Brunei Bay going well – extended to Miri: advancing inland at Badas.  
Balikpapau: good start but more oppos<sup>n</sup> now.

Burma.

J. offensive in s., to assist w'drawal of J. cut off inland.

Prisoners of War. Japan.

P.J. Stand-still agreement with Japs – as with Germans. For sometimes J. massacre them. Joint Anglo-American declar<sup>n</sup> requ<sup>d</sup>. First step however to clear with Doms. Can we go ahead?  
Involves promise not to use recovered prs. for active role in J. war.

Cad. We cd. also get on with war criminals.  
Agreed.

Tangier.

A.E. Prev. I said we wdn't have R. in talks. They have now asked: and Fr. & U.S. have both favoured adm<sup>n</sup>. I incline to stall until Terminal bargaining counter.  
Best method, unless anyone wants to try to keep them out for ever.  
Agreed.

Prisoners of War – Repat<sup>n</sup> of Italian Prisoners.

R.S.H. Ital. rep<sup>ve</sup> – Calendini – rept<sup>d</sup> to have said they wd. be repat<sup>d</sup> as soon as shipping available.

Cad. We had telegraphed – find out what he has said & get correction made.  
[Exeunt C.O.S.]

Supplies to Russia.

O.L. Two points:  
a) tell R. we expect a cont<sup>n</sup> to W. Europe (food & coal) fr. eastern areas. Shan't get any food: may get coal.  
b) UNRRA. Elab. process of puttg. supplies into Poland & Czechoslovakia = puttg. them into R. But enough to tell them they shd. regard their cont<sup>ns</sup> as supplementary.

P.J. Tell UNRRA also we are expectg. cont<sup>n</sup> from east. – far from havg. anything from west. In makg. plans bear that in mind.

Ch. What is UNRRA spending its money on? S. Greece anyhow.

O.L. Register the fact tht. we aren't going to put E.Europe into normal at UNRRA expense.



- Ch. Cdn't U. insist on inspectg – to avoid abuse.
- A.S. Ineffective in practice.
- A.E. Vienna: problem will arise as on Berlin. Pre-war was fed from the east, now in R. occupation. What shd. we say at Terminal?  
Get R. to accept view tht.  
a) G. & Austria shd. be treated as econom. whole (as for reparations)  
x/ b) Zones sd. draw from pre-war sources of supply.  
Principles on wh. Control Comm<sup>ns</sup> shd. work.
- R.S.H. Potash. Mines are in R. Zone. We have lost that source. Cd. formula at (b) be extended to fertilisers?  
Agreed: a) Memo. approved.  
b) Formula at x/: includg. fuel & fertilisers:  
A.E. to telegraph P.M. for Berlin.

[Exit Salter, Llewillin, Leathers  
Enter Beatty.

Future of the Assyrians.

- L.S.A. Lebanon might take them – to add to their Christian community.  
No place in Colonies where they can be put.  
Main livelihood = levies: why not Cyrenaica, if we are going to have an air-base there. Requisitioning Italian farms.  
N. mountainous parts of Baluchistan. Now being considered for strategic reserve.  
Worth enquiring into these 3 possibilities – fine soldiers, fought for us since 1916.
- C.O. Same problem with Poles & Jews.
- Ch. Stressed import<sup>ce</sup> of friends in Cyrenaica.
- P.J. Agreed.
- R.S.H. Capable of much increased production.
- P.J. Are you sure?
- O.L. When I was in Cairo estimated it wd. cost £6/700,000 p.a. to administer.
- C.O. We have spent 3 years in filling it up with Senussi.
- P.J. Put them there only as levies for airfield.

Cab. Moyne turned it down – but as adjunct to airfields a new idea.

C.O. Cd. you put in many on that basis.

A.E. Put to M/East alternatives of Cyrenaica and Lebanon.

{ also Eritrea.

LSA. to consider Baluchistan.

[Enter Law.  
Exit Beatty.

Housing: Use of Empty Houses.

RAB. Explained M/H. proposal. 1 week's grace to owner.

Wd. like to insist on more adequate notice to owners.

Agree can't have much delay – otherwise Vigilantes will beat us to it.

R.S.H. Limit of size – by rateable value?

RAB. No

Make contact with landlord - & obtain his views – then give him a week.

Ch. A week or such longer period as may seem reasonable in circs.

A.E. Two wks. after contact with landlord.

Establish contact: then 10 day's grace.

Don't announce before 12/7.

RAB to communicate with M/H.

Educational & Cultural Organisation of United Nations.

RAB. Forestall Institute of Intellectual Co-oper<sup>n</sup> - important.

Agreed.

[Enter Simon.

India.

L.S.A. W. proposes make own list: see Jinnah & persuade him to accept.

Also see Congress because going outside their list.

List of 2<sup>nd</sup> choices in reserve.

At present only needs auth<sup>y</sup> to proceed on those lines.

Further ques. – for India Cttee. – on what to do if negot<sup>ns</sup> break down.

Believe W.'s list is good. May get it accepted with some alterations.

P.J. a) I have always wanted to avoid appearance tht. key econ. jobs are in hands of people subservient to industrial interests. On this ground alloc<sup>ns</sup> of Matai and Patel are desperate.

L.S.A. Diff. to judge that kind of thing from this end.

We are comm<sup>d</sup> to principle of Indian self-government.

- S. Prior difficulty. Grave doubt – para 2 “in acc. with original plan”.? That was a plan for inviting fr. Parties their list. Point of that was names wd. be of people supported by their Party & ready to take job. But Mosl. League have refused to put in any list. He hasn't therefore bn. able to make his list from the Panels: because he has failed to get lists from all.
- P.J. Even more fundamental. M. League will be able to take hostile line v. new Council from the outset.
- S. Congress may be manoeuvring to show up Moslem League.
- A.E. a) we wanted to avoid a negotiation.  
b) choice wd. be from the lists.  
As Jinnah has not produced list, I thought only ques. now was how to bring thing to an end.
- L.S.A. Has been no negotiation on scope of offer. Always assumed some give & take in discussion of lists.  
Natural thing now – discuss with Jinnah & get him to nominate people suggested by W.
- A.E. But is this W.'s proposal?
- P.J. No. W. intends to publish at once.
- C.O. If you stop now, he'll have to show up Jinnah as stumbling block.
- O.L. Beware of losing rep<sup>ve</sup> character. If it's our list we lose it.  
Why not authorise him only to hold private convers<sup>ns</sup> with J. – to get him to put fwd. his list on assurance tht. Viceroy will not add an awkward Moslem.
- O.S. He is going outside Congress list. Thus , it is his list. And we insisted he shd. have his list.
- L.S.A. a) See J. and find out wtr. he will play when he knows who other Moslem is.  
b) See Congress & ascertain wtr. they accept his add<sup>ns</sup>.
- R.S.H. But W. intends to put whole list to each side. There wd. be no obj<sup>n</sup> to showg. each side its own part of the full list.
- L.S.A. Leave details of negot<sup>n</sup> to man on the spot.
- P.J. Go for J. alone: here is what I wd. recommend. Will you put fwd. nomination of 4 Moslem Leaguers. And will you play , if (your not putting in a list) I put it fwd.  
Take this action with J separately – to get him up to scratch with

others.

- A.E. We agree on handling of J. – as above.  
Why make simultaneous approach to Congress.
- S. No approach to Congress before we know result of talk with J.
- O.L. Whole list shd. not be shown to both sides. [ Agreed.
- RAB. V. bad Govt. if this does succeed.  
Wd. like to see honourable failure: followed by his smaller  
efficiency Govt.  
Go slow. Deal only with J.
- C.O. I wd. include in telegram leave to consult Congress, but make it clear it  
comes at a later stage.  
Agreed: no obj<sup>n</sup> to that.  
Agreed: Subject to reportg. back if J. won't play. If he will,  
W. to go on to Cong.

