

July 23, 1947  
Amlegation, Vienna  
534

TOP SECRET  
2

For Erhardt and Gibling Pass to High Commissioner  
Continued -

of the US authorities conna the purposes of the agreement can be carried out UNQUOTE. Agreed that Figl will be backed up, but should understand that if Sov authorities do not permit compliance with agreement result will be that despite our understanding of AUST helplessness under circumstances we must nevertheless withhold supplies to Eastern zone. Position of AUST GOVT fully appreciated.

Five. Agree that US, BRIT and FR High Commissioners should be prepared for emergency that may be created if Kourasov refuses to permit working arrangement. Any effort to make US withdraw from Vienna or attempt to divide country further or abolish Control Council will of course be resisted and should be countered as violation existing agreements between occupying powers.

Repeated to Richard Allen, Rome, as 1210.

/s/ Marshall  
MARSHALL

CODE ROOM: Please repeat to Richard Allen, ROME, as no. 1210.

TOP SECRET



TOP SECRET

To: Secretariat of the State-War-Navy  
Coordinating Committee

*EGS*  
091 Austria  
Misc?

From: A-H - J. H. Hilldring *By Eg*

There is herewith transmitted for the information of the Joint Chiefs of Staff a copy of a cable to the Legation and High Commissioner at Vienna, dated July 23, 1947, expressing the Department's views on the situation created by the Soviet protest of the relief agreement between this Government and Austria.

TOP SECRET



DIVISION OF  
COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS  
TELEGRAPH BRANCH

0231

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INFORMATION  
COPY

*EWK*

**OUTGOING TELEGRAM**  
**TOP SECRET**

15-X

Origin: EUR

290

Info:

Control 5291

S/S

U-E

A-A

A-H

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ESP

LOG

AMLEGATION,

July 23, 1947

3 pm

VIENNA

534

FOR ERHARDT AND GIBLIN PASS TO ~~THE~~ HIGH COMMISSIONER

DEPT in general agreement with views expressed, LEGTEL 624 Jul 17 and Keyes' P-7547 Jul 19 re situation created by Kourasov protest of relief agreement and Figl reply. Following points stressed:

Qng. As we see it, your immediate problem not so much that of emphasizing firmness your reaction, means for which lie in your hands, as that of exercising maximum skill in arriving at arrangement with Sov authorities which will permit relief supplies to enter Eastern zone. Legal opinion Dept (DEPTEL 523, Jul 18), with informal concurrence legal division General Accounting Office, is that if relief cannot for any reason be distributed one part Austria it can continue be distributed other parts. If operation relief program for all Austria should prove not possible under agreement as it stands, we are prepared to operate program in three Western zones with possible modification certain provisions existing agreement specifically referring to all Austria. You are accordingly fully backed up under most unfavorable hypothesis that Sov authorities definitely prevent compliance conditions agreement their zone.

Exp. Exhaust means to reach mutually acceptable arrangement. Most

**TOP SECRET**



TOP SECRET

#534 to Vienna, July 23, 1947

(AMLEGATION, VIENNA -)  
 For Erhardt and Gibling  
 Pass to Keyes) High Commissioner

-2-

important that relief supplies continue to enter Eastern zone, in order to strengthen AUST GOVT, to avoid Sov withholding indigenous supplies their zone from Vienna and western provinces, and to forestall division of country if possible. High Commissioner may in his discretion threaten withholding supplies if necessary for purposes bargaining with Sovs, but should also agree to any feasible working arrangements, such as suggestion LEGTEL 624 that US observation teams in Sov Zone be accompanied by Sov liaison officers, where possible without compromising basic provisions of law. DEPT has given explicit assurances to Congress on latter point. Complete reciprocity may be offered for Sov supervision any relief imports they provide.

Three. No leeway under existing commitment to Congress for High Commissioner to accept merely partial compliance with basic terms of agreement or law, although DEPT fully aware that in dealings with Sov authorities such increased maneuverability would strengthen High Commissioner's hand. Meanwhile report soonest any development which cannot be met under your present instructions and if possible suggest arrangements necessary your judgment to counter Sov obstruction in order avoid alternative of confining relief to Western zones.

Four. Difficulties of situation should not be publicly magnified into greater issue than it actually is. Suggest brief but effective assurance to other High Commissioners, AUST GOVT or public that

TOP SECRET



TOP SECRET

#534 to Vienna, July 23, 1947

(AMUNIGATION, VIENNA -)  
For Erhardt and Gibling -3-  
Pass to ~~Erhardt~~ High Commissioner

QUOTE US intention is to supply relief envisaged by agreement in whatever areas it is possible QUOTE to the extent that QUOTE in the judgment of the US authorities QUOTE the purposes of the agreement can be carried out UNQUOTE.  
Agreed that Figi will be backed up, but ~~Figi~~ should understand that if Sov. authorities do not permit compliance with agreement result will be ~~that~~ that DESPITE OUR UNDERSTANDING OF ~~we must~~ NEVERTHELESS ~~withhold~~ supplies to Eastern zone. Position of AUST GOVT fully appreciated.

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Repeated to Richard Allen, Rome, as 1210.

*Marshall*  
MARSHALL  
*Figi*

CODE ROOM: Please repeat to Richard Allen, ROME, as no. 1210.

TOP SECRET

GA (Cleared with Mr. Hargolies and Mr. Bosa)  
Lo (Cleared with Mr. Fahy and Mr. Summers)  
HUB A-T (Cleared with LET (Mr. Dort)



CONFIDENTIAL

*091 Austria Memo*

SWH-2479 ELT/at  
19 June 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

Enclosed herewith for the information of the Department of State is a message from the Commanding General, United States Forces in Austria forwarded by the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

For the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee:

J. H. HILDRING  
Chairman

Enclosure:  
SW-IR-2547 (17 Jun 47)

THIS DOCUMENT IS DECLASSIFIED  
WHEN ATTACHMENT IS REMOVED

COPY FOR SWICC FILE

CONFIDENTIAL

(25)



CONFIDENTIAL

FROM: GORGENUSFA Vienna Austria from Keyes cite PASOS

To: WAR for JCS pass to State Department

NR: P 7369

16 June 1947

Subject: Allied Council Meeting of 15th June, 1947.

In the Allied Council the United States, British and French elements of the Allied Commission considered security requirements as satisfied and were willing to reestablish postal communications between Austria and Japan and to further extend them in the case of Germany. The Soviet element, however, maintained that the reestablishment of such services to Japan should wait the establishment of diplomatic and economic relations between the two countries. In view of this, the Allied Council reached agreement that, while the establishment of postal communications between Austria and Japan was presently premature, the Four-Power Signals Committee would commence working out the details and dates for such time as all elements agreed to restoration of such services.

The Allied Council further agreed to instruct the Executive Committee to elaborate measures for relaxation of postal restrictions on service between Austria and Germany and present them to the next Allied Council meeting.

The Allied Council agree that restitution missions from United Nations whose territories were occupied by the enemy may visit the various Zones of Austria under the regulations laid down by the Commander in Chief of the Zone concerned in order to facilitate location and restitution of property looted by Germany from United Nations territories.

The British High Commissioner proposed that the Yugoslav government be informed, in reply to its letter alleging that its property was being expended in the Austrian economy, that restitution was not as yet handled centrally by the Allied Council but any property question should be addressed directly to the Commander in Chief of the Zone concerned. This was agreed to by the United States and French High Commissioners. Due to Soviet insistence that the Austrian Government should be given instructions on the basis of the Yugoslav letter, no agreement was reached.

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## CONFIDENTIAL

The Allied Council approved nine legislative measures submitted by the Austrian Government. One of these would permit the Austrian Government to manufacture and place into circulation small coins in the denomination of ten groschen. This will serve to alleviate a shortage of this type of currency.

In response to the pleas addressed by the Austrian Trade Union Federation in their appearance before the Allied Council on 29 May, the latter body addressed a letter to the Federal Chancellor pointing out that they had in the past concerned themselves with the majority of points raised but would again take them into account in the course of their future work.

Numan Tahir Beyman, Minister from Turkey in Austria, was introduced to the Allied Council.

The public demonstration before the Federal Chancellor on 5 May drew attention to the inadequate equipment of the Austrian police.

The United States and British elements were interested in arming and properly equipping the Austrian police and Gendarmerie. The Soviet and French elements on the other hand desired to limit the strength of these organs. As a compromise measure the United States and British sought to limit the strength of the police only if the Soviets would agree to their armament. The United States and French High Commissioners agreed with this. The Soviet member did not desire to consider the police separate from the Gendarmerie and maintained that the security organs were sufficiently armed already. In view of these differences, no agreement was reached.

The British and United States High Commissioners joined in a statement charging the Soviet authorities with a violation of past agreements regarding the utilization of Austria indigenous production. The Soviet element had disclosed that Austrian enterprises under control of the Soviet administration as "German external assets" received their liquid fuel allocation outside the scope of the government's fuel plan.

The Soviet element refused to participate in the discussion in the Allied Council.



**CONFIDENTIAL**

The United States-British declaration pointed out that the Soviet element had continuously refused the Austrian Government all statistics for production of a large number of factories under their control thus denying the Federal Government the possibility of directing the production and supply of raw materials to Austria's best interests in the spirit of the Allied Council policy. It was clear that Soviet administration organizations had gone so far as to conduct barter transactions including imports of raw materials from Yugoslavia and the export of the production of Soviet controlled factories in Austria without reference to, or the permission of, the Austrian foreign trade authorities. In conclusion, the British High Commissioner, supported by the United States, declared that these operations by the Soviet organization constituted the exercise of extra-territorial rights by the Soviet authorities in Austria in spite of Mr Molotov's statement to the contrary on 27 March 1947 in Moscow.

British element in the chair. Next Meeting 27 June.

CM IN 2547

(17 Jun 47)

- 3 -

**CONFIDENTIAL**



THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

*091 Austria*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SM-8437  
19 June 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY, STATE-WAR-NAVY  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE:

Subject: Allied Council (Austria)  
Meeting of 13 June 1947.

Enclosure: CM-IN-2547 (17 Jun 47) Copy No. 87.

The enclosed message from the Commanding Gen-  
eral, U.S. Forces in Austria, is forwarded for trans-  
mittal to the Department of State for information.

*Transmitted by Memo of 19 June  
to Sec State JUM*

*M. M. Stephens*  
M. M. STEPHENS,  
Captain, U.S. Navy,  
Asst. Executive Secretary.

SWNCC SECRETARIAT

State Member	<i>[Signature]</i>
Army Member	<i>[Signature]</i>
Navy Member	-----
Ass't State Member	-----
Ass't Army Member	-----
Ass't Navy Member	<i>[Signature]</i>
Executive Secretary	-----
Ass't Exec. Secretary	-----
State Adm. Assistant	<i>[Signature]</i>
Army Adm. Assistant	-----
Navy Adm. Assistant	-----
File	-----

JUN 19 1947



STATE WAR & NAVY COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE

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*25*



WAR DEPARTMENT  
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CONFIDENTIAL TOT

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PER PARAS 511 and 60a (4) AR 380-5

From: COMGENUSFA Vienna Austria from Keyes cite PASGS  
To: WAR for JCS pass to State Department  
Nr: P 7389 16 June 1947

Subject: Allied Council Meeting of 13th June, 1947.

In the Allied Council the United States, British and French elements of the Allied Commission considered security requirements as satisfied and were willing to reestablish postal communications between Austria and Japan and to further extend them in the case of Germany. The Soviet element, however, maintained that the reestablishment of such services to Japan should wait the establishment of diplomatic and economic relations between the two countries. In view of this, the Allied Council reached agreement that, while the establishment of postal communications between Austria and Japan was presently premature, the Four-Power Signals Committee would commence working out the details and dates for such time as all elements agreed to restoration of such services.

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CM IN 2547

(17 Jun 47)

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Page 2

From: COMGENUSFA Vienna Austria from Keyes cite PASGS

Nr: P 7389

16 June 1947

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Numan Tahir Seyman, Minister from Turkey in Austria, was introduced to the Allied Council.

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(17 Jun 47)

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Page 3

From: COMGENUSFA Vienna Austria from Keyes cite PASCS

Nr: P 7389

16 June 1947

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(17 Jun 47)

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Page 4

From: COMGENUSPA Vienna Austria from Keyes cite PASGB

Nr: P 7389

16 June 1947

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British element in the chair. Next meeting 27 June.

End

~~ACTION: JCS~~

~~INFO: AAF, Adm Leahy, ASW, CAD, ID, Adm Nimitz, P&O, CSA~~

CM IN 2547

(17 Jun 47) DTG 161655Z-WS

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THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

*091 Austria  
Miss [unclear]*

**RESTRICTED**

SM-8424  
16 June 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE STATE-WAR-NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE:

Subject: Automatic Arrest Procedure  
for Austrian Nationals.

Reference: SWN-5470.

Enclosure: WAR 80094 (Jun 47) Copy No. 46.

Pursuant to the request of the State-War-Navy  
Coordinating Committee in SWN-5470 the Joint Chiefs of  
Staff on 13 June 1947 dispatched the message therein to  
the Commanding General, U.S. Forces in Austria, as WAR  
80094, copy of which is enclosed for information.

*W. G. Lalor*

W. G. LALOR,  
Captain, U.S. Navy,  
Secretary.

SWNCC SECRETARIAT

- State Member
- Army Member
- Navy Member
- Ass't State Member
- Ass't Army Member
- Ass't Navy Member
- Executive Secretary
- Ass't Exec. Secretary
- State Adm. Assistant
- Army Adm. Assistant
- Navy Adm. Assistant
- File

*[Handwritten initials]*

JUN 17 1947



STATE-WAR & NAVY COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE

**RESTRICTED**

25

3953



WAR DEPARTMENT  
STAFF MESSAGE CENTER  
OUTGOING CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

RESTRICTED

PARAPHRASE NOT REQUIRED. HANDLE AS RESTRICTED CORRESPONDENCE  
PER PARAS 511 and 60a (4) AR 380-5

Joint Chiefs of Staff  
W.D. Ext 72700 Capt M.M.  
Stephens, USN

13 June 1947

Commanding General U.S. Forces in Austria Vienna Austria

Nr: WAR 80094

To Keyes from the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The following, received from the State, War and Navy  
Departments, is in reply to your P-7267:

"Concur in your recommendation. In view Austrian  
denazification law of February 1947 providing for due  
legal process in case such persons as are detained  
under automatic arrest provisions JCS 1369/6, you may  
thenceforth regard automatic arrest provisions of Section  
7 (Suspected war criminals and security arrests) of this  
directive as being no longer in effect."

End

Note: P-7267 is CM IN 4150 (24 May 47)

ORIGINATOR: JCS

DISTRIBUTION: AAF, Adm Leahy, ASW, CAD, ID, Adm Nimitz,  
P&O, CSA

CM OUT 80094

(June 47)

DTG 131821Z rel

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**TOP SECRET**

*091 Austria*

**SWN-5435**      **ELT:dt**  
**2 June 1947**

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE STATE MEMBER, SWNCC:**

**Subject: Shipment of Food to Austria**

**Reference: SWN-5391**

At the request of the Joint Chiefs of Staff the enclosed message from the Commanding General, U. S. Forces in Austria, in reply to WAR 98724 is forwarded for the information of the Department of State.

The War Department (Service, Supply and Procurement Division, War Department General Staff) will communicate direct with the State Department regarding the immediate furnishing of supplies.

