

Conditions and Politics in Occupied Western Europe 1940~1945

**Selected from
PRO CLASS FO 371**

A Listing and Guide to
the Harvester Microfilm Collection
Edited by Dr. Michael Stenton,
Clare Hall, University of Cambridge



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**CONDITIONS AND POLITICS IN
OCCUPIED WESTERN EUROPE 1940-1945**

**A Listing and Guide to Parts 1-6
of the Harvester Microform Collection**

GENERAL PREFACE

Harvester Microform are proud to be the publishers of "Conditions and Politics in Occupied Western Europe". It is vast, it is well-conceived, it has been superbly executed, and we are grateful to Dr. Michael Stenton of Clare Hall, Cambridge, who has directed the project. We are also grateful to the Public Record Office filming unit for their care in filming what sometimes proved to be difficult documents.

More than 20,000 individual folders in nearly 1,000 files are reproduced. Each folder contains a number of documents. The front of each folder contains a complete identification of the initial document, a summary of its contents, copies of related correspondence, a record of its circulation in the department, and the notes and comments of responsible officials. This Guide gives a brief description of each file and the reel number on which each file appears.

The research opportunities offered by this programme are immense and the mass of material included provides a central source, cogently organised, quickly identified, and easily retrieved. To quote but two scholars, Professor Roy A. Austensen of Illinois State University, reviewing some early parts, wrote:- "The scope of the collection is vast, and it is difficult to describe its contents briefly without doing an injustice either to the quantity or the quality of the material in it.... When completed, this series will have made a significant contribution to the study of Europe during the Second World War."

And in the opinion of Michael Howard, Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Oxford, Harvester Microform are "to be congratulated for making available such a wide variety of primary source materials. Scholars throughout the world will welcome the opportunity to be able to consult key documents from PRO FO 371."

Alastair Everitt
Managing Director



INTRODUCTION

The material deposited in the British Public Record Office under the classification FO 371 contains by far the greater part of the papers received and produced in the Foreign Office. Of these the documents relating to the Second World War are but a part. They are, by origin, the working papers of the 'departments' within the Foreign Office specialising in distinct problems and geographical areas. The political departments of the Foreign Office did not administer anything; they existed only to provide commentary upon the evidence with which they were furnished. This evidence came in many forms. First, and theoretically foremost, were the major ambassadorial despatches which were often printed as soon as they had been received and sometimes circulated to the Cabinet as well as within the Office. Next, in order of formal importance, came the representations of foreign diplomats accredited to the Court of St. James. Then there were telegrams and 'personal' letters from British diplomats abroad: shorter and more pithy than the despatches but no less important. Other British departments of state were in constant touch with the Foreign Office in the unending attempt to discern and define British 'interests'. This was particularly important in wartime and certain departments are worth mentioning.

The Ministry of Economic Warfare, as its name suggests, had, and was entitled to, its own ideas about the ideal form of Britain's relationships with the hostile, occupied and neutral states of Europe. The Ministry of Information had an interest both in publicity about Europe and publicity directed towards Europe, since it exercised a measure of influence over the press and a measure of control over the BBC. The Fighting Services also corresponded with the Foreign Office as did the all-important Chiefs of Staff committee and its attendant organisation. Secret intelligence came from SIS (sometimes called 'C's organisation'), from the Special Operations Executive (SOE: called SO2 in 1940-41), from the allied governments exiled in London and from sympathetic individuals throughout the world. Intelligence derived from decoded wireless intercepts

is not referred to except in the most guarded and indirect way.

Although there is a good deal of non-British material amongst these documents, most of the material was produced or selectively organised by Whitehall civil servants to help themselves to understand what was happening in continental Europe and what they could do about it. But this was very far from being a continuation of the standard peace-time process of diplomatic observation. The mood of the times and the facilities of the moment were quite unusual. It was foreign affairs with much of the diplomacy left out and much that was new inserted in its place. Where the Foreign Office had formerly negotiated with governments abroad it learnt to negotiate with governments in exile at its doorstep. More importantly, it had to negotiate with other departments of state in Whitehall and had to concede that although these departments were junior to itself they often possessed enviable powers of initiative. Documentary material that came from the continent often came via the other foreign policy departments, and FO written comments were often comments on what others had found important as well as upon the substance of the reports.