C.M. 14 (45).

12<sup>th</sup> July, 1945.

1. Disposal of German Fleet.

- BB. N.I. say naval technicians (G) being invited to join R. Fleet. More important therefore tht. subs. shd. be divided as proposed.
- O.S. Won't R. demand newer b' ship?
- C.N.S. They were happy with Cavour class Ital. ship.
- BB. U.S. Nav. Staff agree: will insist on scrapping of subs.
- A.E. Minor Allies – done v. well during war.
- C. Inform Doms. before action taken.  
Agreed.

Disposal of Italian Fleet.

- BB. Don't want them, but want to prevent others getting them Ready to let R. keep the B. ships lent them.
- A.E. Then need we give R. so many destroyers – if they are keeping 7 of 8 B. ships lent. Hard on Italians to keep only 2.
- C.N.S. No more nd. go to R. Keep our loan & that satisfies your claim in full. If they return those ships, they must have some share of 4. Fleet.
- A.E. That shd. be made clearer than it is in Memo. – para
- B.B. If they are not satisfied they must give back ours & take their chance on distribution of It. Fleet.
- A.E. I.e. start on para. 11. If that fails, we get ours back & argue about It. Fleet.

2. Man Power in Second Half of 1945.

- J.A. Referred to Friday's disc<sup>n</sup>.  
Cttee. concluded against "free for all" discharge of women. Loss of efficiency: postpone release of men: discontent among men. Therefore tried alternative of fresh targets for men as well as women. Service Ministers promised to do their best: but gave no guarantee. Referred to para. 8 of Memo. Danger of serious economic breakdown.

- C.I.G.S. a) To get near that target we must review plans.  
Bulk of cuts will fall on European commitments –  
12 Divns. 3.D. 3.D.  
G. or Austria or Italy  
+ 2 in Greece & M/E. Reserve.  
160.000 net increase in F/East. } cpd. 1.700.000  
300.000 to 478.000. } reduction.  
Need = review again minimum needs as insurance in Europe.
- b) End of para. 5. Do we get replacements?
- J.A. Class B. will be increased only to extent that replacements are available.
- A.E. Don't feel happy about Europe. Don't want to see w'drawal of strength.
- C.I.G.S. 1.1 m. is 220.000 in U.K. Present plans.  
820.000 251.000 Germany  
472.000 73.000 S.E. Europe  
300.000 478.000 Japan
- O.L. Asking now only for acceleration – not for reduction in Stage II levels.
- J.A. Catch up on results of standstill.
- McC. 3 wks. ahead, at Xmas, of planned phasing.
- H.M. We agreed to try to meet global increases – alloc<sup>n</sup> between Services made since.  
Our figure is 5 ½ times our original proposals.  
Between now + June/46 the RAF. will be inoperative.  
And that will involve loss of morale in R.A.F.  
Suggest C.O.S. shd. review consequences of cuts – addl.  
93.000 for R.A.F.  
? Agree to smaller increase now: & review after Terminal.
- J.A. Women: let the figures stand.  
Men: agree the R.A.F. increase is heavy. But we can't meet our needs unless correspdg. addition cd. be made for Army.
- H.M. Wd. accept 58.000 for women.
- B.B. Can only promise to do our best. 22.000 wd. interfere with Class A. But we will try hard to speed up.
- C.O. Shd. we treat men & women alike at receiving end?
- J.A. M/L. wanted this.
- McC. More short in industries employing many women.

A.E. Conclude 1) C.O.S. to consider implications of target figures  
{ allocations of totals between Services  
{ 2) Meanwhile Service Dpts. to work to these targets.  
{ 3) Avoid further commitments in Terminal disc<sup>ns</sup> (para. 8).

3. Peace Treaty with Italy.

A.E. Main Policy: encourage Italy to look to us rather than R.  
bring U.S. into it: & no obj<sup>n</sup> to their takg. the lead.  
Need therefore give Italy stability thro' pol. & economic support.  
Means: Peace treaty.  
early election – not before spring prs.  
keep troops there – U.S. also – to ensure stability till  
after Election.  
encourage efficient Italian Army: help + Mil. Mission.  
send Police Mission.  
maintain B. propaganda.  
get p.o.w. back fairly soon.

R.S.H. x/ Want to keep 30.000: cd. we keep them techn. as p.o.w. but alter  
status & give them pay. Then we cd. get them to volunteer.  
Then take other 30.000 back.

L.S.A. 5.350. skilled lt. p.o.w. ship-repairs – important to F/East war.  
India wants to keep them for time.

H.M. No need to keep p.o.w. status in India: that applies only in U.K.

O.S. Political re-action here – paying them wages when local unemplt.  
here.

R.S.H. The B. unemployed wdn't take jobs in agriculture.

C. U.S. intend to raise this at Terminal. Doms. Govts wd. then be  
consulted.  
Shd. we not now tell Doms. U.S. may raise & assure them we  
shan't go any lengths w'out consultg. Doms.

Cad. It is our proposal. But I intended to refer at once to Doms.

C. S. Africa have raised – reservation safeguarding right to be consulted  
on cession of Italian Colonies. Formal: by 4 Powers.  
V. awkward therefore wd. involve consultg. all sorts of  
European countries.  
Enough to get it recorded at Term. tht. we wd. be respons. for  
consultg. S. Afr. v African Colonies.

A.E. Want UNRRA to take over Italy – food and coal.

O.S. Some techn. pts. on Annex – will discuss with F.O.  
Approved general line.  
Give Dom. Govts. the Memo.  
[Enter M/W.T. M/F&P.  
Exeunt C.O.S., Cadogan  
J.A.]

4. Coal: Additional Bunkering Requirements.

L. Don't need the large coal. Not same need for speed (U-Boats).  
Unthinkable to lay ships up, in present situation, for lack of coal.  
What wd. U.S. and Allies think!  
Have accommodated M/F & P. in all sorts of ways, by bunkering  
in U.S. etc.  
This is a poor return for all my kindness!

O.L. H.G.'s plan wdn't work. Cancelling export of loco. coal: won't work  
because it was linked with U.S. bunkering.

H.G. There isn't the coal – w'out risk which I can't advise Cab. to take.  
Gas coal down to 4 wks (vice 6 wks).  
Falls on rlways, gas & coke overs.  
Can't afford any further cuts.  
67,000 t. will be lost if, as lekes says, U.S. bunkering can't go on after  
Sept.

A.E. Can we get any help from Truman at Terminal?

L. If we stop at end/Aug. and U.S. at end/Sept. to supply Europe, it's a  
poor look out for liberated areas.

O.L. This is too complex for Cab. Needs study by smaller body.

H.G. Cd. H.G., Leathers, RAB. and O.L. (Chairman) do this?

L. Meanwhile no hold-up of ships.  
Cab. Cttee { to report to Terminal. - Report in a week.  
{ Then no hold-up of ships.  
{ Exeunt. M/W.T., McC., H.G.  
{ Enter Simon

5. India: Constitutional Issue.

L.S.A. Summarised telegram.  
This breakdown will show – in India & in world opinion – that it is  
India's internal differences which prevent progress.

S. Shd. we not issue a statement here? – not leave it wholly to Delhi.

A.E. Let India Cttee first prepare the statement: i.e. LSA. to draft and  
submit to India Cttee.