**For the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee:**

**H. W. MOSELEY**  
**Secretary**

**Enclosure:**  
**GM-IR-4798**  
**(28 May 1947)**

**COPY FOR SWNCC FILE**

**TOP SECRET**

*24*



TOP SECRET

From: CONGENUSFA Vienna Austria and Keyes cite PASGS  
To: JCS pass to State Department  
Nr: P 7294 28 May 1947

I am very thankful for and considerably relieved by the clear statement of policy in your W 98794 of 28 May. The assurance that special efforts are indeed being made to expedite shipments of food in the immediate future is most gratifying as we are rapidly approaching a critical period where emergency and prompt action is mandatory if we are to forestall action by the Communists and Soviet which would be detrimental to the Austrian Government and ourselves.

The critical time here regarding emergency relief food will be from 22 June to 13 September. This covers 3 ration periods of 28 days each; namely, the 29th 30th and 31st periods. Our particular concern is in the matter of breadgrain and/or flour. Our total information of ships yet to arrive, their cargoes, the estimated date when the food will be available for consumption in Austria and the ration period in which shipment could be utilized is as follows:

25th Ration Period: 22 June to 19 July.

1 July	Marian Crawford	9000 tons wheat
24 June	Augustana Victory	8500 tons flour
21 June	Mathew O'Brien	8500 tons wheat
2 July	John Gallup	9000 tons corn

If all the above shipments become available for the 29th ration period we will still be 9100 tons of flour short of meeting the food plan. Therefore, 1 more ship of flour or grain now en route to another destination must be diverted for use in Austria. It requires 7 weeks from the time a grain ship leaves the east coast of the United States to get the grain into Austria, have it milled into flour and made available to the consumer in the food plan. If the shipment is flour the time estimate is 6 weeks.

Note: The "Augustana Victory" was reported to us as sailing 13 May. We have since heard that "Mary Austin" went on berth 13 May. Is the "Mary Austin" a substitute for the "Augustana Victory" or in addition to the "Augustana Victory"? The Austrian Food Minister reports the ship going on berth 13 May as the "Mary Augustana". Request clarification soonest.

TOP SECRET



**TOP SECRET**

**30th Ration Period: 20 July to 16 August.**

John Hathborn	9000 tons wheat	16 July
Central Victory	9000 tons corn	3 August
Frederick Remington	9000 tons wheat	5 August

If all the above shipments become available for the 30th ration period we will still be 26,640 tons of flour short of meeting the food plan. Therefore, 3 more ships of grain or flour now en route to another destination must be diverted for use in Austria. The cargo of a grain ship leaving the east coast of the United States on or before 1 June could be utilized in the 30th ration period.

**Note:** John Hathborn substituted for H H Raymond.

**31st Ration Period: 17 August to 13 September.**

Bisdeford Victory	8640 tons flour	24 August
-------------------	-----------------	-----------

If the above shipment becomes available for the 31st ration period, we will still be 42,360 tons of flour short of meeting the food plan. Therefore, 5 more ships of grain or flour must reach Austria in time to be utilized at the beginning of the ration period. The cargoes of grain ships leaving the east coast of the United States on or before 28 June could be utilized in the 31st ration period.

To summarize the emergency grain requirements: 1 grain or flour ship of approximately 9000 tons must be diverted from some other destination and unloaded for us at Bremerhaven not later than 1 June. 3 grain or flour ships of approximately 9000 tons each sailing from the east coast of the United States not later than 1 June must be consigned for Austrian use. 5 grain or flour ships of approximately 9000 tons each sailing from the east coast of the United States not later than 28 June must be consigned for Austrian use.

As soon as shipments are firmed up for us I request immediate notification as the information is vital to us in negotiating the food plans with the Austrian Government and our Allies. Political adviser concurs.

End

**Note:** This msg has been relayed to State Department.

GM-IN 4798

(28 May 47)

**TOP SECRET**



*0 9/1  
Austria*

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

**TOP SECRET**

SM-8320  
29 May 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY, STATE-WAR-NAVY  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE:

Subject: Shipment of Food to Austria.

- References: a. SWN-5411.  
b. WAR 98794.  
c. SM-8289.

Enclosure: CM-IN-4798 (28 May 47) Copy No. 24.

1. The enclosed message from the Commanding General, U.S. Forces in Austria, in reply to WAR 98794 is forwarded for the information of the State Department.

2. The War Department (Service, Supply and Procurement Division, War Department General Staff) will communicate direct with the State Department regarding the immediate furnishing of supplies.

*M. M. Stephens*  
M. M. STEPHENS,  
Captain, U.S. Navy,  
Asst. Executive Secretary.

MAY 29 1947



3903

**TOP SECRET**

STATE WAR & NAVY COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE

*23*



WAR DEPARTMENT  
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**TOP SECRET**

TOP SECRET TOT  
OPERATIONAL PRIORITY

PARAPHRASE NOT REQUIRED. HANDLE AS TOP SECRET  
CORRESPONDENCE PER PARAS 511 and 60a (4) AR 380-5.

From: COMGENUSFA Vienna Austria sgd Keyes cite PASGS  
To: JCS pass to State Department  
Nr: P 7294

28 May 1947

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CM-IN 4798

(28 May 47)

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TOP SECRET TOT  
OPERATIONAL PRIORITY

**TOP SECRET**

Page No. 2

From: COMGENUSFA Vienna Austria sgd Keyes cite PASGS

Nr: P 7294

28 May 1947

of meeting the food plan. Therefore, 1 more ship of flour or grain now en route to another destination must be diverted for use in Austria. It requires 7 weeks from the time a grain ship leaves the east coast of the United States to get the grain into Austria, have it milled into flour and made available to the consumer in the food plan. If the shipment is flour the time estimate is 6 weeks.

Note: The "Augustana Victory" was reported to us as sailing 13 May. We have since heard that "Mary Austin" went on berth 13 May. Is the "Mary Austin" a substitute for the "Augustana Victory" or in addition to the "Augustana Victory"? The Austrian Food Minister reports the ship going on berth 13 May as the "Mary Augustana". Request clarification soonest.

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Note: John Hathborn substituted for H H Raymond.

CM-I 4798

(28 May 47)

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COPY NO.

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WAR DEPARTMENT  
CLASSIFIED MESSAGE CENTER  
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TOP SECRET TOT  
OPERATIONAL PRIORITY

**TOP  
SECRET**

Page No. 3

From: COMGENUSFA Vienna Austria sgd Keyes cite PASGS

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28 May 1947

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To summarize the emergency grain requirements: 1 grain or flour ship of approximately 9000 tons must be diverted from some other destination and unloaded for us at Bremerhaven not later than 1 June. 3 grain or flour ships of approximately 9000 tons each sailing from the east coast of the United States not later than 1 June must be consigned for Austrian use. 5 grain or flour ships of approximately 9000 tons each sailing from the east coast of the United States not later than 28 June must be consigned for Austrian use.

As soon as shipments are firmed up for us I request immediate notification as the information is vital to us in negotiating the food plans with the Austrian Government and our Allies. Political adviser concurs.

End

Note: This msg has been relayed to State Department.

ACTION: JCS

INFO: Gen Spatz, Gen Noce, Mr Petersen, Gen Norstad,  
Gen Chamberlin, Adm Nimitz, Adm Leahy, CSA

(CM-IN 4798

(28 May 47)

~~DTG 281253Z~~ svc

TOP SECRET

24

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**TOP SECRET**

*091 Austria*

SWN-5411  
23 May 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF:

**Subject: United States Future Policy Toward Austria**

**Reference: SWL-8189 (13 May 47)**

The above reference forwarded a copy of CM-IN-3016 requesting the basis of a reply.

The Department of State requests that the attached message be dispatched to COM GEN USFA in answer to his P 7109 of 12 May 1947 as a matter of URGENCY.

For the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee:

H. W. MOSELEY,  
Secretary

Enclosure:  
Message

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**TOP SECRET**TOP SECRETMESSAGE FROM JCS TO COMGENUSFA

Nr: WAR 98794

24 May 47

The following, received from the State Department, is in reply to your P-7189:

General Clark's statements cited in your P-7189 May 12 indicate desirability close cooperation between U.S. military authorities and political advisor or State Department in public statements which may be construed as policy declarations or commitments of this Government. Clark's speech was not cleared with State Department. Department is seriously concerned about critical situation in Austria after inability to conclude treaty at Moscow Conference and slowness in making available further economic assistance to Austria under present United States plans. We appreciate, as reflected in your P-7189 and LEGTEL 368 May 7, impact of these developments on public temper in Austria and growing anxiety among Austrian political leaders as to wisdom of their previous policy. We are convinced that under these circumstances utmost care should be taken to match our public declarations with concrete performances lest disappointed expectations ultimately diminish our influence in this area of central Europe. In general no misunderstanding has been conveyed with regard to the long-range objectives and continuity of our policy, but the scope and force of this policy depend upon the means available for its implementation.

This Government continues to regard Austria as of the greatest political and strategic interest. We cannot afford to let this key area fall under exclusive influence of Soviet Union, for if this should happen it would not only consolidate Soviet domination of Danubian and Balkan areas but would also weaken our position in Italy, Germany, and Czechoslovakia. This Government will therefore continue to support in every feasible way, any Government in Austria that preserves an independent or neutral orientation. There is accordingly no intention to withdraw our interest in Austria and let that country shift for itself. We shall also endeavor by every means to facilitate Austria's participation in international affairs as sovereign state, which will be greatly furthered by early conclusion of treaty and withdrawal of troops.

It is unquestioned that realization these aims depends especially upon provision of economic assistance required to maintain Austrian ration and to permit reconstruction of Austrian economy. It is neither desirable nor feasible for entire amount of the substantial assistance required to be furnished

- 1 -

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by this country exclusively. Hence our efforts have been directed toward eliciting some contribution from other occupying powers to add to substantial contributions we have made, and will continue to make, to secure reestablishment of an independent Austria.

The three major items of concrete assistance which U.S. might supply are Congressional relief grant, Export-Import Bank loan, and Army surplus stocks. Without reference to question of surplus stocks, discussed in paragraphs 6 to 9 of your P-7149 May 4 which involves technical considerations that may more approximately be discussed separately, following information may be furnished regarding relief grant and Export-Import loan:

The bill authorizing \$350,000,000 for relief has now passed both houses of Congress and is awaiting President's signature. Bill provides that 75,000,000 of the total will be made immediately available from RFC funds pending passage of appropriation legislation. Provisional allocation for Austria is approximately 85,000,000 for balance of calendar year 1947 and 30,000,000 for first six months of calendar year 1948. As you have been informed these figures are for present planning purposes on assumption that full 350,000,000 will be appropriated, and should not be made public, since whole program for the several countries is subject to adjustments in light of developments. In all planning for Austria due allowance, however, will continue to be made for our especial responsibilities there as occupying power, and if present funds should not suffice to meet essential Austrian relief needs, it is intended at the next session of Congress to make further requests for funds and supplies to avoid disease and unrest conditions endangering your position.

Regarding Export-Import Bank loan, it has not yet been possible to satisfy requirements of Bank, which has an independent responsibility in matter. It is hoped after visit of officials of Bank to Germany, Austria, and Italy within the near future, it will be possible to arrive at favorable conclusion of negotiations, which will in meanwhile continue to receive State Department's support.

It is regretted any misapprehension may have arisen over "termination of military responsibility" discussed in paragraphs 2 to 5 of your P-7149. The undertakings of War Department with regard to civilian supplies for six-month period ending June 30 have been most efficiently discharged. It was agreed financial responsibility for purchases of civilian supplies after that date would be transferred to State Department to be exercised through relief funds received from Congress.

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State Department thus assumes a responsibility, which will be discharged in field by its representatives subject to your authority as High Commissioner, as you will have been informed by separate cable. As long as Austria is under military occupation High Commissioner and Commanding General of United States Forces will retain all the general authority and responsibility required by situation to discharge his duties and implement this Government's policies in Austria. Included in this authority is that of deciding, as the representative of this Government, when to release or withhold release of any relief supplies sent to Austria. This authority is considered desirable in order to support High Commissioner's bargaining position in efforts to elicit comparable contributions from other occupying powers. In addition, for immediate future, until other agencies are provided that can logistically take over procurement and transportation of supplies, this Government will continue to utilize Army facilities for these purposes.

This is intended to answer major questions raised by your 7149 and 7189. Special efforts are being made by War and State Departments to expedite shipments of food in immediate future. Within means at our disposal, we are making every possible attempt to secure credits and shipments of food for Austria in time and amount substantially to continue existing program of this Government.

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091 Austria

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

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SM-8289  
26 May 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE STATE-WAR-NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE:

Subject: United States Future  
Policy Toward Austria.

Reference: SWN-5411.

Pursuant to the request of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee in SWN-5411, the Joint Chiefs of Staff on 24 May 1947 dispatched the message in the enclosure thereto to the Commanding General, U. S. Forces of Occupation, Austria, as WAR 98794, copy of which is enclosed for information.

For the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

*W. G. Lalor*  
W. G. LALOR,  
Captain, U. S. Navy,  
Secretary.

Enclosure.  
WAR 98794 (May 47) - Copy No. 54.  
SWNCC SECRETARIAT

- State Member \_\_\_\_\_
- Army Member \_\_\_\_\_
- Navy Member \_\_\_\_\_
- Ass't State Member \_\_\_\_\_
- Ass't Army Member \_\_\_\_\_
- Ass't Navy Member \_\_\_\_\_
- Executive Secretary \_\_\_\_\_
- Ass't Exec. Secretary \_\_\_\_\_
- State Adm. Assistant \_\_\_\_\_
- Army Adm. Assistant \_\_\_\_\_
- Navy Adm. Assistant \_\_\_\_\_
- File \_\_\_\_\_

MAY 9 1947



STATE WAR & NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE

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WAR DEPARTMENT  
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OUTGOING CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

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~~PARAPHRASE NOT REQUIRED. HANDLE AS TOP SECRET  
CORRESPONDENCE PER PARAS 511 and 60a (4), AR 380-5~~

Joint Chiefs of Staff  
Capt M M Stephens, USN, 72700

24 May 1947

CONGENUSFA Vienna Austria

Nr: WAR 98794

To Keyes from the Joint Chiefs of Staff pass to Erhardt.

The following, received from the State Department, is in reply to your P-7189:

General Clark's statements cited in your P-7189 May 12 indicate desirability close cooperation between U.S. military authorities and political advisor or State Department in public statements which may be construed as policy declarations or commitments of this Government. Clark's speech was not cleared with State Department. Department is seriously concerned about critical situation in Austria after inability to conclude treaty at Moscow Conference and slowness in making available further economic assistance to Austria under present United States plans. We appreciate, as reflected in your P-7189 and LEGREL 368 May 7, impact of these developments on public temper in Austria and growing anxiety among Austrian political leaders as to wisdom of their previous policy. We are convinced that under these circumstances utmost care should be taken to match our public declarations with concrete performances lest disappointed expectations ultimately diminish our influence in this area of central Europe. In general no misunderstanding has been conveyed with regard to the long-range objectives and continuity of our policy, but the scope and force of this policy depend upon the means available for its implementation.

This Government continues to regard Austria as of the greatest political and strategic interest. We cannot afford

CM OUT 98794

(May 47)

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Nr: WAR 98794

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to let this key area fall under exclusive influence of Soviet Union, for if this should happen it would not only consolidate Soviet domination of Danubian and Balkan areas but would also weaken our position in Italy, Germany, and Czechoslovakia. This Government will therefore continue to support in every feasible way, any Government in Austria that preserves an independent or neutral orientation. There is accordingly no intention to withdraw our interest in Austria and let that country shift for itself. We shall also endeavor by every means to facilitate Austria's participation in international affairs as sovereign state, which will be greatly furthered by early conclusion of treaty and withdrawal of troops.