This material was digested by a relatively small number of experienced and knowledgeable officials. The degree of their expertise naturally varied, but it was rarely equal to that of a lifelong student of one particular country. The object of all this study was to prepare advice and drafts for the three most senior officials: Sir Alexander Cadogan, the Permanent Under-secretary, his deputy Sir Orme Sargent, and William Strang, an Assistant Secretary supervising several departments. These overworked men had the duty of presenting the views of the Office to the Secretary of State, and Cadogan often accompanied him to meetings of the War Cabinet. The minutes written by Cadogan ('AC') and Sargent ('OS') are shorter than those of less senior officials, but they are frequently more important. Any document initialled by one or both of these two has been stamped by the nearest thing to a Whitehall nihil obstat. Nonetheless, Cadogan had to cope, almost literally, with every subject under the sun, and the human limitation on his ability to give fresh consideration to everything that was thrown at him must be borne in mind. (His published diary gives the impression that he found in a somewhat unimaginative and

bureaucratic briskness the only means of staying sane).

The outbreak of war made little immediate difference to the way in which the Foreign Office gathered information and did its work. It lost its representation in Berlin and then in Warsaw as it had in Vienna and Prague earlier on, but over most of Europe the British diplomatic team was still intact with their Press Attaches, military advisers and 'passport officers'. But on 9 April 1940 this began to change very rapidly. The next three months of German conquest led to the closing of British diplomatic posts in Paris, Rome, Oslo, Copenhagen, the Hague and Brussels. The ambassador in Madrid became virtually a prisoner in his own Embassy and the Minister accredited to the Holy See was confined to the Vatican. Throughout most of Western Europe normal diplomacy ceased and the regular channels of information dried up. The newspapers and radio stations were henceforth under German control and censorship. It seems that Britain's small network of spies (SIS) also collapsed at about this time. The Foreign Office had to build up as quickly as possible a picture of the new conditions on the Continent with a somewhat different mix of intelligence materials. These microfilms cover the files in FO 371 which were a product of this enterprise.

The reports alone make FO 371 an essential source. The reliability of these reports does, of course, vary and it would be vain to expect that London knew everything that it was interested in, but the reports for Western Europe were usually derived from fairly copious flows of data. The diplomatic posts in Barcelona, Lisbon, Geneva and Tangier were excellent observation points for French affairs; Northern Europe was watched from Berne and Stockholm. It was not, or not always, very difficult for messengers or messages to be sent from Norway to Sweden, from France to Switzerland or Spain. Even where it was very difficult - as with Belgium and the Netherlands, which lacked a conveniently adjacent neutral country - lines of communication were eventually established. Many bona fide travellers were only too anxious to tell the British what they thought was happening, and many brought with them lengthy reports drawn up by others who could not themselves leave their countries. This material was either sent directly to London or forwarded in the form of reasoned compilations.

On arrival in the Foreign Office, the reports were allocated to the respective departments and made the subject of the commentaries and minutes which comprise the other half of FO 371's value to historians. The commentators were Foreign Office civil servants who were invited to make their remarks in order of ascending seniority. Although the minutes cast only an indirect light on what was happening on the continent, they are of first-class importance for the elucidation of British policy. Even the indirect light is of value in that the minutes suggest critical juxtapositions and evaluations which the historian cannot afford to ignore. Of particular interest in this respect is the criticism of reports emanating from other Ministries and secret departments.