- R.S.H. Shd. we not also see Viceroy's statement.
- S. Let India Cttee meet to-morrow.  
Tell Viceroy we are sendg. him what we are issuing & presume his  
will follow ours.
- L.S.A. Ours must follow his.
- S. Then you must ask him.  
Note: A.E. wants to see draft.
- S. W. wants approval today for paras 6 & 7.  
Do we agree to para. 9. I doubt if para. 8 was right.  
If it has broken down, shd. he have these private mtgs.
- A.E. Fear he will have seen them.
- S. a) Cab. agree – brkdown. must be ack<sup>d</sup> at yr. mtg. Sat<sup>y</sup>.  
b) Cab. wd. have thought it better not to have series/interviews  
meanwhile.
- O.S. Cd. you complain if interviews were used as in para 8?
- S. c) Tell him we are puttg. out statement.  
Afterwards agreed: L.S.A. & S. vice India Cttee.
6. Ceylon: Constitutional Problem.  
Cttee constituted as in brief. Rpt. to go to Dpts. D.O.T. vice B/T.

C.M.(45) 15 – 17<sup>th</sup> Meetings were meetings of the Caretaker Government held during the period of the Berlin Conference.

The last meeting of the Caretaker Government was held on 24<sup>th</sup> July 1945.

On 26<sup>th</sup> July, 1945, the results of the General Election were declared. Mr Churchill resigned: and Mr Attlee was invited to form a Government.

The first meeting of the Cabinet under Mr Attlee's Labour Government was held on 7<sup>th</sup> August, 1945.

1. Review of Military Situation.

Military Operations.

- C.I.G.S. Germany. 4 Zones.  
British 2: enclave rd. Bremen handed to U.S. for supply south.  
3 Corps Districts: total 3 Am<sup>d</sup> Divns (inclgd 1 Polish) 10 Infantry  
(inclgd 1 Can.) – not countg. some Can. Divns. w'drawg.  
These districts co-incide with G. admin<sup>ve</sup> areas. Forces reduced to  
occupl. strength – 9 Divns. have actually come down.  
U.S. Zone 22 Divns. inf. 10/12 arm<sup>d</sup> By Apl. '46 to 8 Divns.  
Fr. Zone 8 Divns. R. Zone – nos. not known.  
Berlin – equiv. of the B. arm<sup>d</sup> Divn.  
Main task 1.984 p.o.w. to be handled 694.000 handled – 1.2 m.  
still to sort out.  
In add<sup>n</sup> nos. comg. down fr. Norway.  
D.P.'s 2.363.000 in Zone. About 1 m. repat<sup>d</sup>. Mainly R &  
Poles.  
Also restorg. comm<sup>ns</sup> – local G. labour under our superv<sup>n</sup>.  
Accomm<sup>n</sup> for winter - .. ..  
Guarding frontiers – extensive.
- Austria. 4 Zones. B. in southern Z.  
Fr. 1 Mot'd Divn. Br. 1+ 2 inf. Divns. U.S. 1 arm. + 2 inf.  
R. 30 Divns.  
Also comg. down to occupl. status – 1 arm<sup>d</sup> will be w'drawn  
soon.
- Italy. Venezia Giulia. Anglo. U.S. Corps on l/c. 2 B. + 1 U.S. Divn.  
1 B. arm<sup>d</sup> in N.W. Italy = S.A. going home. Also N.Z. Divn.  
Centre: some Poles.
- E.B. Total no. of men on Continent?
- C.I.G.S. Will get it for you. VE. 21<sup>st</sup> 1.041.120. 779.800 May '46 251.000.
- E.B. Istria strength?
- C.I.G.S. Will come down to 30/40.000. Still mobile at 1 + 2 Divns.  
Not to be weakened yet.
- A.B. Reason governing rate?
- C.I.G.S. Guards for p.o.w. & d.p.s. Permanent commitmt: frontier + mbile  
reserves.  
Norway. 5 B + 1 U.S. inf. brigade. Problem G. p.o.w. 365.000.  
51.00 back to G. 100.000 more in August.
- P.M. Admin<sup>n</sup> & civil affairs?

- C.I.G.S. Under Monty – with central organ<sup>n</sup> in Berlin itself, incldg. rep<sup>ves</sup> of Dpts. Deputy permanently in Berlin in conjunction with other Deputies.
- Greece. 2 Divns. Equipping etc. Gk Army of 3 Divns. – 1 by Sept. 2 by Feb. '46.  
 Minor frontier dist<sup>ces</sup>. Alb. 3 B. Divns. Yugo. 2. Bulg. 12. R. in Bulg ¼ m.  
 The forces n. of frontier are therefore considerable.
- E.B. Air?
- C.A.S. 1 B. squadron. Ques: can we w'draw Gk. squadron fr. their control if country attacked.
- E.W. Recruitg. for Gk. Army?
- C.I.G.S. General recruitment – save for some undesirables. Left to Gk. Govt. Callg. up for age-groups.
- A.B. Do new age-grps. get comm<sup>ns</sup>?
- C.I.G.S. Don't know.
- E.B. Who is respons. for equippg. Police Mission. Not known. Can we have rept?
- Burma. E of Irraw. & W. main road thro' Tanngoo. – Japs. left behind 18.000. To date nearly 1.700 in killed: p.o.w. About 5/6.000 got out. Remanct = ?  
 Mopping up generally: prepartg. for offensive eastwds.  
 Monsoon – movemt. only on roads. About 7 Divns. B. strength.
- H.D. Increasing or reducg?
- C.I.G.S. Reducg. because Python – i.e. fr. form<sup>ns</sup>. Form<sup>ns</sup> reduced in strength. But Indian Divns. going back fr. Med. (2) will re-inforce. Otherwise nothg. but 1 Airborne Divn. to be sent out. Shipping bottleneck for personnel.
- Pacific. Aleutians cleared. Iwojima & Okinawa capt<sup>d</sup> & put U.S. range of Japan.  
 Borneo – Australian landg.  
 Morati: almost all N. Guinea in our possession, save for certain lodgmts. e.g. at Wuvak, Rabaoul, Bougainville.  
 Aust<sup>ns</sup> getting at all but second.
- China. Japs in s. w'drawg. to find strength in Manchuria v. R. threat.  
 First fr. Manch. to Japan: then fr. s. China to Manchuria.

They cdn't hang on to land-route to Malay etc. wh. are now virtually cut off fr. Japan because sea-route cut by Navy & Air.

Air Operations.

- C.A.S. Fulfillg. commitmts. over world & simult. reducg. to Stage II level.  
Prospect of increased work in F/East.  
Bad start on demob<sup>n</sup> because standstill order of over 1 month.  
104 sqn. at home + 22 destined F/East. By end/year 54.  
74 G. to 28. By end/yr. 35. Rate dictated by admin<sup>ve</sup> problems – equipment & personnel.  
73. It/Aust. to 47.  
65. SEA stet + some transpt sqn.  
3 Pacific. – went to Aust<sup>a</sup> + 25 to go. Plus perhaps more for TAF.  
i.e. HO sqn. to go in last 5 months.  
Major problem: switch fr. ops to transp<sup>n</sup>. Diffy in gettg. aircraft.  
Have relied on U.S. aircraft save for York, whose prod<sup>n</sup> has slipped badly since VE Day. U.S. diff. over supplies because L/lease: hope for improvmt.  
Shall have to carry 30.000 p.m. for Army.  
U.S. 7.000 1<sup>st</sup> line aircraft } 11.000 in U.K. for D. Day  
for final attack on Japan }  
320-570 1<sup>st</sup> line will be B. = 8%. Not v. large say.  
Aust. 44 sqn. 22 in Aust. 12 N. Guinea. 10 Borneo } operatg. v. pockets  
N.Z. 13 sqn. Solomons etc. } Not much of a  
} show.  
S.E.A. Only active theatres. Monsoon another 1 1/2 months.  
At peak 2.000 t. supplies p. day. Down to 20.000 t. p. month + 10.000 men.  
Tactical support: destroy & delay J. retirement e. fr. Burma. V. successful.  
Strategic: rlyws thro' Bangkok to Burma: ports: Jap base Singora.  
Beginning operat from Cocos Isl. – helps v. shipping.  
Jap. 250 incr. nominal – but inactive for a month. Conservg. efforts .  
China 600 U.S. – a) in north on comm<sup>ns</sup> b) support C. forces to delay w'drawal to Manchuria.  
Pacific. 17.000 s. 80 lost. V. light cp<sup>d</sup> with Europe. – last month.  
Month before last 4.000 s. for 19 } Super Forts. on Japan  
Last month 5.000 s. for 9. } Shows no real air opposition  
4.500 first line = Jap strength. But not trying to meet this attack: conservg. for invasion.  
34.000 t. (exclgd. atomic) = 8.000 on prev. month. 67.000 t. on G. by Bomber Com. in March at peak.
- H.M. See that Aust<sup>ns</sup> & N.Z. get due publicity.
- C.A.S. Hope to get them a better show.