It is unquestioned that realization these aims depends especially upon provision of economic assistance required to maintain Austrian ration and to permit reconstruction of Austrian economy. It is neither desirable nor feasible for entire amount of the substantial assistance required to be furnished by this country exclusively. Hence our efforts have been directed toward eliciting some contribution from other occupying powers to add to substantial contributions we have made, and will continue to make, to secure reestablishment of an independent Austria.

The three major items of concrete assistance which U.S. might supply are Congressional relief grant, Export-Import Bank loan, and Army surplus stocks. Without reference to question of surplus stocks, discussed in paragraphs 6 to 9 of your P-7149 May 4 which involves technical considerations that may more appropriately be discussed separately, following information may be furnished regarding relief grant and Export-Import loan:

The bill authorizing \$350,000,000 for relief has now passed both houses of Congress and is awaiting President's signature. Bill provides that 75,000,000 of the total will be made immediately available from RFC funds pending passage of appropriation legislation. Provisional allocation for Austria is approximately 85,000,000 for balance of calendar year

CM OUT 98794

(May 47)

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Nr: WAR 98794

Page - 3

1947 and 30,000,000 for first six months of calendar year 1948. As you have been informed these figures are for present planning purposes on assumption that full 350,000,000 will be appropriated, and should not be made public, since whole program for the several countries is subject to adjustments in light of developments. In all planning for Austria due allowance, however, will continue to be made for our especial responsibilities there as occupying power, and if present funds should not suffice to meet essential Austrian relief needs, it is intended at the next session of Congress to make further requests for funds and supplies to avoid disease and unrest conditions endangering your position.

Regarding Export-Import Bank loan, it has not yet been possible to satisfy requirements of Bank, which has an independent responsibility in matter. It is hoped after visit of officials of Bank to Germany, Austria, and Italy within the near future, it will be possible to arrive at favorable conclusion of negotiations, which will in meanwhile continue to receive State Department's support.

It is regretted any misapprehension may have arisen over "termination of military responsibility" discussed in paragraphs 2 to 5 of your P-7189. The undertakings of War Department with regard to civilian supplies for six-month period ending June 30 have been most efficiently discharged. It was agreed financial responsibility for purchases of civilian supplies after that date would be transferred to State Department to be exercised through relief funds received from Congress. State Department thus assumes a responsibility, which will be discharged in field by its representatives subject to your authority as High Commissioner, as you will have been informed by separate cable. As long as Austria is under military occupation High Commissioner and Commanding General of United States Forces will retain all the general authority and responsibility required by situation to discharge his duties and implement this Government's policies in Austria. Included in this authority is that of deciding, as the representative of this Government, when to release or withhold release of any

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(May 47)

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Nr: WAR 98794

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relief supplies sent to Austria. This authority is considered desirable in order to support High Commissioner's bargaining position in efforts to elicit comparable contributions from other occupying powers. In addition, for immediate future, until other agencies are provided that can logistically take over procurement and transportation of supplies, this Government will continue to utilize Army facilities for these purposes.

This is intended to answer major questions raised by your 7149 and 7189. Special efforts are being made by War and State Departments to expedite shipments of food in immediate future. Within means at our disposal, we are making every possible attempt to secure credits and shipments of food for Austria in time and amount substantially to continue existing program of this Government.

~~End~~

~~Note: P-7189 is CM IN 2016 (13 May 47)  
P-7149 is CM IN 667 (4 May 47)~~

ORIGINATOR: JCS

DISTRIBUTION: Gen Spaatz, Adm Leahy, Mr Petersen, Gen Noco, Gen Chamberlin, Adm Nimitz, Gen Norstad, CSA

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(May 47)

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THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

*File  
091 Austria*

**CONFIDENTIAL**  
SM-8238  
19 May 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY, STATE-WAR-NAVY  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE:

Subject: Results of Meeting -  
Allied Council for Austria.

Enclosure: CM-IN-3086 (19 May 47) Copy No. 46.

The enclosed message from the Commanding General,  
U.S. Forces in Austria, is forwarded for information.

1947 MAY 20



*M. M. Stephens*  
M. M. STEPHENS,  
Captain, U.S. Navy,  
Asst. Executive Secretary.

3876

NAVY COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE

SWNCC SECRETARIAT

- State Member
- Army Member
- Navy Member
- Ass't State Member
- Ass't Army Member
- Ass't Navy Member
- Executive Secretary
- Ass't Exec. Secretary
- State Adm. Assistant
- Army Adm. Assistant
- Navy Adm. Assistant
- File

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WAR DEPARTMENT  
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PARAPHRASE NOT REQUIRED. HANDLE AS CONFIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE  
PER PARAS 511 and 60a (4) AR 380-5

From: CONGENUSFA Vienna Austria from Keyes cite PASGS

To: War for JCS

Nr: P 7229

18 May 1947

The Allied Council met on 13 May and approved the following actions of the Executive Committee taken at its meeting on 6 May:

Nine laws of the Austrian Government approved. The most important of these was an ordinance which established a basic rate for freight and parcel tariffs and increased the present rate charged by the Austrian State and private railroads by 25%. A wine registration ordinance which regulates the registration, storage, and distribution of the 1946 vintage was likewise included. Another ordinance incorporated the measures for denazification of private enterprises, which were contained in the original Denazification Law of 1947. In this connection the Austrian Government was requested to define to the Allied Council a "medium size enterprise". Three additional laws failed on unanimous agreement and therefore the Austrian Government will be free to effect their promulgation. One law is designed to adapt the procedure for inheritance of farm lands so as to permit the fullest agricultural utilization; the other two measures were ordinances providing for government control of hides and leather. In connection with these laws the Soviet elements stated that measures would be taken in the Soviet Zone to protect Soviet interests when they conflicted with these laws.

The Austrian Government was notified that it was

CM IN 3086

(19 May 47)

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THE MAKING OF AN EXACT COPY OF THIS MESSAGE IS FORBIDDEN



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page 2

From: COMGENUSFA Vienna Austria from Keyes cite PASGS

Nr: P 7229 18 May 1947

desirable that it should ratify as soon as possible the four agreements concluded at the International Health Conference in New York in July 1946. Two small airfields situated in the French Zone were returned to the Austrian Government for agricultural purposes. Refer to P 7045. Supervision of the Austrian Government's allocation of explosives was delegated to the Economic Directorate.

*Since 332 Series*

The Allied Council agreed to postpone indefinitely any further consideration of an agreement setting forth the detailed rights and immunities to be accorded members of the allied forces. The existing rights and immunities will therefore remain in effect until changed by a subsequent agreement or by the conclusion of an Austrian State Treaty. At the request of the Federal Chancellor the managing Board of the Austrian Trade Unions was invited to be present at the Allied Council meeting on 29 May in order to present a statement of their desires and difficulties. This request may have been brought about by the recent food demonstrations in Vienna. The Brazilian political representative, Abalardo B Bueno de Prado, was invited to appear at the Allied Council meeting on 29 May to be introduced to the High Commissioners. A letter of welcome and offer of assistance was communicated to the Austrian Treaty Commission.

End

NOTE: P 7045 not identified in SMC  
ACTION: JCS  
INFO: AAF, Adm Leahy, ASW, CAD, ID  
Adm Nimitz, P&O, CSA

CM IN 3086 (19 May 47) DTG 180930Z ahs

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ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

*File  
Austria  
091*



MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY, STATE-WAR-NAVY COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE:

Subject: United States Future Policy Toward Austria.

There is attached a reply to P-7189 from Keyes to the  
Secretary of State, forwarded by the Joint Chiefs of Staff  
under SWN-5391 of 14 May 1947.

It is requested that the reply be dispatched as a  
matter of urgency.

*J. H. Hilldring*  
J. H. Hilldring  
State Member, State-War-Navy  
Coordinating Committee

*509*

Attachment:

Telegram to AMLEGATION, Vienna.



TOP SECRET

US URGENT  
AMEMBOSNY  
VIMMA

(DEPT. STATE)  
FROM SECRETARY FOR KEYES AND ERHARDT

Gen Clark's statements cited irtel P-7189 May 12 indicate desirability close cooperation between US military authorities and Political Advisor or State Dept in public statements which may be construed as policy declarations or commitments of this Govt. Clark's speech was not cleared with Dept. Dept is seriously concerned about critical situation in Austria after inability to conclude treaty at Moscow Conference and slowness in making available further economic assistance to Austria under present US plans. We appreciate, as reflected in irtel P-7189 May 12 and Legtel 368 May 7, impact of these developments on public temper in Austria and growing anxiety among Austrian political leaders as to wisdom of their previous policy. We are convinced that under these circumstances utmost care should be taken to match our public declarations with concrete performances lest disappointed expectations ultimately diminish our influence in this area of Central Europe. In general no misunderstanding has been conveyed with regard to the long-range objectives and continuity of our policy, but the scope and force of this policy depend upon the means available for its implementation.



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This Govt continues to regard Austria as of the greatest political and strategic interest. We cannot afford to let this key area fall ~~under exclusive~~ influence of Soviet Union, for if this should happen it would not only consolidate Soviet domination of Danubian and Balkan areas but would also weaken our position in Italy, Germany, and Czechoslovakia. This Govt will therefore continue to support in every feasible way, any Govt in Austria that preserves an independent or neutral orientation. There is accordingly no intention to withdraw our interest in Austria and let that country shift for itself. We shall also endeavor by every means to facilitate Austria's participation in international affairs as sovereign state, which will be greatly furthered by early conclusion of treaty and withdrawal of troops.

¶

It is unquestioned/realization these aims depends especially upon provision of economic assistance required to maintain Austrian ration and to permit reconstruction of Austrian economy. It is neither desirable nor feasible for entire amount of the substantial assistance required to be furnished by this country exclusively. Hence our efforts have been directed toward eliciting some contribution from other occupying powers to add to substantial contributions we have made, and will continue to make, to secure reestablishment of an independent Austria.



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The three major items of concrete assistance which US might supply are Congressional relief grant, Export-Import Bank loan, and Army surplus stocks. Without reference to question of surplus stocks, discussed in paragraphs six to nine of your P-7149, May 4, which involves technical considerations that may more appropriately be discussed separately, following information may be furnished re relief grant and Export-Import loan:

The bill authorizing \$350 million for relief has now passed both houses of Congress and is awaiting President's signature. Bill provides that \$75 million of the total will be made immediately available from R.F.C. funds pending passage of appropriation legislation. Provisional allocation for Austria is approximately \$85 million for balance of calendar year 1947 and \$30 million for first six months of calendar year 1948. As you have been informed these figures are for present planning purposes on assumption that full \$350 million will be appropriated, and should not be made public, since whole program for the several countries is subject to adjustments in light of developments. In all planning for Austria due allowance, however, will continue to be made for our especial responsibilities there as occupying power, and if present funds should not suffice to meet essential Austrian relief needs, it is intended/ to <sup>at the next session of Congress</sup> further make/requests for funds and supplies to avoid disease and unrest conditions endangering your position.



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-4-

Re Export-Import Bank loan, it has not yet been possible to satisfy requirements of Bank, which has an independent responsibility in matter. It is hoped after visit of officials of Bank to Germany, Austria, and Italy within the near future, it will be possible to arrive at favorable conclusion of negotiations, which will in meanwhile continue to receive Dept's support.

It is regretted any misapprehension may have arisen over QUOTE termination of military responsibility UNQUOTE discussed in paragraphs two to five of P-7149, May 4. The undertakings of War Dept with regard to civilian supplies for six-month period ending June 30 have been most efficiently discharged. It was agreed financial responsibility for purchases of civilian supplies after that date would be transferred to State Dept to be exercised through relief funds received from Congress. State Dept thus assumes a responsibility, which will be discharged in field by its representatives subject to your authority as High Commissioner, as you will have been informed by separate cable. As long as Austria is under military occupation High Commissioner and Commanding Gen of US forces will retain all the general authority and responsibility required by situation to discharge his duties and implement this Govt's policies in Austria. Included in this authority is that of deciding, as the representative of this Govt, when to release or withhold release of any relief



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supplies sent to Austria. This authority is considered desirable in order to support High Commissioner's bargaining position in efforts to elicit comparable contributions from other occupying powers. In addition, for immediate future, until other agencies are provided that can logistically take over procurement and transportation of supplies, this Govt will continue to utilize army facilities for these purposes.

This is intended to answer major questions raised by your cables of May 4 and May 12. Special efforts are being made by War and State Depts to expedite shipments of food in immediate future. Within means at our disposal, we are making every possible attempt to secure credits and shipments of food for Austria in time and amount substantially to continue existing program of this Govt.

CE:ECVedeler/CKidd/vlk  
May 22, 1947  
(cleared with JWB)

HK  
GA EUR A-T  
(cleared with Mr. Dort)



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**SWN-5591**      VFF:do  
**14 May 1947**

MEMORANDUM FOR THE STATE MEMBER, SWNCC

**Subject: United States Future Policy Toward Austria**

The enclosed message, forwarded by the Joint Chiefs of Staff requesting the basis of a reply, is referred to the Department of State for preparation of a draft reply.

It is requested that the draft reply be forwarded to the SWNCC Secretariat for transmission to the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

For the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee:

**H. W. MOBLEY,**  
**Secretary**

Enclosure  
Copy No. 21, SWN-2016

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## TOP SECRET

From: COMGENUSFA Vienna Austria from Keyes cite PASGS

To: War for JCS Pass to State Department

NR: P 7189

12 May 1947

Result of Moscow Conference has raised grave questions in minds of both people and Government of Austria about the future of the Austrian State. Latter has been consistently subjected to strong pressures ever since liberation. Last year Austrians seriously feared the country would be split apart along demarcation line of Soviet Zone. With the country still an integral unit Austrians continue to be faced with dilemma of choosing between Eastern and Western orientation. So far they have maintained Western orientation on basis of strong US and British support and expectation that it will continue.

Recently however Soviet and Communist pressure to make Austria turn towards USSR has been increasing again, and Austrians have therefore been again preoccupied by question whether they should maintain resistance to Soviet Union or endeavor to get along with it by collaboration. They remember that for many of them previous efforts to maintain independence ended in concentration camps first under 1934 regime and again under Nazis. With Austrians now occasionally being sent to Siberia and members of Parliament being arrested, the people must think twice of the possibility of future concentration camps under possible Soviet domination. They wish to maintain resistance against latter but not at risk of being forced into it by being abandoned by Western powers again as they feel they were at time of forcible Anschluss by Germany.

Major factor in their decision whether to maintain resistance to East and orientation to West will be their estimate whether concrete US support for Austria by American people, Congress, and Government will continue. They therefore received General Clark's statements upon his departure with great acclaim as they considered them a commitment of the US Government to continue concrete material support to Austria.

Gen Clark's various public statements being despatched textually to State Department. Excerpts from various public statements are as follows:

" - - - 2 years ago - - - I was able to inform you of my Government's firm intention to live up to its commitment in the Moscow declaration to see a free and independent Austria reestablished.

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Since then I have on many occasions repeated this pledge and it was our adherence to our solemn international obligations which made it morally impossible for the US Delegation in Moscow to accept Soviet proposals which violated this promise and quite obviously mortgaged the political sovereignty and the very economic life and independence of your country. The United States Government will continue to give you its utmost support to obtain and to maintain freedom and independence as long as you continue your untiring efforts to achieve these high aims.

"I can state categorically that this continues to be the desire of my Government and that its policy will be ably and vigorously carried out by my successor.

"I wish to make clear that in carrying out these projects I was merely implementing the wishes of my Government in fulfillment of its pledges to restore to Austria that which is right fully its heritage. This will continue to be the policy of my Government and will be carried out as gladly and with the same sense of personal satisfaction by my successors.

