

sensitiveness of an island power which grows only two-thirds or less of its own food. They had suffered much from the U-Boats and the submarine was not consequently a popular form of naval vessel in Great Britain. He strongly suggested that the bulk of them be sunk. Great Britain had very nearly perished from them twice. Those who live with a large population on a small island do not welcome any nations of the world extending their construction of submarines. His consent was conditioned on further discussion of how many are divided and how many are sunk, but he agreed that they be divided equally. In this war, German submarines had damaged them severely and had eaten up a large part of their war making capacity.

STALIN stated he was also in favor of sinking a large proportion of the U-Boats.

THE PRESIDENT then said he thought that was sufficient discussion on this subject.

THE SPANISH QUESTION

MR. EDEN said that the next question on the agenda was that of Spain.

STALIN said the Soviet proposals ¹⁷ had already been submitted and he had nothing to add.

CHURCHILL said that his Government had a strong distaste for General Franco and the government of his country. He had been misrepresented as having been friendly to this gentleman. All he had said was that there was more to Spanish policy than drawing rude cartoons of Franco. The taking out of jail prisoners who had been in jail for years and shooting them for what had happened long before indicated that Spain was not a democracy in accordance with British ideas on that subject. Therefore, when Franco had written him a letter proposing that he and Churchill organize the western states against that terrible country, Russia, he had, with the approval of the British Cabinet, sent him a chilly reply. Mr. Molotov would remember that he had sent him a copy of this reply and a reply [*copy?*] had also been sent to the President.¹⁸ British feeling was against the Franco regime.

STALIN stated that they had received the copy of the British reply.

¹⁷ Document No. 1177, *post*.

¹⁸ For a summary of the correspondence referred to, see *Stalin's Correspondence With Churchill, Attlee, Roosevelt and Truman, 1941-45* (New York, 1958), vol. 1, p. 395, note 80. This work is a reissue (including the original title pages and with the original pagination but bound in one volume) of the two volumes of *Correspondence Between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U. S. S. R. and the Presidents of the U. S. A. and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain During the Great Patriotic War of 1944-1945* (Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1957; Ministry of Foreign Affairs publication). For a citation to the Russian-language edition of this work, see *ante*, p. xxix.

CHURCHILL said that he saw some difficulty in Stalin's proposal, particularly in the first paragraph concerning the breaking off of all relations with Franco Spain. It seemed to him that taking such a step in regard to a nation having a character like that of Spain, which was proud and touchy, might rally around Franco those elements now deserting him and making his position more precarious. The breaking of relations was not a satisfactory process. It would be a pleasure to do so but after that they would have no contact. Ambassadors were needed most of all in times of difficulty. If they took such action as this it would be a shock.

The result might strengthen Franco's position. He has an army although it was not very good. If this action resulted in strengthening him, it would be necessary to consider whether to take a rebuff or to intervene with force. He was against the use of force. He was against interfering with countries which had a different regime unless we are molested by them. In the countries which we control, we have, of course, set up democratic governments. Insofar as the liberated areas are concerned, we cannot allow a Fascist regime to be set up. With respect to the countries which have not taken part in this war, however, there should be no exchange of cannon fire. His Majesty's Government would have to give prolonged consideration to Stalin's proposals to break relations with Spain. He was prepared to take every measure by all proper diplomatic means to speed the departing guest.

The breaking of relations with a state because of its internal conduct of affairs was a dangerous principle. He added that he would greatly deplore anything which would lead Spain to civil war. Spain had suffered terribly from its civil war in which two million people had been killed. The British would be sorry to intervene as a government in an active manner in the Spanish affair at this juncture. Forces there were working for a change for the better.

He pointed out that the World Organization which had just been agreed upon at San Francisco had a provision against interference in domestic affairs.¹⁹ While they were preparing to ratify the charter drawn up at San Francisco, it would be inconsistent to resort to action which would be prohibited under it.

THE PRESIDENT said that he had no love for Franco. He had no desire to have any part in starting another civil war in Spain. There had been enough wars in Europe. He would be happy to recognize another government in Spain but he thought that Spain itself must settle that question.