Naval Operations.

- C.N.S. 62% will be in F/East. H.Q. Sidney. under dir<sup>n</sup> of Nimitz.  
Since March increasg. scale.  
3 carriers 2 cruisers 40 destroyers 50/60 Subs = all that is left of  
J. fleet.  
War now aircraft: shore-based Japs v. carrier-borne B.  
Main diffy. = logistic: vast distances.  
Since 10/7 Fleets bombardg, air-strikes & sweeps v. J. mainland.  
8 warships sunk: 28 dam:  
165.000 merchant tonnage 195.000 ..  
SIG aircraft dest<sup>d</sup> 684 dam.  
1 U.S. destroyer 191 aircraft (64 B) = losses. B. personnel lost  
under 12.  
J. mercantile marine only 1 m. tons – all in home waters. Lost  
500.000 t. in last 3 months.  
E. Indies Fleet. 3 assault forces prep<sup>d</sup> each able to lift 1 Divn.  
1<sup>st</sup> in SEA.  
Rangoon. 1<sup>st</sup> & pt.2<sup>nd</sup> will be used in f<sup>r</sup>comg. op<sup>ns</sup> v. Singapore.  
July: 2 sweepg. op<sup>ns</sup> in Malacca St. covered by air-strikes.  
swept 191 mines: destroyed 20 : 12 coasters : 13 : 5  
aircraft. 15 locos. 1 cruiser dam. 8 aircraft (2 pilots) –  
our losses.  
Mediterranean. Workg.-up area – stop en route for East.  
Large mine clearance. 150 swpers.  
Home Fleet – Reduced to 1 b. 4 cr. & flotilla of destroyers.  
15 Fl. swprs + 200 smaller on mine clearance.
- P.M. What progress made with sweeping?
- C.N.S. In 6 mos. major portion 80% will be done – 2 years to finish.  
i.e. 80% by end/year.  
5.100 m. swept since VE Day. Fishing areas particularly.  
U-Boats: 156 Allied control From G. sources.  
221 scuttled or dismantled.  
782 sunk during war.  
8 not a/c. for  
7 in Jap. hands.  
We said 700 sunk! We estimated a bit more bldg & workg. up. Rate  
of const<sup>n</sup> we guessed about right.
- C.E. How much of our merchant navy is e. of Suez. C.N.S. want notice.  
[Exeunt. C.O.S.]
- P.M. a) Map Room. b) Need for secrecy in all Cab. matters, especially  
military.
- A.B. Review Service demands in light of changed strat. pos<sup>n</sup>.

- P.M.            After Def. Cttee review.
- T.W.            New M.P.'s to have facilities to visit Continent – to see need for troops there.
- J.J.L.           Up to schedule on demob<sup>n</sup>. Down to ¼ m. by May '46.  
Up to Group 11.
- E.B.            Not keen on M.P.'s going. But wd. like Ministers to go. E.g. M/H. to see what our people have to do e.g. on typhus. If Monty & Lyne had 20 good men e.g. Boro' Engineers & M.O.H. they wd. do it much better & quicker. Ditto. with food dist<sup>n</sup>. These young officers need expert help – can use G. labour but want expert supervision.  
Also, help from M/Ed. experts to organise at top.  
Thus, suggest Ministers of Health & Ed<sup>n</sup> and Labour might with gt. advantage go.
- P.M.            Want O.R. Cttee or its Sub-Cttee to look at this.
- S.               Support – from 7 mos. experience in Italy. Doubt if you can do much on educ<sup>n</sup>.
- C.E.            Educ<sup>l</sup> administrators vice teachers.
- P.M.            C.O.S. will attend at intervals – not weekly as hitherto.  
Foreign Affairs – weekly review.

## 2.    Review of Foreign Affairs.

- E.B.            Berlin Protocol.
- a)    C.F.M. Vital need = good Secretariat.
  - b)    Reparations. R. removals v. drastic. On percentages – had to yield to R. pressure, largely because U.S. willing to make concessions.
  - c)    German Fleet. Subs. – satisf. solution.  
Merchant Fleet: 1/3<sup>rd</sup> subject to U.S.S.R. satisfying Polish claims.
  - d)    Koenigsberg: Final settlement reserved to Peace Settlement: but will be fait accompli before then.
  - e)    War Crimes: Agreemt. to be signed to-morrow. Hope trials will go on.  
U.S.'s anxieties about Hess.
  - f)    Austria: no reparations agreed.
  - g)    Poland W. Frontier: discussions with rep<sup>ns</sup> of P.P.G. Want to talk with C/R. & B/T. – insist tht. Poles live up to undertakgs: then trade ?exch will open from that area.
  - h)    Balkans: Comm<sup>n</sup> on oil equipmt: powers of B. & U.S. rep<sup>ns</sup> on C.C.'s must see this new formula is carried out.

- i) Transfer of Populations. V. serious problems. Conduct of D.P.'s.
- j) Inland Waterways. R. reluctant to discuss. U.S. & B. think it important. But R agreed to serve on I.T.O.

P.M. Was there throughout. Not much done before our return. E.B. did v. well at short notice in pickg. up unknown threads. Diff<sup>y</sup> – whatever your ideas the facts keep moving on – e.g. Poland's W. Frontier.  
R. ideas of rep<sup>ns</sup> – same delusions as we had in 1918. Don't care, either, what happens to W. Europe.  
Not done too badly.

E.B. R. pressure tht. Ruhr be declared part of Germany.  
Many ideas about that – considered on A.P.W. Cttee.  
Now to be examined by C.F.M. We shall have to watch our security.

E.Sh. Moscow agreemt. tht. 8 yrs. 50 m. tons G. coal to be ready for export.  
Shall have to raise that issue.

P.M. Food & fuel for Berlin this winter. Surplus food areas & Silesian mines both under R. control. Got nearer to agreemt. with R. on this – thro' decision to treat G. as economic whole.

A.B. Brutal behaviour by Czechs. in clearing out Germans.

P.M. Cdn't do more than we did on this – askg. Govts. to hold their hands.

C.E. Anxiety on Tyneside re reparations shipping comg. to U.K.

P.M. Alive to need for protecting our bldgs.

J.J.L. Shortage as acute last time: then v. embarrassing abundance.

H.M. Congrat<sup>ns</sup> to CRA. & EB. on pulling it off at Potsdam.

W.A.J. War crimes: fear trials may make us look ridiculous.  
Procedure = mixture of R. & U.S. procedure. Risk of going on for months.  
Need to impress on them tht. we must get on quickly.

### 3. Tangier.

E.B. While we were weak, Sp. establ<sup>d</sup> illegal regime in Tangier.  
Ques. now: will R. Govt. meet Sp. Govt. They have gt. interests there. We have trade interests.  
Postponed twice. Must meet this week. Suggest begin by trying to bring in Spain as in Memo. Anxious to start on 10/8.  
If we attack Spain as whole, may rally them round Franco.