"You have further referred to my efforts to aid your economy and there also I can only reiterate that I have gladly served as an instrument of my Government in helping you back on your feet. But I am keenly aware of the inadequacy of any relief program which does not provide you with the means of reestablishing your own economy on a completely independent basis.

"Now as to US policy in Austria. There will be no change. The US Government, as I told you, has pledged itself to reestablish your country and will stick to that objective, and will help you in every way.

"We will live up to our solemn pledges to restore you independence. The US desires to withdraw its troops but it will leave them as long as necessary to achieve these objectives. In our Secretary of State, General Marshall, you have a real understanding friend who has a deep appreciation of Austria's problems and an abiding interest in her welfare."

The US is thus formally committed to continue its policy of reestablishing an Austrian State independent of foreign, particularly Soviet, domination, and Chancellor Figl on behalf of his Government appears to have accepted General Clark's assurances at their face value. This is also true in the case of the Peoples and the Socialist parties. Evidently the continuation of this policy implies not only political support, especially in connection with treaty negotiations, but also the provision of appropriate economic assistance

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until Austrian economy can again be self supporting. The vital problem is the early and adequate provision of sufficient credits from the relief bill now before Congress to fill the remaining gap in Austria's balance of payments for 1947. This gap, variously estimated at \$85,000,000 (Washington figures) to \$135,000,000 (Vienna). The most important and urgent problem is the early procurement and shipment of foodstuffs under the credit to be later established. These are prerequisite to implementing the policy outlined above.

Following are examples of recent and current articles in US press: United Press, 8th May. "Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson has announced that because of the failure of the Moscow Conference the US will push ahead alone in the reconstruction of Germany and Japan without waiting for Big Four Agreement" no mention of Austria.

International news service, 8th May. A group of leading American industrialists returned here today with a warning that America must quickly provide Germany with food and raw materials or Communism will sooner or later establish itself in Germany and the rest of Europe" Austria omitted.

United Press, 8th May. A high administration official said this week that the US General Foreign Relief Plan was calculated to provide sufficient funds for Austria's basic needs and that the curtailed sum of \$200,000,000 would not do this". In the absence of some tangible evidence it is difficult to reconcile such statements with policy above enunciated.

I request confirmation of the policy just described and the earliest possible indication as to whether credits and shipments of food will materialize in time and amount to permit a continuation of this policy. Political advisor concurs.

End.

This message has been relayed to State Dept.

CM IN 2016

(13 May 47)

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THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

**TOP SECRET**

SM-8189  
13 May 1947

091

*Austria*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE STATE-WAR-NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE:

Subject: United States Future  
Policy Toward Austria.

Enclosure: CM-IN-2016 (13 May 47) Copy No. 21.

The enclosed message from the Commanding General,  
U.S. Forces in Austria, is forwarded requesting the basis  
of reply.

For the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

*W. G. Lalor*  
W. G. LALOR,  
Captain, U.S. Navy,  
Secretary.

SWNCC SECRETARIAT

- State Member
- Army Member
- Navy Member
- Ass't State Member
- Ass't Army Member
- Ass't Navy Member
- Executive Secretary
- Ass't Exec. Secretary
- State Adm. Assistant
- Army Adm. Assistant
- Navy Adm. Assistant
- File

MAY 14 1947



STATE WAR & NAVY COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE

3857

**TOP SECRET**



**TOP SECRET**

**From:** COMGENUSFA Vienna Austria from Keyes cite PASOS  
**To:** War for JCS Pass to State Department  
**RF:** P 7199 12 May 1947

Result of Moscow Conference has raised grave questions in minds of both people and Government of Austria about the future of the Austrian State. Latter has been consistently subjected to strong pressures ever since liberation. Last year Austrians seriously feared the country would be split apart along demarcation line of Soviet Zone. With the country still an integral unit Austrians continue to be faced with dilemma of choosing between Eastern and Western orientation. So far they have maintained Western orientation on basis of strong US and British support and expectation that it will continue.

Recently however Soviet and Communist pressure to make Austria turn towards USSR has been increasing again, and Austrians have therefore been again preoccupied by question whether they should maintain resistance to Soviet Union or endeavor to get along with it by collaboration. They remember that for many of them previous efforts to maintain independence ended in concentration camps first under 1934 regime and again under Nazis. With Austrians now occasionally being sent to Siberia and members of Parliament being arrested, the people must think twice of the possibility of future concentration camps under possible Soviet domination. They wish to maintain resistance against latter but not at risk of being forced into it by being abandoned by Western powers again as they feel they were at time of forcible Anschluss by Germany.

Major factor in their decision whether to maintain resistance to East and orientation to West will be their estimate whether concrete US support for Austria by American people, Congress, and Government will continue. They therefore received General Clark's statements upon his departure with great acclaim as they considered them a commitment of the US Government to continue concrete material support to Austria.

Gen Clark's various public statements being despatched textually to State Department. Excerpts from various public statements are as follows:

" - - - 2 years ago - - - I was able to inform you of my Government's firm intention to live up to its commitment in the Moscow declaration to see a free and independent Austria reestablished.

**TOP SECRET**



## TOP SECRET

Since then I have on many occasions repeated this pledge and it was our adherence to our solemn international obligations which made it morally impossible for the US Delegation in Moscow to accept Soviet proposals which violated this promise and quite obviously mortgaged the political sovereignty and the very economic life and independence of your country. The United States Government will continue to give you its utmost support to obtain and to maintain freedom and independence as long as you continue your untiring efforts to achieve these high aims.

"I can state categorically that this continues to be the desire of my Government and that its policy will be ably and vigorously carried out by my successor.

"I wish to make clear that in carrying out these projects I was merely implementing the wishes of my Government in fulfillment of its pledges to restore to Austria that which is right fully its heritage. This will continue to be the policy of my Government and will be carried out as gladly and with the same sense of personal satisfaction by my successors.

"You have further referred to my efforts to aid your economy and there also I can only reiterate that I have gladly served as an instrument of my Government in helping you back on your feet. But I am keenly aware of the inadequacy of any relief program which does not provide you with the means of reestablishing your own economy on a completely independent basis.

"Now as to US policy in Austria. There will be no change. The US Government, as I told you, has pledged itself to reestablish your country and will stick to that objective, and will help you in every way.

"We will live up to our solemn pledges to restore you independence. The US desires to withdraw its troops but it will leave them as long as necessary to achieve these objectives. In our Secretary of State, General Marshall, you have a real understanding friend who has a deep appreciation of Austria's problems and an abiding interest in her welfare."

The US is thus formally committed to continue its policy of reestablishing an Austrian State independent of foreign, particularly Soviet, domination, and Chancellor Figl on behalf of his Government appears to have accepted General Clark's assurances at their face value. This is also true in the case of the Peoples and the Socialist parties. Evidently the continuation of this policy implies not only political support, especially in connection with treaty negotiations, but also the provision of appropriate economic assistance

TOP SECRET



## TOP SECRET

until Austrian economy can again be self supporting. The vital problem is the early and adequate provision of sufficient credits from the relief bill now before Congress to fill the remaining gap in Austria's balance of payments for 1947. This gap, variously estimated at \$88,000,000 (Washington figures) to \$138,000,000 (Vienna). The most important and urgent problem is the early procurement and shipment of foodstuffs under the credit to be later established. These are prerequisite to implementing the policy outlined above.

Following are examples of recent and current articles in US press: United Press, 8th May. "Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson has announced that because of the failure of the Moscow Conference the US will push ahead alone in the reconstruction of Germany and Japan without waiting for Big Four Agreement" no mention of Austria.

International news service, 8th May. A group of leading American industrialists returned here today with a warning that America must quickly provide Germany with food and raw materials or Communism will sooner or later establish itself in Germany and the rest of Europe" Austria omitted.

United Press, 8th May. A high administration official said this week that the US General Foreign Relief Plan was calculated to provide sufficient funds for Austria's basic needs and that the curtailed sum of \$200,000,000 would not do this". In the absence of some tangible evidence it is difficult to reconcile such statements with policy above enunciated.

I request confirmation of the policy just described and the earliest possible indication as to whether credits and shipments of food will materialize in time and amount to permit a continuation of this policy. Political advisor concurs.

End.

This message has been relayed to State Dept.

CM IN 2016

(13 May 47)

TOP SECRET



SWN-5389  
14 May 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF:

Subject: Translation of Article by P. Crochet-  
Dennis

At the request of the State Member, SWNCC, the enclosed copy of SWNCC Memorandum for Information No. 51 is forwarded for the information of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

For the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee:

H. W. NOSELEY  
Secretary

Enclosure:  
NI 51, Copy No. 49

COPY FOR SWNCC FILE

17



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P & O, WDG

*091 Austria  
Misc.*

Col Reynolds/72144

PAG 350.03 (22 May 47)

22 May 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF, EUROPEAN COMMAND, APO 757,  
c/o POSTMASTER, NEW YORK, NEW YORK:

SUBJECT: Translation of Article by F. Crochet-Bamaie

1. On 14 May 1947, the State, War and Navy Departments circulated SWNCC MFI No. 51.
2. The inclosure is forwarded for information.
3. A similar inclosure has been furnished the Commanding General, Army Ground Forces, Commander in Chief, Alaskan Command and the Commander in Chief, Far East, for information.

FOR THE DIRECTOR OF PLANS AND OPERATIONS:

1 Incl  
SWNCC MFI No. 51,  
Cy No. 67

OLIVER C. DOAN  
Major, GSC  
Asst. Executive Officer  
Plans & Policy Group

- Copies furnished:
- D/I, w/incl, SWNCC MFI No. 51, Cy No. 71
  - D/RAD, w/incl, SWNCC MFI No. 51, Cy No. 72
  - CG, AAF, w/incl, SWNCC MFI No. 51, Cy No. 73
  - Sec, JCS, w/o incl
  - ✓ Sec, SWNCC, w/o incl

SWNCC SECRETARIAT

- State Member -----
- Army Member -----
- Navy Member -----
- Ass't State Member ----- ✓
- Ass't Army Member -----
- Ass't Navy Member ----- ✓
- Executive Secretary -----
- Ass't Exec. Secretary -----
- State Adm. Assistant -----
- Army Adm. Assistant *EDD* -----
- Navy Adm. Assistant -----
- File -----

MAY 26 1947



STATE WAR & NAVY DEPARTMENT

RESTRICTED

(17)



ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

*M/T 81*  
*File 091- amstrug*  
*EJS*



MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY, STATE-WAR-NAVY COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE:

Subject: Translation of Article by P. Crochet-Damais.

There is enclosed herewith for the attention of the Joint  
Chiefs of Staff, the translation of an article which appeared in  
a recent issue (it is believed the September 1946 issue) of  
"Revue Generale de l'Air" by P. Crochet-Damais.

This article is submitted as a matter of information and  
because it may be indicative of Soviet policy and purposes with  
respect to aviation.

*J. H. Hildring*  
J. H. Hildring  
State Member, State-War-Navy  
Coordinating Committee

Attachment:

Translation of article  
by P. Crochet-Damais.



STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT



TO : General Hilldring  
FROM : Mr. Lewis *gwh*  
SUBJECT: Transmission of a Document to JCS for Information.

DATE: 5/7/47

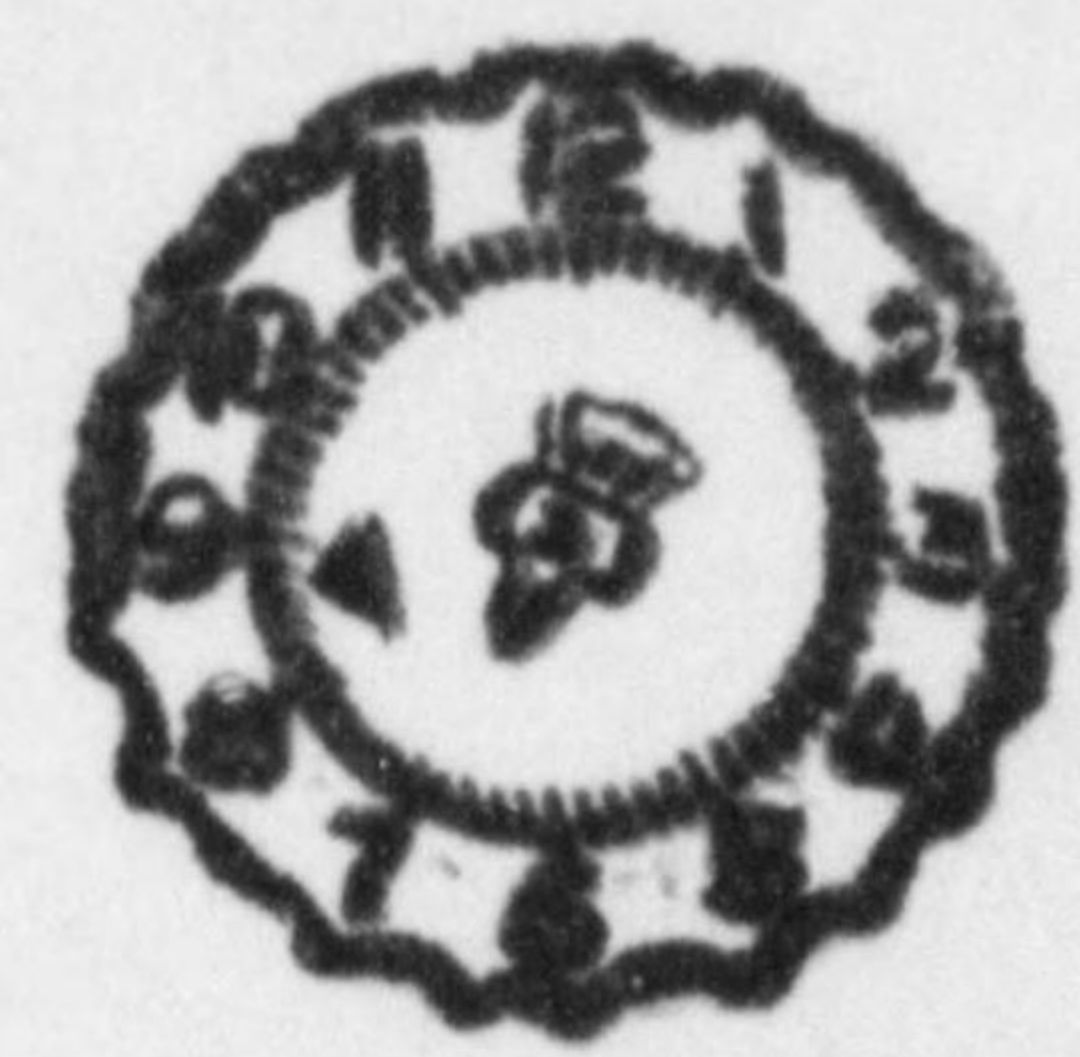
Mr. Moseley of SWNCC Secretariat advises that this is the proper procedure to follow.

AV and EUR feel that the enclosed translation of an article from "Revue Generale de l'Air", Paris, is worth passing on to the JCS.

This article points out that the huge size of Russia and primitive nature of its ground transportation make air transportation very important to the internal development of the USSR. The article then points out the strategic importance of the Polar areas in connection with world air-ways, particularly from the United States, and the strategic position Russia holds in the control of routes passing over these areas. At one point the article states that Russia "possesses the future Gibaltars and Singapores of the century of aviation".

The most significant part of the article deals with future Soviet air policy. She abstained from appearing at the Chicago Conference. This means she does not intend to grant foreign lines rights of transit over her territory. Yet without such rights the best air routes to the rest of the world are barred to the United States. Apparently the USSR intends to use its strategic position to gain for itself the position of the leading world air power.