It is because the neutral countries were so important to Britain's ability to see into Europe, that we have decided to include in this microfilm series what might be termed the 'normal' diplomatic reports covering them. Our principle of selection here has been to provide the British version of the political atmosphere in countries which, while not directly subject to German control, were subject to a greater or lesser degree of German intimidation. Britain's own estimate of its opportunities for counter-play through economic leverage also show up in these documents. What could be learnt via Stockholm was in part dependent upon the scope of the activities which the Swedes felt obliged, or could be persuaded to feel obliged, to permit. What could be gathered across the Franco-Swiss border depended upon friendly border guards and even friendlier postal censors. If the neutral countries were a channel of communication, they were also a filter of sensitive facts whose anxiety not to give offence to Germany and whose dislike of Nazism must be understood. Even in Spain, where the ideological contest between fascism and democracy had been gravely prejudiced by the defeat of the Republicans in the Civil War, this dislike of Nazism was a factor which the British tried to trace in the politics of the victorious factions and which could be used on occasion to modify the country's pro-German benevolent neutrality. Italy was, of course, neither occupied nor neutral from June 1940 to September 1943; it was Germany's ally, and yet it started the war as a neutral and ended it as a co-belligerent of the United Nations. More importantly, Northern Italy was the centre

of a major resistance movement 1943-1945. In the circumstances, it seemed best to start our presentation of FO 371 material on Italian politics in 1940 so that the relationship between intelligence and speculation about the ways in which Mussolini's fascist regime might break down and the way in which it actually did so becomes clear.

Part 1 of the Harvester Microform project is devoted to 1940. This was the moment of invasion, defeat and conquest for most of the nations concerned. The British documents trace the willingness or otherwise of the existing governments to continue the struggle. We find a Belgian Government wandering about France, hesitating between an inglorious return to a German-ruled Belgium and an unappetising exile in London; a Danish Government trapped in Copenhagen trying to find out just how far it was to be permitted to retain authority; a body of Norwegian politicians negotiating with the Germans in Oslo about the deposition of the exiled government; and a Dutch Prime Minister in London who wanted to give up and go home. Of course, attention focussed, above all other things, upon the French Governments of Reynaud and Pétain. It was because the French Government would not go into exile or even cross the sea to French Algeria, that the Foreign Office adopted from the very beginning so low a view of the Pétain regime as to permit British support for Charles de Gaulle and the rebellion of La France Libre. Nevertheless the message of the 1940 documents appears to be that in several countries public feeling was very strong on the rebound. If the immediate response to conquest was despair and a moment of revulsion from pre-war social and political norms, large sections of the subdued populations had shaken off these nervous crises by the autumn. Once it was seen that the war was unfinished, the thread of normality was re-established. The Battle of Britain went a long way towards curing the anti-British resentments that evacuation had left behind in Norway and France. The Oslo negotiations broke down once King Haakon announced on the BBC his refusal to abdicate. In France, the Pétain Government was massively popular at the moment of its inception, but when Pétain met Hitler in October (the Montoire meeting) and announced the policy of 'collaboration' there were some who turned to opposition, others who began to doubt,

and even more who still accepted the authority of the Vichy regime but could only trust its judgment through a suspension of disbelief.

If the 1940 records establish the interests of the Foreign Office and its favourite questions, the documentation for the years 1941 to 1945 set out the story of Occupied Europe and such answers as were obtained. Almost monthly the flow of evidence became richer. Our selection quite naturally expands to reflect this constantly increasing body of material, and for 1944 and 1945 it was necessary to produce two Parts rather than the normal annual Part. In using this extraordinarily well-organised archive, the reader may sometimes forget that he is consulting primary material rather than an extended interpretive essay. Experience has shown that it is necessary to warn the newcomer to FO 371 to keep a critical distance from the collective understanding set out so plausibly and expounded so cogently in the departmental papers and minutes. Of course, FO 371 contains a mass of continental as well as British points of view, and much of the commentary is a set of first responses to a river of data flowing into London from the outside world. But that material is highly organised and contained within what must be seen as a framework of analysis. This increases rather than diminishes its historical importance. It is possible, and rewarding, to use these documents merely as a source of information on the regions and activities described in them, but it is dangerous. The danger is not that the descriptions are systematically distorted or false, but that one runs the risk of being unable to think one's way out of the Foreign Office view of what mattered. The chronological continuities one finds in FO 371 are seductively misleading. Despite all appearances, the Office did not know everything that was worth knowing, nor did it always put everything that it knew down on paper. Above all, one must remember - and check upon - the historical context in which minutes were written.