Don't want to start mil. measures to clear Sp. out of Tangier.

S. Wd. be v. diff. to find air forces to support op<sup>ns</sup> in this area.

A.V.A. Wd. Fr. come in to talks with Spain.

E.B. Yes.

A.B. Risk of letting R. always have initiative. If R. insist tht. Sp. shd. not be there we shall have to exclude R. (?) Sp. no rights because assumed illegal regime.

E.Sh. Wd. U.S. agree tht. Spain shd. be brought in?

E.B. Yes.

R.S.C. This is the right line.

E.B. If R. want to back out, I won't mind.

A.B. Risk: look as tho' we have chosen Franco vice Russians.

E.B. Shall see it doesn't look like that.

[ Exit Cadogan.

#### 4. King's Speech.

H.M. Leg<sup>ve</sup> p'gramme will be v. heavy.  
Considered Govt. policy & concluded desirable to attempt list in para. 2.

(ii) & (iii) – need for action quick after talk.

(iv) Exchange control. H.D. can do that under (iii)

Validity: ? 5 years vice shorter period of 2 yrs.

A. Prefer longer than 2 yrs. at once.

H.M. (x) Citrine wrote on this (and 40 hr. wk). Earlier, some ques. of wisdom of restrictg. it to ss 5 & 6. Has this view bn. changed?

G.I. Citrine seen & favours general repeal. Not gone to Genl. Council: but no doubt of their view.

W.A.J. Easier in H/C. to get straight repeal than modification.  
Influenced then by fact tht. H/C. was more difficult.  
In present circs. favour straight repeal.

A.B. Are we sure we want to re-instate the old law, as it stood.

R.S.C. x/ Wd. be better if you want to change it, to do so separately & later.

- E.B. G.I. & I saw Citrine – straight repeal – am seeing draftsman to-morrow.
- P.M. Argument: this is necessary because of rest of our p’amme – nat<sup>n</sup>.
- H.M. That only goes to ss 5 & 6. The other provisions are to go also.
- W.A.J. Supported x/.
- P.M. Vaguer words – “status of T.U.’s”. Genl. feeling in favour of bluntness.
- H.M. Para 4(i)  
Para 4(ii). Parly. procedure. Propose consid<sup>n</sup> by Cab. later.
- P.M. a) Legislative content b) Form of speech.  
On b) Not enough kick at beginning. Suggest words .....  
Para. 19. Amendments. as in ins.
- A. No ref<sup>ce</sup> to Doms.  
The new G. hope to work in close with other members of B. commonwealth in all matters of common interest.  
Agreed – add to para. 1.
- E.Sh. Other nat<sup>n</sup>? of Power Indust<sup>ies</sup>.
- H.M. Cdn’t deal with gas & electricity this Session. Don’t believe it possible.
- H.D. Land also under (v) & (vi).
- E.Sh. y/ Want power of effective co-ordin<sup>n</sup> of other sources of fuel & power.
- P.M. Add “as part of the re-organisation of power resources .....” Agreed.
- H.D. On 2(iii). Control of Investment Bill.  
New words at end/para. 11.  
Don’t want to over-emphasise Nat. Investmt. Bd.
- P.M. Para. 5. Re-wording sugg<sup>d</sup> by C.O.S. Agreed.
- P.M. Is the list in Para. 2 right?
- A. This + 13. Use of land. What we want is simplified procedure for acquisition. Referencing abolished for T. & C.P. – want it abolished for housing.
- H.D. That is intended.
- A. “..... and its more expeditions acquisition ....”  
Agreed: in principle, not words.

- A.G. Don't mix this temp<sup>y</sup> thing with this phrase re permanent land use.
- T.W. We shall in/end have to take powers to compel l'lords.
- T.W. In para. B add as in ins.
- H.M. Priorities: if you had to deal with towns first, you wd. be charged with bad faith.
- E.B. Why not requisition land for housg. Wd. any words used here exclude that? Genl. view – don't exclude it.
- S. Para. 17 commits us to Swinton, holus bolus
- P.M. Omit [ ]. agreed.
- G.I. Decasualisation of Dock Labour?
- H.M. Not for K. Speech.
- J.W. Mention of Forth Bridge.
- P.M. Not in Speech.
- W.A.J. Pressed again for mention of electricity.
- H.M. Say it when you're about to act. Otherwise you paralyse the industry meantime.  
Refer back to Cttee. on y/.
- W.W. Time-table. next week. W.S.C. will refer to Potsdam. They want a day for it. Assign 20/8.  
P.M. wd. be able to spk. – only by leave of House.  
Agreed P.M. & E.B. to spk.  
22/23 Aug. Separate Debate on San Francisco. P.M., Tomlinson & Wilkinson shd. prob. spk., as they were there. Approval in H/Lords – same day.  
Amendmt. to Address. W.S.C. not anxious: but might be when he sees Speech.  
Must therefore provide for amendmt. on 21/8.  
Hours. 2.15 p.m. to end of year. J. Stuart agrees.
- P.L. Amendmt. of franchise. – want to get it through.
- W.W. 15<sup>th</sup> Meet: 24<sup>th</sup> rise: 9<sup>th</sup> Oct.  
H.O. Franchise Bills will go thro' as agreed measure – Prob. cd. go in one Bill.
- A. Leg<sup>n</sup> to carry on Newfoundland may be requ<sup>d</sup>.

- A.B. Rural Houses Rehabilit<sup>n</sup> Bill may be needed.  
Avoid spkg. twice in one Debate. In Party House, they may not put up with it.
- P.M. Consider Potsdam Debate separate from Address – shortening Address by one day.
- W.W. I.e. finish Address on Monday: Potsdam Tuesd: San Fr. Wed & Thurs.
- C/E. Not v. exciting draft.  
Remit draft to Cttee. to report by Thursday.

5. The Cotton Industry.

- R.S.C. Believe they will take this if given quickly – this week-end.  
x/ Nec. to say we aren't going to nationalise the industry.
- E.B. Gt. mistake tht. M/L. shdn't appt. Chairman. Dpts. like B/T.  
shdn't get into wages.
- R.S.C. Will accept that modification.
- H.D. Support this. But doubt wisdom of x/. This is all I cd. screw out of all-Party Committee. Wd. have liked to go further – as in my original proposals. Look again at my original (more drastic) plan.
- R.S.C. Chance comes this week-end: not likely to arise again for some time  
x/ is the important thing. – during this Parlt.  
Wdn't prevent acceptance of Nat. Spinning Bd.
- H.D. Then I agree.
- H.M. Wait until you are asked on x/.
- A.V.A. Must be asked. It was in our last Programme.
- A.B. P. enterprise won't go in unless assurance given – threat of nat<sup>n</sup> must be either implemented or w'drawn.
- E.B. Million dependent on cotton: spinning is fundamental: you'll have to get it right: unemplt. will follow widely if you don't.  
Nearly 2 3/4 m. people's work is involved. Danger of pledging yrself. not to touch spinning for 5 years. Wd. rather say – “this is your last chance.”  
Not our intent<sup>n</sup> to nationalise cotton industry – give them fair chance to put themselves right – but Govt. cannot leave spinning if they don't.

E.Sh. ? Hope they will take such measures as will make nat<sup>n</sup> unnecessary.

H.M. Diff<sup>ce</sup> between nat<sup>n</sup> and doing nothg. You cd. still do something.

E.B. Govt. conscious large no. depend - spinning end of industry.  
Don't propose nationalise unless industry fails to re-organise  
& serve best interests of the country.  
Agreed. R.S.C. to review wording with E.B.

6. Cabinet Committee Organisation.

P.M. Outlined his ideas. Will discuss with colleagues. Then circulate.