MAY 1 1947



STATE WAR & NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE

AH-1339



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
CENTRAL TRANSLATING DIVISION

[TRANSLATION]

TC NO. 35538  
T 14/R-IV  
French*From "Revue General  
de l'air" Paris.  
Sept '46 issue 9 Think.**2*

## THE U.S.S.R. ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE AIR AGE

P. CROCHET-DAMAIS

Of all the world powers, the U.S.S.R. is the one which has at its disposal the most gigantic territory. When it is daybreak on the extreme eastern Soviet frontier, it is barely nightfall on the western confines. Cape Chelyuskin in Siberia fixes the boundaries of the Union beyond the polar circle and 5,000 kilometers separate it from the frontiers of Afghanistan, situated a few versts from Kuchka, city of palm trees and exotic fruits. Its vast area exceeds 22 million square kilometers : more than twice the size of the United States, four times that of Europe and forty times that of France. 193 million souls (1) representing 60 nationalities, belonging to a hundred ethnical groups, make their homes there.

The natural wealth of this world exceeds what had been imagined before the prospecting which scientists of the Union undertook : subsoil contains all minerals known to exist in the earth's crust; among them, iron ore exists in greater quantities than in the rest of the world. All types of soil and all methods of farming are represented there.

In the midst of the first World War, the Academy of Sciences created a commission for the study of the productive forces of Russia. An inventory of all natural resources was to be drawn up and preparations made for utilizing them. After the great October Revolution, this embryonic mechanism re-

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(1) Demographic statistics of 1940.



-2-

ceived its decisive impetus. Lenin himself stated its chief purpose in 1921 : "To the north of Volodga, to the southeast of Saratov, south of Orenburg and Omsk, everywhere in the depth of Asia, there exist zones of the future where dozens of civilized States might be developed; now these zones are still in a state of partial or complete primitiveness....It is necessary that they be organized."

Thus was announced the gigantic metamorphosis of this massive continent destined to be populated and industrialized. A country with primitive regions still under the domination of a backward patriarchy, the Union began its monstrous gestation of a great industrial civilization and of a collective economy, by undertaking the colonization of the promised lands.

This impressive evolution required a total mobilization of the means of action and in particular of traffic routes. Any human settlement is bound to the thoroughfare from which it draws its vitality, even if it does not owe its very existence thereto. The construction of a vast system of pioneer routes was required as the basic condition for the development of industries and the working of the soil. Now, the antiquated condition of the railroad network, its very concentrated position around the few old industrial zones of European Russia, scarcity of roads---all of this was a serious obstacle to progress toward the East; only the Trans-Siberian railroad extended its thin, slow and solitary ribbon all the way to the shores of the Pacific, to the North there lay Siberia, with its broken trails and rivers clogged with ice and to the south, the thousand steppes of Central Asia, with its forgotten cities. The natural wealth, the raw materials, the promises of rich harvests, the future industrial metropolises awaited means of access in order to be-

come



-3-

come a reality.

Moreover, other imperative needs required this inescapable call for a system of communications organized on a scale commensurate with the proposed tasks, namely: the necessity of unifying this multinational complexity and eliminating the backward condition of the borderlands, and the need for an equilibrated system of defense between the frontier areas of the east and the west.

The development of traffic routes was inspired by the new geography of economic regions as outlined in their Plan by the builders of the Soviet world. Starting out with the oldest railroads and the greater amount of traditional railroad traffic in European Russia, they deliberately directed their best efforts toward the Asiatic territories. During the first Five-Year Plan, the most important accomplishment was that of the Turkestan-Siberian railroad, linked with the Trans-Siberian and Trans-Caspian railroads. During the second Plan, the great Trans-Siberian trunk line was completed by numerous branch lines opening up a new means of access to the Pacific and extending on both sides in a northerly and southerly direction. Exceptional efforts were made, likewise, in connection with the highway system.

The system of land routes (railroad or roadways) resulting therefrom shows two noteworthy marks of originality: on the one hand, its expansion occurs south of the 60th parallel exclusively; on the other hand, without any unity, its loose-woven networks stretch out in a general easterly direction, which indicates their comparative impotence in the face of the impenetrable Siberian world to the North and the infinite expanse of distance to the South (1).

Now

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(1) See map of railroad system. Asiatic section.

*map - 4, C*



-4-

Now, it is primarily in these immense territories, which lack even the rudimentary means of modern transportation, that the airplane has a capital rôle to play: by means of it and it alone, man has access to them and makes them his own. Soviet aviation allied itself closely with this phenomenon of discovery and penetration, insofar as it progressively served the masters of the U.S.S.R., by the invisible and rapid chain which it forged in space, to bring the capital cities of the Union under the command and administration of Moscow, their sovereign city.

There resulted therefrom, as we shall see, an expansion of the transportation system: the system of airways, for lack of other means, made it possible to compensate in speed for the considerably off-center location of Moscow, a capital which is not centrally located, and inscribed above the map of the U.S.S.R. the unity of this gigantic world, encamped at the crossroads of the great circle air routes, indisputable promise of power in the air age.

## I.

The airplane, instrument of penetration into the Arctic.Siberia and Central Asia

## AIR EXPLORATIONS OF THE ARCTIC.

Several nations had attempted to utilize the airways since before the war of 1914 to penetrate the heart of the polar circle and explore the Arctic: In 1926 and 1909 [sic] the Americans launched two expeditions using dirigibles, which failed. In 1914, for the first time, the Russians succeeded in making several flights above Novaya Zemlya. After the conflict, competition began again and, beginning with 1922 the attempt of Amundsen, which failed, was followed by several flights of Norwegian and German aviators. Then came the 1925 expedition



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expedition of Amundsen, the exploit of the "Norge" and Byrd's plane which flew over the pole, at an interval of a few days between them, and finally the terrible odyssey of the "Italia" and the Latham 47 which went to its rescue, in 1928.

It was at that time that the era of scientific flights began. The U.S.S.R. definitively comes to the front. Under the direction of the "Arctic Institute" of Leningrad, the aviation of the Union monopolized the work of discovery to be carried out in these regions. Its merit is that it carried on, simultaneously, exploration and the installation of permanent meteorological, radio and goniometric stations which mark out in depth the great North and which are to be found by the dozens all along the coast of the Arctic Ocean. These guide- and relay-stations were in reality the first human outposts established in the solitudes of the Great North by the instrument of the airways. Farther North, in Novaya Zemlya and on Rodolph Island, permanent installations of the same type were set up. Finally, the scientific expedition which was transported by air from Russia to the North Pole in 1937 was the most spectacular example of the use of the airplane: "Floating Base No. 1" was established on the ice-floe at the Pole, with its tents, stores, scientific instruments and personnel.

#### THE NORTHEAST PASSAGE AND THE NETWORK OF AIR SERVICE

##### IN THE NORTH

Arkhangelsk and Murmansk are the work of the Czarist regime. But the opening to maritime traffic of the passage between the Barents Sea and the Bering Sea is due to the Soviet Government. Since 1880 all attempts in this direction had been abandoned. In 1920 there was founded the "Committee

for



-6-

for the Northern Maritime Route" which, charged with the systematic study of this practical project, has used the airplane from the time of the first work of preliminary reconnoitering. The Sea of Kara has been open to traffic since 1931. The following year, thanks to aerial observations, a maritime expedition succeeded in connecting the Barents Sea with the Bering Sea. Then the Committee was completely reconstituted and became an important organization, charged not only with developing the Northwest passage, the new maritime route, but also with the economic development of all Siberian districts, from the point of view of the organization of their communications (land, sea and air) as well as from that of the scientific inventory of their mineral resources with a view to the extraction and utilization of the resources of the soil and the subsoil and the populating of these regions. In order to accomplish this gigantic economic plan this organization was granted wide resources and the most extensive material means. Aviation held first place in the organization of the enterprise, with the creation of the "Northern Air Service" which, beginning with 1932, had at its disposal a veritable armada composed of land planes, ski-planes, sea-planes, amphibious planes and planes carried on the catapults of the large ice-breakers. The results were up to the standards of the air age: in succession, the tracing of the coastlines and the general relief lines was accurately done and geological observations were made, permitting a complete scientific plotting of the map of the coastal zones and the archipelagos of the Arctic Ocean; the evolution and drift of the ice-floes were observed, for the establishment of channels and the indication of open passageways; reconnoitering was then extended to unexplored lands, then they proceeded to the study of their soils, vegetation, fauna,

and



-7-

and mineral wealth. Then came the establishment of centers of colonization, the sites for which were selected following meteorological and climatological explorations, the organization of innumerable landings and bases, widely diffused, which were the beginnings of human settlements. Along the Siberian rivers and waterways, primitive centers, which for centuries had never possessed any means of access except bad roads or poor trails, are now linked on the air-routes. By thus spreading a far-flung network extending over thousands of kilometers, closely associated with the trade which caused its rapid development, as is happening now in Siberia, providing links between polar and coastal stations, bringing them supplies whenever any other means is impossible, the airplane is expanding its coastal lines from Arkhangelsk to Anadyr, the farthest advanced Soviet outpost on the Behring Straits, only a few hours distant from Nome, in Alaska. In a southerly direction, following the course of the great Siberian rivers, it goes on to link up with the Trans-Siberian railroad and beyond, toward Central Asia.

February 1941 marked the inauguration of the great strategic air route Moscow-Arkhangelsk, Igarfa [Igarfa?]-Port Tixi-Anadyr, equipped with Consolidated Pby seaplanes--the real backbone of this entire Arctic system. It is of primary importance for the future of intercontinental links using Great Circle arcs. The total length of the routes of the "Northern Air Service" had reached 11,395 kilometers by 1936. It has more than doubled since then.

Outside this vast domain in which we have just seen the progressive expansion of the air routes of the "Northern Air Service", which within 10 years was able to bring within the orbit of human activity entire regions which until then had been disinherited and isolated, the establishment of the Soviet air network over the remainder of the territory is another proof of the greatness of the work which is being carried on.



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## II

Development of the Internal (Air) Network  
and Secondary Services of Aid to the Economy of the U.S.S.R.

In the matter of air transports, the U.S.S.R. completed its apprenticeship under Germany. Entirely lacking in technical knowledge, means and, consequently, in experience, the Russian Government unreservedly welcomed the aid which the Junkers Company offered it, at this juncture, in 1922. The latter took upon itself the task of the construction of factories to which it sent engineers and technicians, created the sub-structure of a primary network, organized the operation of the first lines.

Each of the two nations believed it was getting what it desired: from the very beginning of the development of the Deruluft (Junkers) line, the Lufthansa (company) obtained the privilege of flying from Moscow to the Caspian Sea (at no other time has any other nation benefited from a similar concession on the part of the U.S.S.R.). In fact, Germany was "the most favored nation" until the moment when the Russians believed that they had assimilated sufficiently technical aeronautical knowledge to do without foreign interference. During this lapse of time (from 1922 to 1928) there soon began to function, side by side with Deruluft, Dobrolet (a Russian company) and a Ukrainian Company.

A few/<sup>very</sup>minor lines appeared on the map: Moscow-Koenigsberg, Moscow-Kazan, Kharkhov-Kiev and Kharkov-Odessa, as well as a Moscow-Tiflis line passing through Baku. In Turkestan, Stalinabad is connected with Kagan and Tachäuz. As for the operation of the lines, the meager statistical results were far from being able to stand comparison with those of the lines of Western

Europe



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Europe, if one judges by the following table:

Year	Companies	Passengers transported	Express Cargo (in kilograms)
1927	DERULUFT (German-Russian company)	1,620	7,100
	UKROVOZDUCHPUT (Ukrainian company)	2,664	29,633
	DOBROLET (Russian)	2,693	58,864

During the same year, the French lines alone transported: 21,500 passengers and 1,500 tons of express cargo.

Beginning with the first Five-year Plan (1928) an air policy appeared. The greatest attention was paid by the government authorities of the Union of the question of aeronautics. In 1929, flights of exploration and reconnoitering were begun all along the ribbon of the Trans-Siberian railroad; observations were assembled in order to establish a basic substructure. At the same time, the first efforts were made for the creation of a powerful aeronautics industry. While this methodical preparation was progressing, there appeared in 1932, as a result of the application of the plan, "the Central Office of Civil Aviation" or "Aeroflot". The Government of the U.S.S.R. thus proved its intention to develop its airways/<sup>system</sup> to the scale of its needs, by freeing it definitively of foreign influences.

From the start, the major outlines of this air policy were sketched in masterful fashion: little or no contact with foreign points. Connections were to be established like a hermetically sealed circulatory system, a task which was gigantic in itself and which was summed up in these few words "mark out in bold lines/<sup>the entire</sup> territory from the Eastern Mountains all the way to the Pacific groups and to the walls of Pamir".

Little



-10-

Little by little, political unity was thus attained by means of the airways. Without the airplane, Moscow is still too far away from the federated republics of Asia. Thanks to it, the whole land mass discovered the significance of its own vast surface. The airplane acts as the cement for this continuous mass with its thousand aspects and its hundred races. It serves as a perpetual reminder of the ever present Supreme Central Authority.

The profound transformation imposed by its administrators upon the economic structure of the U.S.S.R. has continued to operate since then. The airplane progressively enveloped in its invisible web the new geographic division of the territories: Having its central office at Moscow, the Central Office of Civil Aviation created thirteen regional offices, located according to the following plan: Moscow, Kiev, Leningrad, Saratov, Rostov, Tiflis, Sverdlovsk, Irkutsk, Khabarovsk, Novosibirsk, Aktyubinsk, Alma Ata, Tashkent. The sections were defined and the framework set up. Then there began the methodical development of the airlinks. This development must be followed in the light of the successive five-year plans in order to obtain an idea of its impressive rigorousness.

At the beginning of 1931, the network reached 26,316 kilometers, serving Moscow-Kharkov-Rostov, Irkutsk-Yakutsk and Moscow-Sverdlovsk, the first section of the Trans-Siberian route.

The second five-year plan (1933-1938) provided for a network of 90,000 kilometers. By 1935, half of the program had been completed: 61,500 kilometers. The Moscow-Rostov line had been extended to Tiflis. Furthermore, Moscow was also linked to Tashkent, the future turntable of the airways system in Turkestan, and to Vladivostok, (more than 8,000 kilometers), at that time the longest transcontinental route in the world. As

for



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for local networks, they already constituted 88 secondary feeder and short haul lines (1)

In 1940 the whole airways system had approximately the aspect shown in Map No. 1.

The war, far from interrupting the rhythm of this tentacled expansion, actually stimulated it on the contrary. No doubt Soviet civil aviation concentrated its activity on tasks connected with military operations, but the Russian-German conflict, in particular, entailed the result that Soviet isolationism was temporarily broken by having the Soviet Union benefit from American aid. Under the interminable polar night, the route from Alaska over the Aleutians was the route followed by the Russian pilots who went as far as Edmonton to obtain American materiel. They then convoyed it in the direction of the European front via Nome, Anadyr, Yakutsk, Irkutsk and the trans-Siberian line. The fact that the third Five-Year Plan was elaborated and applied in close connection with military preparations and the conduct of the war, conferred upon it exceptional importance from the standpoint of aviation.

The 1946 Soviet capacity for airplane production (40,000 planes per year) affords a basis for an evaluation of the development of its power. In 1940 the factories of the Soviet Union produced about 12,000 planes. Therefore production was more than tripled during hostilities. All planes are of Soviet design.

The

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(1) It was in 1934 that the length of the Russian network (main and secondary lines) reached that of the American network (44,300 kilometers). It is an essential detail that the American total included all distances covered outside of the territory of the United States (South America, trans-Pacific lines) the majority of which at that time were not covered more frequently than once a week at the maximum. On the contrary, the Russian network, stretching over a homogenous and unified mass, was traversed over its total distance at least once a day.



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The air network which reached 106,000 kilometers in 1939 exceeded 161,000 kilometers in 1946.