¹⁹ i. e., article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations, signed at San Francisco, June 26, 1945 (Treaty Series No. 993; 59 Stat. (2) 1031).

STALIN observed that this meant that everything would be unchanged in Spain. In his opinion, the regime of Franco was gaining strength. It was feeding semi-fascist regimes in other countries. Reference had been made to internal affairs. This was not an internal affair. The Spanish regime had been imposed on the Spanish people by Hitler and Mussolini whose regimes they were in the process of destroying. He believed that his colleagues had no love for Franco but this should be proved in deeds. He was not proposing military intervention nor that civil war be let loose, but he wished the Spanish people to know that the three Governments had taken a stand on the side of the democratic forces among the Spanish people and that the Spanish people should have ground to believe that they were against Franco. There was a diplomatic means of showing that they were against Franco and that they were for the democratic Spanish people. He said that suppose they assumed that the means of breaking relations was too severe. Was there not a more flexible means of letting the Spanish people know that the three Governments are in sympathy with the Spanish people and not with Franco. It was dangerous to let the Spanish regime remain as it was now. Public opinion in Europe and in America was not in sympathy with Franco and if the three Governments were to pass by in silence this cancer in Europe, it might be considered that they sanctioned Franco. That would be a grave charge.

CHURCHILL observed that the Soviet Union had no relations with Spain now.

STALIN replied that he had the right to raise and settle this question. Why should they be silent. People presumed that the Big Three could settle such a question and he was one of them just as Mr. Churchill was. Must they keep silent about what was going on in Spain, as well as to refrain from action against Spain which was giving shelter to Fascists? They could not shut their eyes to the grave danger of Franco Spain.

CHURCHILL said that individuals were not enjoined by governments from expressing opinions. Also the press, to which Marshal Stalin had referred, spoke very freely on this matter in the Soviet Union as did the British and sometimes the American press. His Majesty's Government had spoken very frequently to Franco and to his Ambassador.²⁰ They did not like, however, to break relations.

CHURCHILL referred also to the valuable trade relations which Britain maintained with Spain. Spain sent them many useful products and received British manufactured goods in return. This was an old and well established trade. Unless he were convinced that it would bring about the desired result, he did not want this trade stopped.

²⁰ The Duke of Alba.

He fully understood the feeling of Marshal Stalin. Franco had had the audacity to send a Spanish Blue Division to Russia. Russia was in a different position, having been molested. Insofar as the British were concerned in this war, they ^{27a} had refrained from taking action against the British at a time when such intervention could have been disastrous.

CHURCHILL continued that during the TORCH operation merely opening fire on the ships and Air Corps concentrated in the area of Gibraltar would have done them great harm.

STALIN interrupted to say that the Spaniards were afraid. They would have been doomed if they had dared to take such action.

CHURCHILL continued that they had not been specifically injured by the Spaniards. No one doubted that Marshal Stalin had no love for the Franco regime and he had no doubt that the majority of the English people shared this view. Churchill said he only intended to emphasize that the Russians had been injured in a way in which others had not.

STALIN said he thought that Great Britain had also suffered from Spain, which had provided bases on its shores for German submarines. He considered that all Allied Powers had suffered in this way. He did not wish, however, to look at the question from this point of view. What was important was the danger to Europe. This should be remembered. Some steps should be taken even if the breaking of diplomatic relations was too severe. They should say that they thought that the aspirations of the Spanish people were just. They had only to say this and nothing would be left of Franco. He considered that the Foreign Ministers should consider whether a milder statement could not be agreed upon.

THE PRESIDENT stated that he agreed.

CHURCHILL said he was opposed. The matter must be settled at the meeting of the Heads of Government.

STALIN pointed out that it would be settled by them. The Foreign Ministers would only give it preliminary study.

CHURCHILL said he did not think this was advisable. It was a question of principle. To interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries was very dangerous. He might not like some things in the United States, but he did not consider it wise to attempt to intervene.

STALIN said that this was not a question of a domestic affair. The regime of Franco was of external origin.

CHURCHILL rejoined to state that anyone could say this about any country.

STALIN replied that no other country in Europe had such a regime.