E.B. a) Ad hoc arrangemt. to meet D.O., C.O. & I.O. on foreign &  
overseas policy. Get Empire behind him.  
b) Ad hoc arrangemt. to meet Ty. & B/T. to enable economic  
factors to support political.

7. Procedure: Future Meetings.

P.M. Pre-war. Wed. at 11 a.m.  
Fair number to begin with.

E.E.B. In mornings as often as possible.  
Thursday at 11. a.m. Next mtg.

1. King's Speech.

- P.M. Add ref<sup>ces</sup> to Atomic Bomb. Wording agreed.  
Russian decl<sup>n</sup> of war.
- E.S. Add words to meet Aust. & N.Z. fear of excl<sup>n</sup> fr. peace treaties – recent telegrams.
- P.M. Para. 19.
- A.B. No mention of N.Z. Forces, as there is of Australian.
- P.M. Don't add to paras. 2 or 3. Consider add<sup>n</sup> to para. 5.
- J. Para. 3. Agreemt. signed y'day tht. brkg. of peace is a crime.  
V. significant.
- E.B. Preferably in para. 2. At end – “welcome agreemt. for trial of war criminals”  
Agreed: unnecessary to add.
- H.M. After “ ” - “invite the help of my Am. & Chinese Allies – Agreed.  
After para. 5 insert new para. on Russia's entry into the war. } Agreed.  
Then omit last sentence of para. 5. }
- H.M. Para. 7 cd. be omitted in present circumstances. Shorter: covered by other amendmts. Agreed: omit first sentence & shorten.  
Para. 10 amended as in ins.
- P.M. Reference to shortages of food & coal. Add new paragraph, as suggested.
- A.B. Add to it reference to housing. Agreed.
- R.S.C. Insert before para. 10.  
Para. 11. ins. amendmt. as shown.
- E.Sh. Para. 12. Prefer “nationalise” to “socialise”.
- H.M. “Nat.” conveys rigid States depl. managemt. Prefer the other word.
- P.M. Supported E.Sh. Agreed: “nationalise”
- H.M. Revise order of first sentence. Agreed.  
Para. 14 New words sugg<sup>d</sup> by T.C.P.

L.S. Read out memo. to P.M. – doubtg. possibility of gettg. Parks Bill this Session.

R.S.C. Sorry to leave it out.

H.M. Refer to it in Debate not Speech. Amendmt. app<sup>d</sup>.  
Para. 15. Health first, genl. insurance second, i.i. third.

A.G. Diffy: we start from scratch again on Health Scheme. Believe it shd. & must come after the N.I. Scheme.

A.B. Strategy: better. Agreed: stet present order.

J. Para. 18. Ms. amendmt.

P.L. Para. 20. Wd. prefer 2 separate paragraphs. Agreed.

P.M. Wanted to say “self-help”.

A.B. Pass the ball back to them.

R.S.C. Partnership not condescension.

P.L. Alternative formula – as in ins. amendmt. Agreed.  
[Exit T.C.P.  
Enter M/S.

## 2. Parliament. Private Members’ Time.

W.W. Shd. make it clear P. Members’ time won’t be restored – even later in Session.  
Sugg<sup>n</sup> by CRA in ’39: P. Members given opportunity to present Bills & let Govt. consider them.  
Own view is: say at once no Priv. Members’ time.

H.M. M.G. Rpt. contemplate more during Reconst<sup>n</sup> Period – went even further.

W.W. P.M. must mention in Speech. Neither Bills nor Resolution.  
[Exit Ch. Whip.

## 3. Mosquito Aircraft: Production in France.

R.S.C. As in Memo. U.S. obj<sup>ns</sup> met by end/war in Europe.

S. Are L.L. compl<sup>ns</sup>: Merlin engines are needed for Jap. war & might be affected.  
Say – we will go ahead unless they tell us they have obj<sup>ns</sup>.

R.S.C. A.M.S.O. took same point before – always does – was turned down before.  
But nothg. in these Mosquitoes does affect L.L.

S. Let R.S.C. put his point to-day.

H.D. & P.M. Don't let us offend U.S. opinion.  
Let 2 or 3 Ministers look into it from this angle.

R.S.C. Speed – Bell Co. are getting into France meanwhile.

L.P.S. Facts shd. be made clear first.

R.S.C. In last Govt. we establ<sup>d</sup> that no L.L. supplies wd. go into these aircraft.  
Clear these pts. betwn. Ty. Air Min<sup>y</sup>. B/Trade & M/Supply:  
and bring it up again.  
If agreemt. reached & rept<sup>d</sup> to P.M., action can proceed.  
[Exit Wilmot

4. German Archives.

E.B. Explained main points in F.O. memo.

J. Agreed. Need to remove atmosphere of suspicion. Prod<sup>n</sup> so far as poss., on reciprocal basis.

B.S.C. W'holding some portions will make v. bad imp<sup>n</sup> if discovered later.  
Why not disclose all.

E.B. Don't want to be comm<sup>d</sup> on that now before I've read them. All we need decide now is disclosure for purposes of trials of war criminals.  
[Exit Lawson.

5. Treatment of Japan After Defeat.

E.B. Will come up at C.F.M. Not clear what our policy is. Memo. subm<sup>d</sup>.  
Want Far Eastern Cttee re-created under Ministerial Chairman to consider.

P.M. Will deal with this to-day.  
[Exit Cadogan.

6. World Youth Conference: Grant of Visas.

C.E. RSC. asked for this – from Somervell, who turned it down mainly on pol. grds. because feared that some of these people wd. be Communists. Second grd. 300 foreigners = add<sup>n</sup> to mouths to be fed. But not v. large burden.  
Strong preference for giving facilities to hold mtg. here. If not



here, it will be held somewhere e.g. U.S.A. We are near  
Europe: our Doms. are interested.

P.M. Who are the sponsors? Who are running it?

R.S.C. No Communist on body running it here. Secretary (was or) is  
married to man who is regarded by auth<sup>ies</sup> with suspicion.

L.P. No obj<sup>n</sup> now war in Europe is over.  
Agreed.

C.M. 20(45).

10<sup>th</sup> August, 1945.

Surrender of Japan.

- P.M. No official confirmation.
- C.I.G.S. Looks authentic.
- E.B. Read out statement from Jap. news agency. Evening News stop press. Diffy: exception for prerogative of Emperor. This may in U.S. be regarded as less than uncondl. surrender. Byrnes put this to me at Terminal: I said at first blush doubtful wtr. wise to reduce J. to cond<sup>n</sup> of G. because of diffies of occup<sup>n</sup>. Said we wd. consider their views – put onus on them. Second trouble: religious pos<sup>n</sup> of Emperor. Religious pos<sup>n</sup> is such that if you don't imply the Emperor will remain the Japs may push it to suicide. But you don't know what is implied by this saving of his Prerogative.  
Cd. you insist on uncond<sup>l</sup> surrender on basis tht. Emperor puts himself in our hands.  
We're not ready. Terms of surrender not yet worked out. Given inst<sup>ns</sup> that rough draft be prep<sup>d</sup> at once.
- P.M. Jap forces unlikely to surrender save on command of Emperor.
- C.I.G.S. Confirmed.
- E.Sh. Won't statement be clarified?  
Confirmation from U.S. Embassy?
- P.M. No.
- E.B. Assumg. surrender involves maint<sup>ce</sup> of Emp. in some form, wd. Cab. regard that as inconsistent with uncond. surrender.
- P.M. Read fr. Potsdam decl<sup>n</sup> - might include Emperor.  
Doubt if U.S. will go on sacrificing lives for a technicality.
- H.M. P.O.W. and civilians in Jap. hands - Pol. dangerous to go on.  
If cond<sup>ns</sup> cripple econ. life of Japan, may be easier to go over to pastoral life with Emp. than republic. A rep. (capitalist) might be more dangerous to attempt recovery.
- P.L. Has E.B. seen a man I mentioned to him. Sansom.
- E.B. Yes.
- J.J.L. P.O.W. Corr<sup>ce</sup> fr. persons concerned about our use of V.I.'s.  
V. bad effect on these people if we quibbled too long over

Emperor's pos<sup>n</sup>.  
Mopping up in islands etc., wd. take v long.  
Have J. establ<sup>d</sup> contact with R. or U.S.?