The reports made at the session of the Supreme Soviet on the fourth five-year plan, aside from the interest they hold for the evolution of air transportation until 1950, permit us to follow its progress partially: The volume of goods transported by air will have increased 12 times by 1950 in relation to that of the pre-war period (40,000 tons in 1939). The total length of the air lines will have reached 175,000 kilometers at the end of the period of the plan.

In conclusion, let us note that within the period of the first six months of 1946, Soviet civil aviation provided for the transportation of more than 8,000 tons of mail, which permits us to estimate, without exaggeration, that by the end of 1946, the planes of the (Soviet) Union will have transported double the amount of mail which they carried in 1939. Moreover, Moscow's two airports have at the present time a daily traffic of 70 departures of transport planes, 30 tons of goods and 1,000 passengers. Moscow is connected within one single day with all the federated republics. (1)

\*

The activity of the Central Office of Civil Aviation is moreover not limited to the construction of a closely interwoven air system. It should also be studied in direct relation to the utilization of land. In this field, we are seeing the appearance of a new force applied to the work of aid to agriculture, the protecting of natural resources and public health work.

Although its objectives are still limited, it seems that throughout these immense territories the airplane is destined to expand the means of agricultural development enormously:

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it

(1) See table at the end.



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it is used to sow seed, spread fertilizers, combat parasites, grasshoppers, phylloxera and other destructive insect pests, and for exploring wooded regions and protecting forests. The importance of the missions performed by the planes of the Central Office of Civil Aviation since 1932 will appear from a reading of the following statistics:

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1934	Protection of Forests and Fire	25 million hectares
	Prevention	flown over
	Area Sown by Planes	130,000 hectares
	Combatting Grasshoppers and	415,000 hectares
	Other Types of Parasites	

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In 1941 the Central Office of Civil Aviation tackled the problem of rendering 300,000 hectares of land free of harmful insects.

In 1946, during the first six months, 309,000 hectares of plowed land, 49,000 hectares of orchards and vineyards, and 80,500 hectares of beet fields were sprayed with insecticides, while 1,330,000 hectares were treated for the destruction of mosquitoes and 244,000 hectares of marshes were rendered salubrious.

Furthermore, the air sanitary services completed 62,000 flight-hours and transported 26,520 doctors or patients as well as 400 tons of medicines (statistics for the first 6 months of 1946). - These services are distributed among 47 centers scattered across the entire territory and function in the most distant districts such as Tchita, Frounze (?) or Skyvtyvkar.

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## III

The U.S.S.R. and the Air Routes of the World

It is exclusively within the frontiers of the Soviet Union that the thousand tasks assigned to the airplane are performed and that its powerful web is developing. This federated world of gigantic dimensions has, so as to speak, no important air contacts with the outside world, even though its mass borders on 12 countries and 12 seas. If, for the moment, Soviet aviation is still devoting the greater portion of its energies to the equipping of its national areas, this political moment is but a preliminary stage which heralds and prepares for the powerful position which the U.S.S.R. is in a position to assume during the air age.

Bordering on seas without exits or oceans barred by powers which have retained mastery of the sea routes for centuries, Russia has been the victim of the circumstances that it is, to a large extent, landlocked. Thrown back into the shadows, deprived of access to ocean routes, it fought bitterly against this inferiority. Its history has been molded by the necessity of expanding toward the east and south.

During the time of the Czars, its irresistible continental migrations beat against the doors of China and overflowed the shores of the Pacific all the way to Alaska. Vladivostok, the "citadel of the East" continues to be the terminus of this centuries-long march, the foremost Russian trading center in the Far East. The other dream, the warm seas of the South and also <sup>the</sup> "Straits question" are constantly in the foreground of Russian policy. The advance toward India and the Indian Ocean has for the past century been troubling old England, which is thereby threatened on the flank of its imperial routes. Facing the Russian line extending from Constantinople

to



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to Port Arthur there stands the British defense line extending from Cairo to the Yangtze river, maintained with difficulty for the past fifty years and already weakened by the formidable advance of American imperialism. George N. Curzon's words at the end of the last century were prophetic: "Turkestan, Afghanistan, the Transcaspian are for me only chessmen on a chess-board on which a game is being played in which the domination of the world is at stake. The downfall of Great Britain will not be decided in Europe but on the continent from which our ancestors once came and to which their descendants returned as conquerors."

The destiny of the last great empire, the existence of which depends on the route to the Indies, is in danger of meeting this disastrous fate, because the airplane, which inevitably reverses positions and threatens established equilibriums, gives the Union the keys to the new trade routes of mankind around the globe.

It is perhaps in this complete transformation of the problem of links in the direction of the Indies that the revolution which is being accomplished appears in the clearest light. New York - Bombay and San Francisco - Calcutta represent for the Americans two symmetrical routes to the Indies, of approximately equal length: 12,500 and 12,520 kilometers. By following their demarcation it can be seen that the first leaves the American continent at Hamilton Inlet (Labrador), barely touches the southernmost point of Greenland, crosses over Ireland, passes north of Stockholm, then to Leningrad and Moscow, and reaches Bombay via Gouriev and Tashkent-Kabul. The western route to India extends from San Francisco to Nome, via Yakut, Irkutsk and Suchow.

Similarly, the Minsk-Moscow-Irkutsk-Vladivostok line links Western Europe with the Far East by a direct route which



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is shorter and closer to urban centers than the zigzag line followed by the planes from the old metropolitan centers tied to the age-old route via the coasts of Bengal, Malacca and China.

Air connections between the Eastern Mediterranean and the Far East also deviate from the diverted sea-route via Calcutta to establish themselves along the course Ciaro-Damascus, Baku, Tashkent-Alma-Ata, returning to the routes followed by the ancient caravans plying the spice and silk trade.

In Eastern Siberia, on the other hand, the air routes Andayr-Vladivostok, Anadyr-Irkutsk are among the important arteries which converge, via the Aleutians, upon Alaska, while the great strategic route Anadyr-Arkhangelsk-Moscow constitutes the most logical final stretch for the routes between the north of the American continent and the Soviet capital.

The U.S.S.R. definitely holds the trump card by virtue of its Arctic position. The north-south sections of the network of Soviet arctic lines already constitute the announcement of the era of air links across the pole. The work carried out in the Great North by Soviet aviation makes one realize the progress which it may achieve when the trans-polar routes which have been considered possible by Moscow since 1938 have been opened to mankind. It was an American this time who denounced the encroachment of the Union upon the air space of the Northern hemisphere: "World geography represents for the U.S.S.R. a potential superiority which may be used in a decisive way. A map centered upon the Pole illustrates the fact that Russia controls the access to the principal land areas of the globe. She possesses the future Gibraltares and Singapores of the century of aviation. (1)

To

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(1) See map enclosed herewith.



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To continue, the attitude of the U.S.S.R. in regard to international air transportation is unequivocal. She abstained from appearing at the Chicago Conference. Some wished to interpret her absence as a threatening sign. In reality, this attitude may be explained by the fact that the Union does not intend to grant foreign lines rights of transit or commercial traffic over its territory. Even if she should do so, moreover, foreign commercial aviation companies would find no great profit therein, since they would not be permitted to make short-haul flights. It is, in fact, not possible that the U.S.S.R. would grant this right to any other power whatsoever to the detriment of its domestic network. Commercial operations granted to foreign nations could be developed only at the few junctions to be provided for in possible future agreements, without the possibility of any intermediate activity. This entails, on the gigantic scale of this territory, landings separated by distances comparable to the width of the Atlantic.

Still further proof of this is that without the U.S.S.R. the air space of the globe cannot be distributed on an international scale: the best air routes are barred. Chicago therefore organized only a part of the world on principles which, under the cover of liberalism, hardly masked at all the irresistible calling of the United States to gain mastery of the air. This upsetting of the equilibrium inevitably entails a rigid orientation toward the south on the part of the great lines of the international network. Aside from the Eurasian territories to which access is forbidden, air connections inevitably permit themselves to be bound to the chosen sites which owed their fortune to the civilizations of the sea power. Thus their lines of direction are out of true, their range curtailed and diminished by their inability to establish themselves



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selves along their true routes. This false routing temporarily benefits Europe and the Mediterranean stops in the West, the transoceanic crossings (Pacific and Atlantic), the ephemeral rebirth of the old British naval routes and their venerable bastions, Suez and Singapore. But for how many years? Less than two years after Chicago, a hundred bilateral agreements are feverishly dividing up the planet, adding to the complexity of their interests the deformation of the networks which they are establishing. Each little Nation is computing the value of its own area, awaiting the favorable moment, hastening to get into a strong position by bartering its geographic facilities against equipment and its landing-fields against landing privileges. The impossibility of any harmony of the airways without the U.S.S.R. is strangling the world.

Impregnable by its position, the U.S.S.R. is progressively preparing its revelations on the threshold of the new age. The foundations have been laid for an all-out undertaking.

Its present-day network, conceived as a function of the realities of the air, has detached itself without effort from outdated points of attraction, valid for land or sea traffic, and has been oriented toward realities conforming to our future planetary economy. Some of the airports of Europe or Asia will, in all probability, become important junctions (see attached map).

Anadyr, a bridgehead commanding the great circle arcs followed by American planes, becomes an advanced gateway to an important quadrilateral/<sup>another</sup> component of which is Petropavlosk-Kamchatski.

Further south, Alexandrovsk controls the passageway to Japan and access to the lines opening onto the massive continent.



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continent.

Vladivostok, encamped on the flank of the Far East, ancient trading center at the extreme end of the land and sea routes, is destined for the rôle of routing center into Asia of the Chinese and Manchurian networks, in the same manner as Irkutsk, which is both a future landing place along the Great Circle routes and the center of the air system serving the "zones of influence".

Finally, Tashkent, at the gateway to India, draws to itself all traffic coming from the north and west, accentuating its menacing attraction which weighs upon the destinies of that most wondrous possession and on the southern routes to far-off England.

In the Middle East, Baku and Tiflis are two open doors in the direction of the Persian Gulf and Iran.

On the European flank Odessa and Leningrad serve as Western points of clearance for the vast networks which connect them with Moscow.

The U.S.S.R. this year negotiated its first agreements: Finland, Sweden, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Iran and China are receiving airplanes marked with red stars, Soviet aviation is sallying forth into the outside world. "After the war", wrote Professor Cheprakov, "air expansion will become for every country an instrument of foreign policy." This statement clearly defines the aims toward which the U.S.S.R. is striving after having endured with patience the long period of preparation.

A potential of this magnitude obliges one to reconsider our conception of the rôle which aviation is to play in our civilization and in the geopolitical equilibrium of the world. And, since we must conclude, let us consider the fact that

no



no prediction can be premature, no proposal too vast, no attempt at collective organization challenged. On the threshold of the air age, the harmony of the air and its unity, may be had only at this price.

P. Crochet-Damais

Year	Length of network	Kilometers covered	Passengers	Freight and baggage (in tons)	Mail (in tons)
1922	-	150,000	300	15	
1923	3,000	250,000	700	25	
1924	-	500,000	1,700	40	
1925	-	900,000	2,500	75	
1926	6,000	1,300,000	4,000	85	
1927	-	1,800,000	5,000	170	
1928	12,500	2,400,000	9,000	230	
-	-	-	-	-	-
1930	26,000	3,961,700	12,013	134	116
1931	27,500	5,241,000	18,984	228	324
1932	32,000	6,000,000	27,225	447	429
1933	35,000	9,500,000	41,620	881	1,714
1934	-	22,800,000	70,000	6,500	3,800
1935	65,000	36,500,000	125,000	9,500	6,000
1936	-	38,500,000	208,123	33,300	7,815
-	-	-	-	-	-
1938	90,000	-	-	-	-
1939	106,000	-	300,000	40,000	10,000
1940	120,000	-	-	-	-
1941	130,000	-	-	-	-
1946	161,000	-	-	-	8,000 (in 6 months)



Translation of explanatory data on Maps

1. Map opposite page 508 of the original:

Position of the U.S.S.R. in relation to the Great Circle arcs.

Cartographic Service of the Revue Generale de l'Air

2. Map opposite page 514:

The Airways System of the U.S.S.R.

Legend:

[brown lines] ....railroads

[blue lines].....air routes

[circles].....main air route junctions



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COPY NO. 64

14 May 1947

STATE-WAR-NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE

MEMORANDUM FOR INFORMATION NO. 81

TRANSLATION OF ARTICLE BY P. CROCHET-DAMAIS

Note by the Secretaries

1. At the request of the State Member, SWNCC, the enclosure, a translation of an article which appeared in a recent issue (it is believed the September 1946 issue) of "Revue Generale De l'Air" by P. Crochet-Damais, is circulated to the Committee.

2. This article is submitted as a matter of information and because it may be indicative of Soviet policy and purposes with respect to aviation.

H. W. MOSELEY  
W. A. SCHULGEN  
V. L. LOWRANCE  
Secretariat

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UNCLASSIFIEDE N C L O S U R ETHE U.S.S.R. ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE AIR AGE

P. CROCHET-DAMAIS

Of all the world powers, the U.S.S.R. is the one which has at its disposal the most gigantic territory. When it is day-break on the extreme eastern Soviet frontier, it is barely night-fall on the western confines. Cape Chelyuskin in Siberia fixes the boundaries of the Union beyond the polar circle and 5,000 kilometers separate it from the frontiers of Afghanistan, situated a few versts from Kuchka, city of palm trees and exotic fruits. Its vast area exceeds 22 million square kilometers: more than twice the size of the United States, four times that of Europe and forty times that of France. 193 million souls (1) representing 60 nationalities, belonging to a hundred ethnical groups, make their homes there.

The natural wealth of this world exceeds what had been imagined before the prospecting which scientists of the Union undertook : subsoil contains all minerals known to exist in the earth's crust; among them, iron ore exists in greater quantities than in the rest of the world. All types of soil and all methods of farming are represented there.

In the midst of the first World War, the Academy of Sciences created a commission for the study of the productive forces of Russia. An inventory of all natural resources was to be drawn up and preparations made for utilizing them. After the great October Revolution, this embryonic mechanism received its decisive impetus. Lenin himself stated its chief purpose in 1921 : "To the north of Volodga, to the southeast of Saratov, south of Orenburg and Omsk, everywhere in the depth of Asia, there exist zones of the future where dozens of civilized States might be developed; now these zones are still in a state of

(1) Demographic statistics of 1940.



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partial or complete primitiveness...It is necessary that they be organized."

Thus was announced the gigantic metamorphosis of this massive continent destined to be populated and industrialized. A country with primitive regions still under the domination of a backward patriarchy, the Union began its monstrous gestation of a great industrial civilization and of a collective economy, by undertaking the colonization of the promised lands.

This impressive evolution required a total mobilization of the means of action and in particular of traffic routes. Any human settlement is bound to the thoroughfare from which it draws its vitality, even if it does not owe its very existence thereto. The construction of a vast system of pioneer routes was required as the basic condition for the development of industries and the working of the soil. Now, the antiquated condition of the railroad network, its very concentrated position around the few old industrial zones of European Russia, scarcity of roads---all of this was a serious obstacle to progress toward the East; only the Trans-Siberian railroad extended its thin, slow and solitary ribbon all the way to the shores of the Pacific, to the North there lay Siberia, with its broken trails and rivers clogged with ice and to the south, the thousand steppes of Central Asia, with its forgotten cities. The natural wealth, the raw materials, the promises of rich harvests, the future industrial metropolises awaited means of access in order to become a reality.

Moreover, other imperative needs required this inescapable call for a system of communications organized on a scale commensurate with the proposed tasks, namely: the necessity of unifying this multinational complexity and eliminating the backward condition of the borderlands, and the need for an equilibrated system of defense between the frontier areas of the east and the west.