There was no certainty in London that Occupied Europe would continue to see itself as being on the 'side' of liberal democracy. And though there was on the part of SOE and of the propaganda organisations a degree of confidence that resistance would one day become active and important, the Foreign Office was less certain, and there was sometimes a tendency for the diplomats to

believe that a crypto-Anglophile in even a German-controlled office was worth several would-be rebels in the field. The resistance of the clandestine organisations had to be very effective indeed before it could provide benefits to match those provided by secretly obstructive administrative figures who were, in all appearances, willing collaborators. The problem here was that no one knew whether any significant number of such people existed. The documents are full of attempts to assess just exactly what collaboration meant, just how far minor demonstrations of our political independence were signs of things to come or fairly cheap gestures, designed to provide a little momentary popularity in a sequence of unpopular concessions. Even in 1940-1942 enthusiastic collaboration was the exception rather than the rule. Analysis of the vast grey area between loyal co-operation with the Nazis and a reluctant conformity to their instructions lacked consistency. It was subject to shifts of emphasis and expectation on the part of officials as the nature of the war and the needs of the moment changed. The long argument about the real meaning of the Danish Government's policy of co-operation with the occupation forces is a classic case of the British dilemma: should one hope to encourage people caught in an impossible position by showing patience, understanding and reticence in the inevitable public criticisms which followed particularly objectionable retreats and concessions to German pressure, or should one cover those who might be trying to do their best with ill-deserved scorn in the belief that it would either strengthen their hands for resistance or weaken the value of their compliance?

Although the Foreign Office started out with a moment of pure despair about the resistant qualities of Europe's elites, it became rather more moderate (that is, dogmatically intermediate) in its judgments once the RAF had restored a sense of national security. It did not build upon its former scepticism but held it in reserve as a dangerously radical half-truth which might grow in veracity unless the gentlemen in question bestirred themselves. This dogmatic intermediacy or moderation resumed its sway over the official mind to the extent that Nazism receded as an ideological threat. But grave political dangers remained. It was accepted that Nazism

had developed in specifically German circumstances and might not be suited for reproduction outside Germany. But this was not quite the point about the manner of the threat. It was not supposed that Nazi ideas were particularly attractive to any considerable population if they had to stand on their own as 'ideas'. But it was apparent that the 'ideas' came tied up in a bundle along with the prestige of enormous military and political success. It was also clear that the single most important Nazi intellectual accomplishment was the ability of its propagandists to represent what they were attacking in the West as historically backward, decadent and self-condemned. One did not even have to dislike liberalism to start feeling in 1940, rather in the way so many had felt before that date about socialist criticisms of society, that the Age of Liberalism was over and that the Nazis, despite their gangsterism and leader-fetishism, had hold of some important truths about the organisation of the modern world. The danger was that skilful propaganda, with a monopoly of publicity at its disposal and exploiting the shock of defeat and with it the sudden and disorienting disappearance of normal political criticism and discussion, would succeed in moving opinion towards acquiescence in the 'New Order' of European economic integration and German political leadership. If such a mentality of post-liberal acquiescence, assisted by the sweetening consideration that as a German protectorate one might have the benefits of an enhanced social discipline without the whole panoply of Nazi nonsense, took hold in Europe then collaboration might become formidable and resistance be stillborn.

This is why the Foreign Office paid as much attention as it did to the propaganda war. On the British side there were two views. The point of broadcasting to Europe was either to stimulate resistance and guide feeling in a positive way or it was to gain attention that would otherwise find no other object than the collaborationist media. What foreigners said about the BBC when they reached London from occupied Europe was that its virtue did not lie in any particular message but in the quality of spiritual difference that it conveyed. To listen to the BBC was to escape for a few minutes into an anti-Nazi thought-world. That, it was sometimes thought, should be enough. It might be misconceived to inject

a larger doctrinal content into the broadcasts on the false assumption that one was dealing with a real contest of ideas. One might even alienate many who could sympathise with the stereotype of a frankly reactionary Tory-imperial Britain but who would dislike the way in which the British were currently justifying democracy to themselves. Some of the Foreign Office correspondence on propaganda has been included in the microfilm series to help indicate how this debate evolved. But the reader must not expect to find the discussion confined to the pieces described as largely concerned with propaganda questions.