- E.B. Don't know.
- H.D. Important thing: move in concert with U.S. & R. If they are content with this, we cd. be. If not, we cd, wait a day or two for clarific<sup>n</sup>.
- P.M. Attitude: mistake to hold out for punishmt. of Emp. as war criminal  
x/ if it means delaying substantially end of hostilities.
- C.E. Prerogations of Emperor – include appt<sup>mt</sup> in J. Forces – don't want that perpetuated after surrender. cf. G. after 1918 re-creation of G. Genl. Staff.
- P.M. Will send telegram – to 3 Heads of State – saying we await their views.
- E.B. Won't it be better to handle it thro' dipl. channel, at outset anyhow –  
x/ i.e. B. Amb. to see Molotov, Byrnes & ? China.  
Agreed as at x/.
- H.D. Announce – HMG. in touch with Govts of U.S., U.S.S.R. & China.
- E.B. .. Not rec<sup>d</sup> any offl. comm<sup>n</sup> up to (e.g.) 3.30. [Considered news-agency statemt.]
- P.M. For [ ] but are in comm<sup>n</sup> Allied Govts. Further statemt. will be issued as soon as sit<sup>n</sup> clarified. Meanwhile, everyone shd. carry on as usual.
- A. Emphasised need to “carry on” – is avoid disloc<sup>n</sup>. [Exit E.B.]
- P.M. Was 2-day holiday promised?
- E.B. No recollection of it.
- C.I.G.S. Powers of Emperor - discussed at Terminal with U.S. C.O.S. They agree to it.
- C.I.G.S. Plan in event of sudden surrender – at work on it, not yet complete. Troops in SEA wd. suffice to take over. Local terms cd. be fixed up by 12<sup>th</sup> Army in Burma. 14<sup>th</sup> Army & shipping wd. be available to go in to Singapore.  
Dutch Islands: want Dutch personnel. They have 30.000 ready to go out – held up h'to. by shipping: But we cd. send them now.  
French also cd. help.

Hong Kong – diff. because air in U.S. Zone. Sea & land in China-Zone. We had contemplated sendg. small force in with U.S. troops. Perhaps some Marines cd. go in.

- P.M. This shd. be taken up with Truman. Agreed.
- C.I.G.S. Occup<sup>n</sup> of Japan. Haven't seen U.S. plan: but caters for B. contingent.  
Cd. find some from S.E.A..
- A. Hope C.O.S. will remember sensitiveness of Aust. & N.Z.
- C.I.G.S. Have taken that as datum.

Terms of Surrender. [ Enter A. Cadogan.

- P.M. Diff. fr. Germany a) takg. over own possess<sup>ns</sup> b) Japan, initiative with U.S.
- E.W. Have we clear understanding with U.S. that we recover possess<sup>n</sup> of our own territ<sup>ies</sup>.
- P.M. Yes – all save for Hong-Kong.  
All these matters shd. be referred at once to a Cttee.  
As in note: Junior Ministers may attend: Sub-Cttee of officials. [Agreed.
- G.H. Can Civil Affairs staff go in as soon as possible.
- R.S.C. Does invit<sup>n</sup> to T.V. Soong to come here after Moscow stand?  
Wd. be useful if he cd. come. Now P.M.

P.M. Invit<sup>n</sup> shd. stand.

Supply Position etc.

- P.M. R.S.C. to investigate thro' J.W.P.S.  
C.O.S. to review re-deployment.
- R.S.C. Can we assume immed. transfer of raw material to civil prod<sup>n</sup>?  
Agreed.

Man Power.

Cttee to review demob<sup>n</sup>, call-up & allocations. [Exeunt C.O.S.

King's Speech.

- P.M. Put amendments generally.  
Leave wording to P.M. to settle. [Agreed.

Broadcasts.

Agreed: do this (P.M.) as quickly as possible.  
Cautionary notes re return of troops: rations etc.

R.S.C. 1) Announcement 2) King 3) P.M. Speech.

Public Holiday.

Agreed – 2 days. ? Monday & Tuesday.

E.Sh. Must it be 2 days. ? 1 day on Wed. = opening of Parlt.

A.B. 2 days for ½ war. Can have 1 day for end/war.

R.S.C. Same arrangements as for V.E. Day.

G.I. It was straightened out then.

H.D. Cut out 3<sup>rd</sup> optional day.  
Agreed: Mon. & Tuesday, if confirmed.

Licensing etc.

Broadly same arrangements as on V.E. Day.

E.W. Cd. H.O. arrange for Bands to play in evenings – or b'cast music.

A. In b'cast etc., make it clear there will be generl. relax<sup>n</sup> of control.  
Day of Thanksgiving – Sunday 19<sup>th</sup> August.

Parliament.

H.M. Ask Parlt. to meet Tuesday for this?

P.M. Can't do it.

A.G. Services between K.'s Speech and Debate.

P.M. 2.30 p.m. at St. Margaret's & Abbey.

Thanks to Forces?

P.M. Addresses to H.M. from 2 Houses.  
V.E. Day: thought inapprop<sup>te</sup> to thank before war over. Shd. be done  
now as in 1918. P.M. & W.S.C. alone to speak.

- A.G. Do this on 2<sup>nd</sup> day.
- E.Sh. Rushing it – why not wait until following week.
- P.M. Wd. be better to get Debate on Address over first.
- J.J.L. Troops' interest in Election – will be as interested in D/Address.  
Better keep it separate.
- E.E.B. In 1918 it was a week after 11/11.
- P.M. Special Messages from H.M. to Doms.  
G.H. to consider wtr. messages to Colonies wd. be in acc. with precedent.
- W.W. Is it necessary to give more than 1 day to San Francisco.
- A.G. V. important matter. Short debate wd. be misunderstood e.g. by U.S.A.

1. Japan: Latest Information.

- P.M. Awaitg. news. Alternatives a) 4 p.m. Thanksgiving: thereafter  
Address of Congrat<sup>n</sup> & debate on  
Address Thursday.  
b) carry on with debate on Address.  
Now looks as tho' news will break to-day.  
Read most recent telegrams.  
Trying for synchronisation – v. diff. because of times.
- C.E. Diff<sup>ies</sup> about Thanksgiving Service Sund. next if news not thro' to-day.  
H.M. sugg<sup>d</sup> followg. Wed. V. diff. mid-week: wd. hope H.M. be  
advised to agree to Sunday Week.
- P.M. Not likely to arise. Prob. get it thro' to-day.  
I will announce – some members of Cab. to see H.M. – King b' cast  
at 9 p.m. – P.M. 2 or 3 days' later.
- E.B. Doubt if now U.S. will be able to give us 2 hrs' notice as requested.  
[ Enter C.O.S.
- P.M. Congratulations to C.O.S.

2. Japan – Terms of Surrender.

- E.B. Telegram on terms. Dunn has said U.S. not in pos<sup>n</sup> to consult Allies  
on surrender terms. Has shown him draft. Not all of our  
amendmts. have bn. adopted – less detailed.  
U.S. attitude – don't intend to consult Sov. Govt.  
  