CHURCHILL observed that Portugal might be accused of being under a dictatorship.

^{20a} i. e., Spain.

STALIN replied that it was not the dictatorship that mattered. The regime in Portugal resulted from internal developments, whereas the regime of Franco resulted from intervention by Hitler and Mussolini. Franco's behavior was provocative. He gave shelter to Nazis.

CHURCHILL said he was not prepared that any government in which he participated should interfere in the internal affairs of other states. This has always been their policy. Moreover, to push things might make matters worse. He would be very glad, although he knew this idea would not be received with enthusiasm, if the regime were overthrown and replaced by a constitutional monarchy with free democratic principles, elections, etc. If, however, he or any British Government pushed this proposal, all would turn against it in Spain. No country likes to be told how it is to be run. There was intervention on both sides in the Spanish civil war. The Soviet Union intervened on one side and then Hitler and Mussolini came in on the other. But that was already long ago. Action taken at this meeting was more likely to rivet Franco in his place. The British Government did not give the slightest support to Franco Spain other than trade, which they have always carried on.

THE PRESIDENT stated that he would be happy to have the matter sent to the Foreign Ministers to see if agreement could not be reached.

STALIN said he also fully appreciated the British difficulties, but felt that this matter could be facilitated by action here. He proposed that they prepare an appraisal of the regime of Franco, including observations made by Mr. Churchill on the trend of developments in Spain. This would be one of the items in the declaration to be made on Europe. He assumed that they would have some sort of declaration on the results of their work. This statement on Spain should be included in them. It would not be binding on the British Government. It would be a short statement on the situation in Spain which would make clear to public opinion that their sympathies were with the Spanish people. This was a most mild form—milder than the Yalta Declaration on Yugoslavia²¹ and Greece.²² He suggested that they let the Foreign Ministers consider what form this declaration could take.

CHURCHILL replied that he had not agreed to any declaration on Spain and he gathered that the President had also not agreed.

STALIN said it was not a question of a declaration on Spain alone, but on all countries.

CHURCHILL said that the line he had taken was that in all countries

²¹ See document No. 1417, *post*, section VII.

²² There was no Yalta declaration on Greece, except insofar as that country was included within the terms of the Declaration on Liberated Europe. See document No. 1417, *post*, section V.

involved in this war that they should not interfere in their domestic affairs. This was a question of principle. There were many things in regard to Yugoslavia and Rumania which he did not like. They were involved in the war which gave us greater freedom there. He repeated that there was great danger in the intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries. If there were to be a declaration of the principles on which democratic governments were founded—he personally had always liked the statement in the American Constitution—and a statement on what governments had not fulfilled these principles, he could consider it, but he pointed out that many governments in Europe now do not fulfil these principles. He did not know what the Spanish people thought. There were many shades of opinion in Spain. Most of them would doubtless like to get rid of Franco without interference from outsiders.

THE PRESIDENT said there appeared to be no chance for agreement at the moment. He suggested that they pass on to something else upon which they could reach a decision and that they come back to the Spanish question at a later session.

STALIN suggested that it be referred to the Foreign Ministers to consider.

CHURCHILL said that this was the point on which they were not in agreement. He did not suggest an adverse decision but merely that they leave it for the moment.

THE PRESIDENT said that they could return to it at any time.

STALIN said that he agreed.

DECLARATION ON LIBERATED EUROPE

THE PRESIDENT said that the document on this matter had been submitted at the first session.²³

STALIN suggested that discussion of this question be put off as the Soviet Delegation had another document on this question which they wished to submit.²⁴

This was agreed to.

YUGOSLAVIA

EDEN pointed out that the British Delegation had submitted a document on this question.²⁵

STALIN said that he thought they could not discuss this question without having the Yugoslavs present—at any rate they would be unable to achieve any results without them.

EDEN pointed out that they had agreed upon a declaration at Yalta²⁶ although no Yugoslavs were present.

²³ Document No. 745, *post*.

²⁴ Documents Nos. 804 and 1064, *post*.

²⁵ Document No. 1202, *post*.

²⁶ See document No. 1417, *post*, section VII.