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The development of traffic routes was inspired by the new geography of economic regions as outlined in their Plan by the builders of the Soviet world. Starting out with the oldest railroads and the greater amount of traditional railroad traffic in European Russia, they deliberately directed their best efforts toward the Asiatic territories. During the first Five-Year Plan, the most important accomplishment was that of the Turkestan-Siberian railroad, linked with the Trans-Siberian and Trans-Caspian railroads. During the second Plan, the great Trans-Siberian trunk line was completed by numerous branch lines opening up a new means of access to the Pacific and extending on both sides in a northerly and southerly direction. Exceptional efforts were made, likewise, in connection with the highway system.

The system of land routes (railroad or roadways) resulting therefrom shows two noteworthy marks of originality: on the one hand, its expansion occurs south of the 60th parallel exclusively; on the other hand, without any unity, its loose-woven networks stretch out in a general easterly direction, which indicates their comparative impotence in the face of the impenetrable Siberian world to the North and the infinite expanse of distance to the South (1).

Now, it is primarily in these immense territories, which lack even the rudimentary means of modern transportation, that the airplane has a capital role to play: by means of it and it alone, man has access to them and makes them his own. Soviet aviation allied itself closely with this phenomenon of discovery and penetration, insofar as it progressively served the masters of the U.S.S.R., by the invisible and rapid chain which it forged in space, to bring the capital cities of the Union under the command and administration of Moscow, their sovereign city.

(1) See map of railroad system. Asiatic section.  
Maps not furnished by State Department



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There resulted therefrom, as we shall see, an expansion of the transportation system: the system of airways, for lack of other means, made it possible to compensate in speed for the considerably off-center location of Moscow, a capital which is not centrally located, and inscribed above the map of the U.S.S.R. the unity of this gigantic world, encamped at the crossroads of the great circle air routes, indisputable promise of power in the air age.

## I.

The airplane, instrument of penetration into the Arctic, Siberia and Central AsiaAIR EXPLORATIONS OF THE ARCTIC.

Several nations had attempted to utilize the airways since before the war of 1914 to penetrate the heart of the polar circle and explore the Arctic: In 1926 and 1909 [sic] the Americans launched two expeditions using dirigibles, which failed. In 1914, for the first time, the Russians succeeded in making several flights above Novaya Zemlya. After the conflict, competition began again and, beginning with 1922 the attempt of Amundsen, which failed, was followed by several flights of Norwegian and German aviators. Then came the 1925 expedition of Amundsen, the exploit of the "Norge" and Byrd's plane which flew over the pole, at an interval of a few days between them, and finally the terrible odyssey of the "Italia" and the Latham 47 which went to its rescue, in 1928.

It was at that time that the era of scientific flights began. The U.S.S.R. definitively comes to the front. Under the direction of the "Arctic Institute" of Leningrad, the aviation of the Union monopolized the work of discovery to be carried out in these regions. Its merit is that it carried on, simultaneously, exploration and the installation of permanent meteorological, radio and goniometric stations which mark out in depth the great North and which are to be found by the dozens all along the coast of the Arctic Ocean. These guide- and relay-stations were in

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reality the first human outposts established in the solitudes of the Great North by the instrument of the airways. Farther North, in Novaya Zemlya and on Rodolph Island, permanent installations of the same type were set up. Finally, the scientific expedition which was transported by air from Russia to the North Pole in 1937 was the most spectacular example of the use of the airplane: "Floating Base No. 1" was established on the icefloe at the Pole, with its tents, stores, scientific instruments and personnel.

THE NORTHEAST PASSAGE AND THE NETWORK OF AIR SERVICE  
IN THE NORTH

Arkhangelsk and Murmansk are the work of the Czarist regime. But the opening to maritime traffic of the passage between the Barents Sea and the Bering Sea is due to the Soviet Government. Since 1880 all attempts in this direction has been abandoned. In 1920 there was founded the "Committee for the Northern Maritime Route" which, charged with the systematic study of this practical project, has used the airplane from the time of the first work of preliminary reconnoitering. The Sea of Kara has been open to traffic since 1931. The following year, thanks to aerial observations, a maritime expedition succeeded in connecting the Barents Sea with the Bering Sea. Then the Committee was completely reconstituted and became an important organization, charged not only with developing the Northwest passage, the new maritime route, but also with the economic development of all Siberian districts, from the point of view of the organization of their communications (land, sea and air) as well as from that of the scientific inventory of their mineral resources with a view to the extraction and utilization of the resources of the soil and the subsoil and the populating of these regions. In order to accomplish this gigantic economic plan this organization was granted wide resources and the most extensive material means. Aviation held first place in the organization of the enterprise, with the creation of the "Northern Air Service" which, beginning with 1932, had at its disposal a veritable armada composed of land



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planes, ski-planes, sea-planes, amphibious planes and planes carried on the catapults of the large ice-breakers. The results were up to the standards of the air age: in succession, the tracing of the coastlines and the general relief lines was accurately done and geological observations were made, permitting a complete scientific plotting of the map of the coastal zones and the archipelagos of the Arctic Ocean; the evolution and drift of the ice-floes were observed, for the establishment of channels and the indication of open passageways; reconnoitering was then extended to unexplored lands, then they proceeded to the study of their soils, vegetation, fauna, and mineral wealth. Then came the establishment of centers of colonization, the sites for which were selected following meteorological and climatological explorations, the organization of innumerable landings and bases, widely diffused, which were the beginning of human settlements. Along the Siberian rivers and waterways, primitive centers, which for centuries had never possessed any means of access except bad roads or poor trails, are now linked on the air-routes. By thus spreading a far-flung network extending over thousands of kilometers, closely associated with the trade which caused its rapid development, as is happening now in Siberia, providing links between polar and coastal stations, bringing them supplies whenever any other means is impossible, the airplane is expanding its coastal lines from Arkhangelsk to Anadyr, the farthest advanced Soviet outpost on the Behring Straits, only a few hours distant from Nome, in Alaska. In a southerly direction, following the course of the great Siberian rivers, it goes on to link up with the Trans-Siberian railroad and beyond, toward Central Asia.

February 1941 marked the inauguration of the great strategic air route Moscow-Arkhangelsk, Igarfa [Igarfa ?]- Port Tixi-Anadyr, equipped with Consolidated Pby seaplanes--the real backbone of this entire Arctic system. It is of primary importance for the future of intercontinental links using Great Circle



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arcs. The total length of the routes of the "Northern Air Service" had reached 11,395 kilometers by 1936. It has more than doubled since then.

Outside this vast domain in which we have just seen the progressive expansion of the air routes of the "Northern Air Service", which within 10 years was able to bring within the orbit of human activity entire regions which until then had been disinherited and isolated, the establishment of the Soviet air network over the remainder of the territory is another proof of the greatness of the work which is being carried on.

## II.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNAL (AIR) NETWORK AND SECONDARY SERVICES OF AID TO THE ECONOMY OF THE U.S.S.R.

In the matter of air transports, the U.S.S.R. completed its apprenticeship under Germany. Entirely lacking in technical knowledge, means and, consequently, in experience, the Russian Government unreservedly welcomed the aid which the Junkers Company offered it, at this juncture, in 1922. The latter took upon itself the task of the construction of factories to which it sent engineers and technicians, created the substructure of a primary network, organized the operation of the first lines.

Each of the two nations believed it was getting what it desired: from the beginning of the development of the Deruluft (Junkers) line, the Lufthansa (company) obtained the privilege of flying from Moscow to the Caspian Sea (at no other time has any other nation benefited from a similar concession on the part of the U.S.S.R.). In fact, Germany was "the most favored nation" until the moment when the Russians believed that they had assimilated sufficient technical aeronautical knowledge to do without foreign interference. During this lapse of time (from 1922 to 1928) there soon began to function, side by side with Deruluft, Dobrolet (a Russian company) and a Ukrainian Company.

A few very minor lines appeared on the map: Moscow-Koenigsberg, Moscow-Kazan, Kharkhov-Kiev and Kharkov-Odessa, as



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well as a Moscow-Tiflis line passing through Baku. In Turkestan, Stalinabad is connected with Kagan and Tachauz. As for the operation of the lines, the meager statistical results were far from being able to stand comparison with those of the lines of Western Europe, if one judges by the following table:

Year	Companies	Passangers transported	Express Cargo (in kilograms)
1927	DERULUFT (German-Russian company)	1,620	7,100
	UKROVOZDUCHPUT (Ukrainian company)	2,664	29,633
	DOBROLET (Russian)	2,693	58,864

During the same year, the French lines alone transported: 21,500 passengers and 1,500 tons of express cargo.

Beginning with the first Five-year Plan (1928) an air policy appeared. The greatest attention was paid by the government authorities of the Union of the question of aeronautics. In 1929, flights of exploration and reconnoitering were begun all along the ribbon of the Trans-Siberian railroad; observations were assembled in order to establish a basic substructure. At the same time, the first efforts were made for the creation of a powerful aeronautics industry. While this methodical preparation was progressing, there appeared in 1932, as a result of the application of the plan, "the Central Office of Civil Aviation" or "Aeroflot". The Government of the U.S.S.R. thus proved its intention to develop its airways system to the scale of its needs, by freeing it definitively of foreign influences.

From the start, the major outlines of this air policy were sketched in masterful fashion: little or no contact with foreign points. Connections were to be established like a hermetically sealed circulatory system, a task which was gigantic in itself and which was summed up in these few words "mark out



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in bold lines the entire territory from the Eastern Mountains all the way to the Pacific groups and to the walls of Pamir".

Little by little, political unity was thus attained by means of the airways. Without the airplane, Moscow is still too far away from the federated republics of Asia. Thanks to it, the whole land mass discovered the significance of its own vast surface. The airplane acts as the cement for this continuous mass with its thousand aspects and its hundred races. It serves as a perpetual reminder of the ever present Supreme Central Authority.

The profound transformation imposed by its administrators upon the economic structure of the U.S.S.R. has continued to operate since then. The airplane progressively enveloped in its invisible web the new geographic division of the territories: Having its central office at Moscow, the Central Office of Civil Aviation created thirteen regional offices, located according to the following plan: Moscow, Kiev, Leningrad, Saratov, Rostov, Tiflis, Sverklovsk, Irkutsk, Kharbarovsk, Novosibirsk, Aktyubinsk, Alma Ata, Tashkent. The sections were defined and the framework set up. Then there began the methodical development of the air links. This development must be followed in the light of the successive five-year plans in order to obtain an idea of its impressive rigorousness.

At the beginning of 1931, the network reached 26,316 kilometers, serving Moscow-Kharkov-Rostov, Irkutsk-Yakutsk and Moscow-Sverdlovsk, the first section of the Trans-Siberian route.

The second five-year plan (1933-1938) provided for a network of 90,000 kilometers. By 1935, half of the program had been completed: 61,500 kilometers. The Moscow-Rostov line has been extended to Tiflis. Furthermore, Moscow was also linked to Tashkent, the future turntable of the airways system in Turkestan, and to Vladivostok, (more than 8,000 kilometers), at that time the longest transcontinental route in the world. As



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for local networks, they already constituted 88 secondary feeder and short haul lines. (1)

In 1940 the whole airways system had approximately the aspect shown in Map No. 1.

The war, far from interrupting the rhythm of this tentacled expansion, actually stimulated it on the contrary. No doubt Soviet civil aviation concentrated its activity on tasks connected with military operations, but the Russian-German conflict, in particular, entailed the result that Soviet isolationism was temporarily broken by having the Soviet Union benefit from American aid. Under the interminable polar night, the route from Alaska over the Aleutians was the route followed by the Russian pilots who went as far as Edmonton to obtain American materiel. They then convoyed it in the direction of the European front via Nome, Anadyr, Yakutsk, Irkutsk and the trans-Siberian line. The fact that the third Five-year Plan was elaborated and applied in close connection with military preparations and the conduct of the war, conferred upon it exceptional importance from the standpoint of aviation.

The 1946 Soviet capacity for airplane production (40,000 planes per year) affords a basis for an evaluation of the development of its power. In 1940 the factories of the Soviet Union produced about 12,000 planes. Therefore production was more than tripled during hostilities. All planes are of Soviet design.

The air network which reached 106,000 kilometers in 1939 exceeded 161,000 kilometers in 1946.

(1) It was in 1934 that the length of the Russian network (main and secondary lines) reached that of the American network (44,300 kilometers). It is an essential detail that the American total included all distances covered outside of the territory of the United States (South America, trans-Pacific lines) the majority of which at that time were not covered more frequently than once a week at the maximum. On the contrary, the Russian network, stretching over a homogenous and unified mass, was traversed over its total distance at least once a day.



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The reports made at the session of the Supreme Soviet on the fourth five-year plan, aside from the interest they hold for the evolution of air transportation until 1950, permit us to follow its progress partially: The volume of goods transported by air will have increased 12 times by 1950 in relation to that of the pre-war period (40,000 tons in 1939). The total length of the air lines will have reached 175,000 kilometers at the end of the period of the plan.

In conclusion, let us note that within the period of the first six months of 1946, Soviet civil aviation provided for the transportation of more than 8,000 tons of mail, which permits us to estimate, without exaggeration, that by the end of 1946, the planes of the (Soviet) Union will have transported double the amount of mail which they carried in 1939. Moreover, Moscow's two airports have at the present time a daily traffic of 70 departures of transport planes, 30 tons of goods and 1,000 passengers. Moscow is connected within one single day with all the federated republics. (1)

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The activity of the Central Office of Civil Aviation is moreover not limited to the construction of a closely interwoven air system. It should also be studied in direct relation to the utilization of land. In this field, we are seeing the appearance of a new force applied to the work of aid to agriculture, the protecting of natural resources and public health work.

Although its objectives are still limited, it seems that throughout these immense territories the airplane is destined to expand the means of agricultural development enormously: it is used to sow seed, spread fertilizers, combat parasites, grasshoppers, phylloxera and other destructive insect pests, and for exploring wooded regions and protecting forests. The importance of the missions performed by the planes of the Central Office

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(1) See table at the end.



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of Civil Aviation since 1932 will appear from a reading of the following statistics:

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1934	Protection of Forests and Fire	
	Prevention	25 million hectares flown over
	Area Sown by Planes	130,000 hectares
	Combatting Grasshoppers and	415,000 hectares
	Other Types of Parasites	

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In 1941 the Central Office of Civil Aviation tackled the problem of rendering 300,000 hectares of land free of harmful insects. In 1946, during the first six months, 309,000 hectares of plowed land, 49,000 hectares of orchards and vineyards, and 80,500 hectares of beet fields were sprayed with insecticides, while 1,330,000 hectares were treated for the destruction of mosquitoes and 244,000 hectares of marshes were rendered salubrious.

Furthermore, the air sanitary services completed 62,000 flight-hours and transported 26,520 doctors or patients as well as 400 tons of medicines (statistics for the first 6 months of 1946). - These services are distributed among 47 centers scattered across the entire territory and function in the most distant districts such as Tchita, Frounze (?) or Skyvtyvkar.

III

THE U.S.S.R. AND THE AIR ROUTES OF THE WORLD

It is exclusively within the frontiers of the Soviet Union that the thousand tasks assigned to the airplane are performed and that its powerful web is developing. This federated world of gigantic dimensions has, so as to speak, no important air contacts with the outside world, even though its mass borders on 12 countries and 12 seas. If, for the moment, Soviet aviation is still devoting the greater portion of its energies to the equipping of its national areas, this political moment is but a preliminary stage which heralds and prepares for the powerful



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position which the U.S.S.R. is in a position to assume during the air age.