C.O.S. withdrew to consider

3. Greece.

- E.B. Shall never get settlement while Govts. changing. Only way to get  
elections over is to back Volgouris Govt.  
Agreemt. provided for plebiscite first: but must get a settled Govt.  
before progress can be made. Sensible course therefore =  
election first.  
Regent to come here. Wd. be useful if he came durg. mtg. of C.F.M.  
(v) Wd. like Allied & Dom. rep<sup>ns</sup> to take part in supervision of  
elections.  
Bound up with this is M/East – vital comm<sup>n</sup> link in Empire. Can't  
therefore deal with Greece on sentim. grds. alone. Strong  
policy here will have salutary effect on Turkey & Levant States.  
This policy is line with my statement to Labour Party – Coalition Govt.

- P.M. Endorsed this policy.  
Many parties in Greece – diff. pos<sup>n</sup> with neighbouring States, fishing in troubled waters.  
Elections etc., is only practical policy for us. Constant changes of appointed Govts won't do any good – must quickly get to an elected Govt.
- T.W. Registers?
- E.B. Were to be ready on 15/8. Not, however, completed – because of changes in admin<sup>n</sup>, failure to get Gendarmerie est<sup>d</sup>. Now postponed to 15/9.
- A.B. Agree elections shd. precede plebiscite. Popular Govt. supervising wd. give confidence in plebiscite. We shd. press for this.  
Gk. Army – symp. to King.  
Pol. amnesty not carried out properly. Large no. of Left symp. still in gaol – ought to be tried & cleared away.
- E.B. Have already told Regent re amnesty.
- J.J.L. We think strongly in W.O. tht. elect<sup>ns</sup> shd. be held quam celerrime.  
2 Divns & arm<sup>d</sup> Brigade there: up to full strength. Important factor.
- A.G. (i) last sentence. Gk. view?
- P.M. Laid down in Vark. agreemt.
- A.B. Statemt. re V. Govt. staying in until election wd. be more acceptable in framework of genl. statement.
- E.B. Persuade – not state – because going back on V. agreement. But I cd. bring the rest together.  
Want Army on alert durg. elections – to prevent interference fr. over the frontier. Not likely if we show determination. E.g. taken as sign of weakness if B. troops w'draw fr. Frontier.
- C.I.G.S. They are now there for internal order – if diff. role, shd. be told.
- E.B. Let Def. Cttee consider this pt.  
Memo. approved.
2. Japan. Terms of Surrender (cont<sup>d</sup>).
- C.I.G.S. In more genl. terms but cover our points. From mil. pt. of view acceptable.



- E.B. What of Doms? We got this confid<sup>ly</sup>. We can't communicate it to Doms.
- H.M. Cdn't Doms. Secy. see High Commrs. & give them somethg.
- P.M. Might put them in diff<sup>ies</sup>. Better say somethg. to Evatt.
- E.B. Better to say we weren't consulted. We only got it secretly. No need to say it unless Australia or N.Z. complain.
- E.Sh. Convey to High Commrs. tht. news may break: tht. we have some unoffl. indic<sup>n</sup>. / ? No  
 .. .. Dom. Govts. tht. U.S. are not going to consult / need.  
 Allied Govts.  
 Genl. agreement: do nothg. vis-à-vis Dom. Govts.

4. Censorship: Continuance after Cease-Fire.

Agreed. [Exeunt C.O.S. Cadogan. M/I  
 [ Enter Ch. Whip.

5. Parliamentary Procedure.

- H.M. Related matter Special Orders Bill – wh. J. is handling.  
 M.G. Cttee – membership – rep<sup>ve</sup> Cttee. Rpt. was subm<sup>d</sup> to War Cab.-  
 Parlt. was sounded, but not keen partly because it was a dying  
 Parlt.  
 Tho' we might make some changes, it wd. be good tactics to present  
 this Rpt. as it stands.  
 I wd. propose Select Cttee. Wd. it be wise to let it be known that Rpt.  
 had bn. drawn up under Coal<sup>n</sup> Govt. Ask Sel. Cttee. for early  
 rpt. on this, but don't preclude them from going wider.  
 Appt. at once with liberty to sit durg. Recess.
- S. Survivor of 1906 precedent. Will give H.M. some hints for his speech.
- P.M. This Rpt. was not app<sup>d</sup> by Coal<sup>n</sup> Govt.  
 Some approach to Mr. Churchill wd. be wise – before mentioning tht.  
 it was drawn up under Coalition Govt.
- E.B. Afraid of repercussions. E.g. civil aviation: you now want to propose  
 somethg. new. Awkward to appear to be bound by Coalition  
 Govt. line – merely because this happens to suit us. Wd. prefer  
 to put this as our own.
- P.M. Not analogy. This was not agreed by Govt. We shd. put it fwd. only  
 as a document worked out under Coal<sup>n</sup> Govt.

- T.W. This Cttee was appt<sup>d</sup> because of anticipated weight of reconst<sup>n</sup> leg<sup>n</sup>.  
Recomm<sup>ns</sup> didn't receive assent of War Cab. But were app<sup>d</sup> by  
weighty Cab. Cttee.  
We are entitled to use the content of the document.
- R.S.C. Why not refer to Rpt. on which this was based. - I.e. of officials.
- H.M. No advantage in that. Wdn't say Govt. was comm<sup>d</sup> - all we want to  
say is Cttee of that Govt. prep<sup>d</sup> it. Wd. first ascertain wtr.  
Oppos<sup>n</sup> wd. object.
- P.M. What soundings were taken?
- W.W. Soundings were taken. They didn't see Rpt., tho' they were given  
an idea of contents.
- J.J.L. Is it necessary to rely on this Rpt. Only seeks to apply to Cttees  
procedure followed on Floor.
- E.W. These procedure ques. by tradition are handled on all-Party basis.
- E.Sh. Sel. Cttee may wish to go further: wdn't they be hampered by this  
document.
- P.M. "Here is document on wh. much work done. Wasn't taken up  
because dying Parlt. They are not precluded on Sel. Cttee fr. going  
further." That wd. be the line.
- A.B. Ask for Sel. Cttee to prepare Rpt. in 2 Stages.  
Tories won't symp. with reform to get our p'mme thro'.  
But if they are allowed to go on to long-term reform they might  
play on this.  
Suggest therefore appt<sup>mt</sup> of this Ctee first: then consult about putting  
this Rpt. fwd.
- H.D. Endorsed H.M.'s proposal. Appt. Cttee & give them this Rpt. in  
whatever words may be agreed.
- P.M. Paras 1-3 unsuitable for subm<sup>n</sup> now. Prefer to submit Rpt. of  
experts.
- H.M. Or omit paras 1-3.
- A. Against referring to it as Rpt. of Cab. Cttee.
- A.G. Don't throw away the work already done.
- P.M. "Proposals based on work ....." - no dec<sup>n</sup> reached but some work  
done: proposals will be put fwd.

R.S.C. Interim rpt. only on paras 1-12. Leave over the details in 13-15 for long-term review.

T.W. You will need Parl<sup>y</sup> time for appt<sup>mt</sup> of Sel. Cttee.

C.M. 22(45).

14<sup>th</sup> August, 1945 at 10.50 p.m.

Japan: Surrender.

- E.B. Read out message rec<sup>d</sup> from Byrnes.  
Proposed 6.30. Washington time: pressed for 7.p.m. W. =  
midnight Ldn.  
He has since talked to Moscow & Chungking & fixed this time.
- P.M. Is this satisfactory?
- E.B. Want to get it checked with State Dpt.
- P.M. Assumg. that is O.K. – will b'cast at 12 m'night: send warning  
flash in advance: King to b'cast to-morrow night.  
Or – announce to-night that to-morrow is V.J. Day.
- P.L. Then Truman's announcement will come first.
- E.B. Further message: time will stand if E.B. has nothing further to say.  
Genl. view: this is satisf. if U.S. Embassy confirm the terms.
- P.M. Read draft of announcement.  
Sugg<sup>ns</sup> - refer to impending release of our p.o.w.

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END OF WAR WITH JAPAN.