These, then, were the hopes and fears that were brought to bear on Occupied Europe. The documentation provides close accounts of changes of 'government' and administration as the Quislings, Musserts, Deats and Doriots struggled for the fruits of collaborationisme, as the Darlans and Scaveniuses tacked this way and that in the German wind, and as policies based upon a degree of native tolerance were replaced by open police terror and the purge of the previously useful compromisers. It describes the economic strategies of the occupier: the exchange-rate manipulations, the confiscation of industrial equipment, and the conscription of labour from 1942 onwards. It reflects the recovery of the neutral countries and the political debate inside them as Germany went into decline and the Anglo-Americans began to insist on advantages for themselves to compensate for those that had previously been granted to the enemy. It records the arrival of the resistance movements on the political stage and makes clear the sheer difficulty of arming them on a large scale in areas where mountain guerilla warfare was impossible. It shows the Foreign Office trying to peer into the future by guessing which tendency within the resistance movements would organised the others and take the lead in setting up a post-war regime. It reveals the anxieties of the London observers - the free continentals even more than the British - about the damage that the Germans might inflict on social and political relationships before they left. Above all, it provides details: names, dates and places; useful references to second and third order politicians, to factories where the manager worked with the resistance and to those where management collaborated with gusto, to specific areas where the 'maquis' was

active and to areas in which some of the population was close to starvation. It sometimes appears that resistance was not so much a response to Nazi occupation as to Gauleiter Sauckel's labour conscription policies. These were slightly different, and differently phased, in each country Sauckel visited. But the effect was broadly the same: the transformation of the resistance of secret societies into a resistance of mass movements. Surprisingly, the Foreign Office - at least in the French Department - spotted what was happening well before the end of 1942, and enquired anxiously of SOE whether enough was being done to assist the young men who fled their homes to live, and if possible to fight, in the 'maquis'. The priority given to reports about this process is clear.

But the most precise political reporting included in these documents concerns Italy because the Allies were fighting their way up the peninsula for a longer period than they fought inside any other European country. The re-emergence of political parties in the South and the political unity of the Resistance in the North created an unexpectedly complicated, if promising, situation in which the Foreign Office often had to follow when the military leadership (Eisenhower's, then Alexander's, AFHQ) and the Minister Resident (Harold Macmillan) made the running. The balance of rivalry and co-operation within the Anglo-American relationship also shows up quite clearly in the Italian case. But it must not be expected that FO 371 should give a detailed account of the work of Allied Forces Headquarters or of SHAEF. Western Europe was recovered in 1943-1945 by an alliance so large and a war machine so complicated that no single archive can hope to comprehend the way in which it was done. And yet all the larger themes had to be stated to the Foreign Office, which was always able to use its seniority to ensure that it remained reasonably well-informed even when the speed of events eroded its normal authority. It was, in any case, the practice in these later years for senior Foreign Office officials to be attached to the headquarters staffs of Generals Eisenhower, Alexander and Wilson, and these officials carried on both an official and a 'demi-official' correspondence with London. This correspondence is not preserved as a series of messages in their own right, but was distributed to the departments according to the subjects dealt with

in the messages. As the tempo of the fighting died down, one senses the Foreign Office recovering its grip on affairs - quite determined that, whatever the forms of military control and government, the ultimate control of civilian affairs should revert to civilian hands. In most cases, even the form of military government was removed after the briefest of delays: the Foreign Office has, after all, a vested interest in diplomacy, and diplomacy requires independent and authoritative governments installed in their own capital cities.

The Departments of the Foreign Office

Some departments of the Foreign Office were defined geographically, others by function. But papers were passed between the departments where necessary and anyone studying the sequence of minutes and initials can deduce the path taken by any document. A list of the more important officials - and their posts - will be found below. It may be helpful to explain that the rank of an official was not automatically determined by his post but that the importance of an official was more a matter of post than of rank. Thus, one way of describing the Foreign Office is to state that in 1944 it consisted of a Permanent Under-Secretary, two Deputy Under-Secretaries, six Assistant Under-Secretaries, nineteen Counsellors and a staff of Clerks. (The 'clerks' were junior diplomats and produced the bulk of the minutes one finds in FO 371). But it is more important to know that the departments most closely concerned with European matters were the following -

Northern Department - Scandinavia, Baltic States, USSR.