Bordering on seas without exits or oceans barred by powers which have retained mastery of the sea routes for centuries, Russia has been the victim of the circumstances that it is, to a large extent, landlocked. Thrown back into the shadows, deprived of access to ocean routes, it fought bitterly against this inferiority. Its history has been molded by the necessity of expanding toward the east and south.

During the time of the Czars, its irresistible continental migrations beat against the doors of China and overflowed the shores of the Pacific all the way to Alaska. Vladivostok, the "citadel of the East" continues to be the terminus of this centuries-long march, the foremost Russian trading center in the Far East. The other dream, the warm seas of the South and also the "Straits question" are constantly in the foreground of Russian policy. The advance toward India and the Indian Ocean has for the past century been troubling old England, which is thereby threatened on the flank of its imperial routes. Facing the Russian line extending from Constantinople to Port Arthur there stands the British defense line extending from Cairo to the Yangtze river, maintained with difficulty for the past fifty years and already weakened by the formidable advance of American imperialism. George N. Curzon's words at the end of the last century were prophetic: "Turkestan, Afghanistan, the Transcaspian are for me only chessmen on a chess-board on which a game is being played in which the domination of the world is at stake. The downfall of Great Britain will not be decided in Europe but on the continent from which our ancestors once came and to which their descendants returned as conquerors."

The destiny of the last great empire, the existence of which depends on the route to the Indies, is in danger of meeting this disastrous fate, because the airplane, which inevitably



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reverses positions and threatens established equilibriums, gives the Union the keys to the new trade routes of mankind around the globe.

It is perhaps in this complete transformation of the problem of links in the direction of the Indies that the revolution which is being accomplished appears in the clearest light. New York - Bombay and San Francisco - Calcutta represent for the Americans two symmetrical routes to the Indies, of approximately equal length: 12,500 and 12,520 kilometers. By following their demarcation it can be seen that the first leaves the American continent at Hamilton Inlet (Labrador), barely touches the southernmost point of Greenland, crosses over Ireland, passes north of Stockholm, then to Leningrad and Moscow, and reaches Bombay via Gouriev and Tashkent-Kabul. The western route to India extends from San Francisco to Nome, via Yakut, Irkutsk and Suchow.

Similarly, the Minsk-Moscow-Irkutsk-Vladivostok line links Western Europe with the Far East by a direct route which is shorter and closer to urban centers than the zigzag line followed by the planes from the old metropolitan centers tied to the age-old route via the coasts of Bengal, Malacca and China.

Air connections between the Eastern Mediterranean and the Far East also deviate from the diverted sea-route via Calcutta to establish themselves along the course Ciaro-Damascus, Baku, Tashkent-Alma-Ata, returning to the routes followed by the ancient caravans plying the spice and silk trade.

In Eastern Siberia, on the other hand, the air routes Andayr-Vladivostok, Anadyr-Irkutsk are among the important arteries which converge, via the Aleutians, upon Alaska, while the great strategic route Anadyr-Arkhangelsk-Moscow constitutes the most logical final stretch for the routes between the north of the American continent and the Soviet capital.



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The U.S.S.R. definitely holds the trump card by virtue of its Arctic position. The north-south sections of the network of Soviet arctic lines already constitute the announcement of the era of air links across the pole. The work carried out in the Great North by Soviet aviation makes one realize the progress which it may achieve when the trans-polar routes which have been considered possible by Moscow since 1938 have been opened to mankind. It was an American this time who denounced the encroachment of the Union upon the air space of the Northern hemisphere: "World geography represents for the U.S.S.R. a potential superiority which may be used in a decisive way. A map centered upon the Pole illustrates the fact that Russia controls the access to the principal land areas of the globe. She possesses the future Gibraltars and Sinapores of the century of aviation.

To continue, the attitude of the U.S.S.R. in regard to international air transportation is unequivocal. She abstained from appearing at the Chicago Conference. Some wished to interpret her absence as a threatening sign. In reality, this attitude may be explained by the fact that the Union does not intend to grant foreign lines rights of transit or commercial traffic over its territory. Even if she should do so, moreover, foreign commercial aviation companies would find no great profit therein, since they would not be permitted to make short-haul flights. It is, in fact, not possible that the U.S.S.R. would grant this right to any other power whatsoever to the detriment of its domestic network. Commercial operations granted to foreign nations could be developed only at the few junctions to be provided for in possible future agreements, without the possibility of any intermediate activity. This entails, on the gigantic scale of this territory, landings separated by distances comparable to the width of the Atlantic.

Still further proof of this is that without the U.S.S.R. the air space of the globe cannot be distributed on an inter-



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national scale: the best air routes are barred. Chicago therefore organized only a part of the world on principles which, under the cover of liberalism, hardly masked at all the irresistible calling of the United States to gain mastery of the air. The upsetting of the equilibrium inevitably entails a rigid orientation toward the south on the part of the great lines of the international network. Aside from the Eurasian territories to which access is forbidden, air connections inevitably permit themselves to be bound to the chosen sites which owed their fortune to the civilizations of the sea power. Thus their lines of direction are out of true, their range curtailed and diminished by their inability to establish themselves along their true routes. This false routing temporarily benefits Europe and the Mediterranean stops in the West, the transoceanic crossings (Pacific and Atlantic), the ephemeral rebirth of the old British naval routes and their venerable bastions, Suez and Singapore. But for how many years? Less than two years after Chicago, a hundred bilateral agreements are feverishly dividing up the planet, adding to the complexity of their interests the deformation of the networks which they are establishing. Each little Nation is computing the value of its own area, awaiting the favorable moment, hastening to get into a strong position by bartering its geographic facilities against equipment and its landing-fields against landing privileges. The impossibility of any harmony of the airways without the U.S.S.R. is strangling the world.

Impregnable by its position, the U.S.S.R. is progressively preparing its revelations on the threshold of the new age. The foundations have been laid for an all-out undertaking.

Its present-day network, conceived as a function of the realities of the air, has detached itself without effort from outdated points of attraction, valid for land or sea traffic, and has been oriented toward realities conforming to our future planetary economy. Some of the airports of Europe or Asia



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will, in all probability, become important junctions (see attached map).

Anadyr, a bridgehead commanding the great circle arcs followed by American planes, becomes an advanced gateway to an important quadrilateral another component of which is Petropavlosk-Kamchatsku.

Further south, Alexandrovsk controls the passageway to Japan and access to the lines opening onto the massive continent.

Vladivostok, encamped on the flank of the Far East, ancient trading center at the extreme end of the land and sea routes, is destined for the role of routing center into Asia of the Chinese and Manchurian networks, in the same manner as Irkutsk, which is both a future landing place along the Great Circle routes and the center of the air system serving the "zones of influence".

Finally, Tashkent, at the gateway to India, draws to itself all traffic coming from the north and west, accentuating its menacing attraction which weighs upon the destinies of that most wondrous possession and on the southern routes to far-off England.

In the Middle East, Baku and Tiflis are two open doors in the direction of the Persian Gulf and Iran.

On the European flank Odessa and Leningrad serve as Western points of clearance for the vast networks which connect them with Moscow.

The U.S.S.R. this year negotiated its first agreements: Finland, Sweden, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Iran and China are receiving airplanes marked with red stars, Soviet aviation is sallying forth into the outside world. "After the war", wrote Professor Cheprakov, "air expansion will become for every country an instrument of foreign policy." This statement clearly defines the aims toward which the U.S.S.R. is striving after having endured with patience the long period of preparation.



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A potential of this magnitude obliges one to reconsider our conception of the role which aviation is to play in our civilization and in the geopolitical equilibrium of the world. And, since we must conclude, let us consider the fact that no prediction can be premature, no proposal too vast, no attempt at collective organization challenged. On the threshold of the air age, the harmony of the air and its unity, may be had only at this price.

P. Crochet-Damais

Year	Length of network	Kilometers covered	Passengers	Freight and baggage (in tons)	Mail (in tons)
1922	-	150,000	300		15
1923	3,000	250,000	700		25
1924	-	500,000	1,700		40
1925	-	900,000	2,500		75
1926	6,000	1,300,000	4,000		85
1927	-	1,800,000	5,000		170
1928	12,500	2,400,000	9,000		230
-	-	-	-	-	-
1930	26,000	3,961,700	12,013	134	116
1931	27,500	5,241,000	18,984	228	324
1932	32,000	6,000,000	27,225	447	429
1933	35,000	9,500,000	41,620	881	1,714
1934	-	22,800,000	70,000	6,500	3,800
1935	65,000	36,500,000	125,000	9,500	6,000
1936	-	38,500,000	208,123	33,300	7,815
-	-	-	-	-	-
1938	90,000	-	-	-	-
1939	106,000	-	300,000	40,000	10,000
1940	120,000	-	-	-	-
1941	130,000	-	-	-	-
1946	161,000	-	-	-	8,000 (in 6 months)



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Translation of explanatory data on Maps

1. Map opposite page 508 of the original:  
Position of the U.S.S.R. in relation to  
the Great Circle arcs.

Cartographic Service of the  
Revue Generale de l'Air

2. Map opposite page 514:  
The Airways System of the U.S.S.R.

Legend:

[brown lines] .....railroads

[blue lines].....air routes

[circles].....main air route junctions



THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

*091 Austria*  
**SECRET**

SM-7788  
13 March 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR THE STATE-WAR-NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE:

Subject: Interim Air Agreement with Austria.

Reference: SWN-5215.

Pursuant to the request of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee in SWN-5215, the Joint Chiefs of Staff on 11 March 1947 dispatched the message therein to the Commanding General, U. S. Forces of Occupation, Austria, as WARX 93710, copy of which is enclosed for information.

MAR 14 1947

For the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

3650



STATE-WAR & NAVY COORDINATING COMMITTEE

*A. J. McFarland*  
A. J. McFARLAND,  
Colonel, U. S. Army,  
Secretary.

Enclosure.  
WARX 93710 (Mar 47) - Copy No. 11.

SWNCC SECRETARIAT

- State Member \_\_\_\_\_
- Army Member \_\_\_\_\_
- Navy Member \_\_\_\_\_
- Ass't State Member \_\_\_\_\_
- Ass't Army Member \_\_\_\_\_
- Ass't Navy Member \_\_\_\_\_
- Executive Secretary \_\_\_\_\_
- Ass't Exec. Secretary \_\_\_\_\_
- State Adm. Assistant \_\_\_\_\_
- Army Adm. Assistant \_\_\_\_\_
- Navy Adm. Assistant \_\_\_\_\_
- File \_\_\_\_\_

**SECRET**

16



WAR DEPARTMENT  
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OUTGOING CLASSIFIED MESSAGE  
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K

PARAPHRASE NOT REQUIRED. HANDLE AS SECRET CORRESPONDENCE  
PER PARAS 511 and 60a (4) AR 380-5

Joint Chiefs of Staff  
Capt M M Stephens USN  
WD Ext 77500

11 March 1947

CG, USFA, Vienna, Austria

INFORMATION:

CG, USFET, Frankfurt, Germany

CG, USAFE, Wiesbaden, Germany

Nr: WARK 93710

From the Joint Chiefs of Staff to Clark for action, to  
McNarney and Edwards for information.

The following received from the State Department is in  
reply to your P 6786:

"Revised draft Civil Air Transport Agreement with  
Austria being prepared and will be forwarded American  
Legation Vienna by air mail within few days for negotiations  
with Austrian Government. Legation advised of status  
this matter in State Department Secret telegram 124,  
February 25."

End of message.

End

NOTE: P 6786 is CM IN 3995 (23 Feb 47)

ORIGINATOR: JCS  
DISTRIBUTION: AAF, Adm Leahy, ASW, CAD, ID, Adm Nimitz,  
P&O, ASW/A, CSA  
CM OUT 93710 (Mar 47) DTG 111900Z mec  
SECRET

11

COPY NO.

THE MAKING OF AN EXACT COPY OF THIS MESSAGE IS FORBIDDEN



**CONFIDENTIAL**

VFF:bjh

**SWN-5194  
3 March 1947**

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE STATE MEMBER, SWNCC  
WAR MEMBER, SWNCC  
NAVI MEMBER, SWNCC**

**At the request of the Joint Chiefs of Staff,  
the enclosed messages are circulated for the infor-  
mation of the Committee.**

**For the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee:**

**H. W. ROBELKY,  
Secretary**

**Enclosures  
CM-IN 4710 (27 Feb 47)  
CM-IN 1735 (11 Feb 47)**

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**COPY FOR SWNCC FILE**

(15)



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From: COMGENUSFA Vienna Austria cite PAGBI

To: War Department for JCS

Nr: F-6804

27 February 1947

Reference our cable PG 6721 dated 10th February 1947, Austrian denazification law was passed and is effective as of 17th February 1947. We propose to carry out provisions of cable by 1st April 1947 unless we hear from you to the contrary.

End

Note: PG 6721 is CM IN 1733 (11 Feb)

CM-IN 4710

(27 Feb 47)

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PX

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From: CG USFA, Vienna, Austria cite FAGBI

To: War Department for JCS

Info: HQ USFET, Frankfurt, Germany

Nr: P 6721

10 February 1947

1. This Headquarters has in its custody in Camp Marcus William Orr, the only civilian internment camp in US Zone of Austria, political internees who fall into automatic arrestable categories as prescribed in Intelligence Directive Number 11, this Headquarters dated 4 February 1947. Automatic arrest categories were based on United States Forces European Theater and Joint Chiefs of Staff directives.

2. The automatic arrestable categories are as follows:

A. The Gestapo and the SD.

(1) All personnel of the Geheime Staatspolizei (Gestapo or Secret State Police).

(2) All personnel of the Sicherheitsdienst Des Reichfuhrers-SS (commonly known as the SD).

Notes: (All personnel) As used in sub-paragraphs (1) and (2) above includes all persons who carried executive or administrative responsibilities and authority at the National Headquarters and in the departments, offices, branches, out stations and organizations dependent on or controlled by the Gestapo or SD. It does not include such personnel as typists, messengers, chauffeurs, charwomen, V-Leute or V-Maenner, petty unpaid informers, and the like.

B. Part-military organizations

(1) Waffen SS (Armed SS) All Officers and NCOs down to and including the rank of Scharfuhrer, all ranks of Totenkopfverbände (TV) (or deathhead formations) and all SS Helferinnen or SS Kriegshelferinnen.

C. Leadership Corps of the Nazi Party:

(1) The following administrative officials of the party and Stellvertreter:

A. At Reich level: Stellenleiter and above

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B. Gau level: Amtsleiter and above

C. At Kreis level: Amtsleiter and above

D. At Ortsgruppen level: Ortsgruppenleiter (two members of the party down to and including the rank of obergemeinschaftsleiter.

3. Upon the passing in the near future by the Austrian Parliament, and, approval by the allied commission for Austria, of the Austrian Denazification Law (the Nazi Gesets) it is contemplated to deliver to Austrian custody under the above proposed law all internees in our custody with the exception of the following:

A. Individuals named, in current CROWCASS wanted lists or any other lists, as criminal suspects or witnesses to war crimes.

B. Individuals designated, by the Nurenberg US Chief of Counsel, for prosecution of Axis criminality.

C. Individuals of non-Austrian nationality, other than those described in paragraph 3A above, who should be transferred to their respective governments.

D. Individuals who for reasons of security, interrogation, exploitation or otherwise, should be retained in custody of US Forces Austria.

4. The proposed Austrian Denazification Law as it now stands includes all automatic arrestable categories as listed in our Intelligence Directive Number 11 dated 4 February 1947.

5. The above proposal for turning over internees is similar to the method used in the United States Zone Germany where internees were turned over to German authorities under the law of Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism dated 5 March 1946 (Title 24 Military Government Regulations).

End

GM IN 1733

(11 Feb 47)

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