Southern Department - Italy, the Balkans, Turkey.

Central Department - Western Europe excluding Scandinavia, including Spain and Portugal; Central Europe including Poland and Hungary.

French Department - created in 1940, previously under Central Department.

There was also a Political Intelligence Department which was not as important as its name implies. It performed a limited range of research functions and provided 'cover' for the Political Warfare Executive which was a distinct body outside the Foreign Office. The heads of the above-

- Farquhar, H.L. - Consul-General in Barcelona from 1942
- Gascoyne, A.D.F. - Consul-General in Tangier
- Gubbins, C.McV. - Senior figure in SOE and its head
1943-1945
- Hambro, Sir Charles - Senior figure in SOE and its head
1942-1943
- Harvey, Oliver - Director of Ministry of Information's
Foreign Publicity Division (Europe) 1940-1941;
Private Secretary to Eden 1941-1943; Acting
Assistant Under-Secretary 1943-1945
- Hoare, Sir R. - Minister in Bucharest 1935-1941; Head
of PID 1942-1945
- Hoare, Sir S. - Ambassador in Madrid
- Howard, D.F. - Head of Southern Department from 1942
- Jebb, Gladwyn, Chief Executive Officer in SOE 1940-1942;
returned to Foreign Office
- Kirkpatrick, Ivone - Harvey's predecessor in the MOI
(1940); Controller BBC European Service 1941-1945;
member of PWE
- Leeper, R.A. - Head of PID/SOI 1940-1941; member of
PWE 1941-1943; Ambassador to Greek Government
1943-1945
- Lockhart, R.H.B. - Czech specialist in PID/SOI 1939-1941;
Chairman (later head) of PWE with rank of Deputy
Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office 1941-1945
- Mack, W.H.B. - Head of French Department 1940-1942;
British Political Adviser AFHQ 1942-1943
- Makins, R.M. - Deputy head of Central Department 1940;
Head 1941
- Mallet, Victor - Minister in Stockholm
- Monckton, Sir W. - Title of Deputy Under-Secretary in
1940 as a means of strengthening his position as
Deputy Director-General (later Director-General)
Ministry of Information; Deputy Minister of State
Cairo 1941-1942
- Morton, Desmond - Churchill's Personal Assistant
specialising in European affairs, especially
intelligence matters

- Nelson, Sir Frank - Head of SOE 1940-1942
- Nicols, P.B.B. - Head of Southern Department 1940-1942
- Patron, Francis - Consul-General Barcelona 1940
- Peake, Charles - Head of News Department 1940-1942;
British Representative attached to the Fighting
French 1942-1943; British Political Adviser SHAEF
1944-1945
- Radcliffe, Cyril - Director-General Ministry of Information
1941-1945; previously Controller of Press and
Censorship
- Randall, A.W.E. - Head of Liaison Department
- Ridsdale, W. - Head of Press Department from 1942
- Roberts, F.K. - Official in Central Department, Acting
Head of Department 1943
- Ronald, N.B. - Head of General Department
- Sargent, Sir Orme - Deputy Under-Secretary, supervised
Northern and Southern Departments
- Spears, Sir Louis - British Representative with the Free
French 1940-1941; British Minister in Beirut 1942-
1944
- Stirling, Charles - Head of French Department 1943
- Strang, William - Assistant Under-Secretary supervising
Central and French Departments
- Vansittart, Sir Robert - Former Permanent Under-Secretary;
'Chief Diplomatic Adviser' 1938-1941; important
figure in discussion of French matters in 1940;
Adviser to Minister of Economic Warfare 1940-1941
- Warner, C.F.A. - Leeper's Deputy at PID/SO1 1940-1941;
Head of Northern Department 1941-1945

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CONDITIONS AND POLITICS
IN OCCUPIED WESTERN EUROPE 1940 - 1945

PART ONE. 1940
(Belgium, France, Norway, Spain, Sweden)

Selected from PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE CLASS FO 371
(General Correspondence. Political)

CONTENTS OF PART ONE, 1940

	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>REEL 1</u>		
BELGIUM 1940 Central Department	24274	Belgian public opinion - political situation - Belgian Government.
	24275	Belgian public opinion - political situation - Belgian Government.
	24276	Belgian public opinion - political situation - Belgian Government.
<u>REEL 2</u>		
BELGIUM 1940 Central Department	24277	Belgian public opinion - political situation - Belgian Government. (This complete file has been filmed and contains documents covering extraneous themes).
	24285	Internal situation under German occupation. (This complete file has been filmed and contains documents covering extraneous themes).

	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>REEL 3</u> FRANCE 1940 Central Department	24299	Anglo-French co-operation: Supreme War Council: Anglo- French relations after Dunkirk.
	24300	Anglo-French co-operation: Supreme War Council: Anglo- French relations after Dunkirk.
<u>REEL 4</u> FRANCE 1940 Central Department	24301	Anglo-French co-operation: Supreme War Council: Anglo- French relations after Dunkirk.
	24302	Anglo-French co-operation: Supreme War Council: Anglo- French relations after Dunkirk.
<u>REEL 5</u> FRANCE 1940 Central Department	24310	French political situation - opinion in France - reports from Consular Districts - broadcast by M. Reynaud - position of M. Daladier - Marshal Pétain - events from June 9-23 - internal situation.
	24311	French political situation - opinion in France - reports from Consular Districts - broadcast by M. Reynaud - position of M. Daladier - Marshal Pétain - events from June 9-23 - internal situation.

	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>REEL 6</u> FRANCE 1940 Central Department	24312	French political situation - opinion in France - reports from Consular Districts - broadcast by M. Reynaud - position of M. Daladier - Marshal Pétain - events from June 9-23 - internal situation.
	24313	French political situation - opinion in France - reports from Consular Districts - broadcast by M. Reynaud - position of M. Daladier - Marshal Pétain - events from June 9-23 - internal situation.
	24314	French political situation - opinion in France - reports from Consular Districts - broadcast by M. Reynaud - position of M. Daladier - Marshal Pétain - events from June 9-23 - internal situation.
<u>REEL 7</u> FRANCE 1940 Central Department	24315	French political situation - opinion in France - reports from Consular Districts - broadcast by M. Reynaud - position of M. Daladier - Marshal Pétain - events from June 9-23 - internal situation. (This complete file has been filmed and contains documents covering extraneous themes).
NORWAY 1940 Northern Department	24830	Operations in Norway.

	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>REEL 8</u>		
NORWAY 1940	24831	Operations in Norway.
Northern Department	24832	Operations in Norway.
<u>REEL 9</u>		
NORWAY 1940	24833	Operations in Norway.
Northern Department		
SPAIN 1940	24508	Political situation in Spain.
Central Department		
<u>REEL 10</u>		
SPAIN 1940	24509	Political situation in Spain. (This complete file has been filmed and contains documents covering extraneous themes).
Central Department		
	24514	Spanish attitude to the War - Spanish Neutrality - German pressure on Spain.
<u>REEL 11</u>		
SPAIN 1940	24515	Spanish attitude to the War - Spanish Neutrality - German pressure on Spain.
Central Department		
	24516	Spanish attitude to the War - Spanish Neutrality - German pressure on Spain.
<u>REEL 12</u>		
SWEDEN 1940	24860	Anglo-Swedish relations: Swedish attitude to international situation.
Northern Department		

	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>REEL 12 (cont.)</u> SWEDEN 1940 Northern Department	24861	Anglo-Swedish relations: Swedish attitude to the international situation. (This complete file has been filmed and contains documents covering extraneous themes).

CONDITIONS AND POLITICS
IN OCCUPIED WESTERN EUROPE 1940 - 1945

PART TWO. 1941

(Belgium, Co-ordination Files, Denmark, France,
General Files, Italy, Netherlands, Norway,
Spain, Sweden, Vatican)

Selected from PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE CLASS FO 371
(General Correspondence. Political)

CONTENTS OF PART TWO, 1941

	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>REEL 13</u>		
BELGIUM 1941	26342	Conditions in Belgium.
Central		
Department	26343	Conditions in Belgium.
	26345	Internal conditions in Luxemburg.
	26353	Dissemination of leaflets over Belgium.
<u>REEL 14</u>		
CO-ORDINATION	29135	Weekly Political Intelligence Summaries.
DEPARTMENT 1941		
	29136	Weekly Political Intelligence Summaries.
	29137	Weekly Political Intelligence Summaries.

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	28349	Anglo-French political relations.

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PART THREE. 1942

(Allied Administration, Belgium, Co-ordination
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General Files, Italy, Miscellaneous Files,
Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain,
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PART FOUR. 1943

(Belgium and Luxemburg, Co-ordination Files, Denmark, France, General Files, Italy, Miscellaneous Files, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Refugees Files, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Vatican)

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<u>REEL 85</u>		
MISCELLANEOUS 1943	36612	<u>The Times</u> and Reuter in Madrid.
General Department	36614	Political Intelligence Summaries.

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<u>REEL 85 (cont.)</u>		
MISCELLANEOUS 1943 General Department	36615	Political Intelligence Summaries.
	36616	Political Intelligence Summaries.
<u>REEL 86</u>		
MISCELLANEOUS 1943 General Department	36617	Political Intelligence Summaries.
NETHERLANDS 1943 Central Department	34522	Conditions in the Netherlands.
	34523	Conditions in the Netherlands..
	34524	Political Warfare Executive: weekly Dutch propaganda directives.
<u>REEL 87</u>		
NORWAY 1943 Northern Department	36872	Operation <u>Cabaret</u> .
	36873	Operation <u>Cabaret</u> .
	36874	King Haakon.
	36875	Broadcast speeches.
	36876	Situation in Norway.
	36877	Situation in Norway.
<u>REEL 88</u>		
NORWAY 1943 Northern Department	36878	Situation in Norway.
	36879	Situation in Norway.

	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>REEL 88</u> (cont.)		
NORWAY 1943	36880	Situation in Norway.
Northern Department	36881	Situation in Norway.
	36882	Situation in Norway.
	36883	Situation in Norway.
	36884	Situation in Norway.
	36885	Situation in Norway.
	36896	Morale in Norway.
	36898	Oslo home front.
	36900	Review of the foreign press.
	36906	Broadcasts from Norwegian Freedom Station.
<u>REEL 89</u>		
PORTUGAL 1943	34623	Foreign Research and Press Service: papers on Portugal.
Central Department	34641	Political and internal situation.
	34642	Political and internal situation.
	34643	Political and internal situation.
	34644	Political and internal situation.
<u>REEL 90</u>		
PORTUGAL 1943	34645	Political and internal situation.
Central Department		

	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>REEL 90 (cont.)</u>	34690	Portuguese press: review.
<u>PORTUGAL 1943</u>		
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Department	34702	Economic conditions.
<u>REFUGEES 1943</u>	36744	Flight of Danish Jews to
General		Sweden.
Department	36749	Jewish refugee children from
		Central Europe now in France.
<u>REEL 91</u>		
<u>SPAIN 1943</u>	34764	British propaganda.
Central	34765	British propaganda.
Department	34766	British propaganda.
	34790	Economic and political
		situation.
	34810	Spain and the War.
	34811	Spain and the War.
	34812	Church in Spain.
<u>REEL 92</u>		
<u>SWEDEN 1943</u>	37069	Espionage in Sweden.
Northern	37070	Swedish Intelligence Officers.
Department	37071	Swedish Intelligence Officers.
	37075	Propaganda to Sweden.
	37077	War situation: attitude of
		the Swedish Government.
	37078	War situation: attitude of
		the Swedish Government.

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<u>REEL 92 (cont.)</u>		
SWEDEN 1943	37079	War situation: attitude of the Swedish Government.
Northern Department		
	37080	War situation: attitude of the Swedish Government.
	37081	Situation in Sweden.
<u>REEL 93</u>		
SWEDEN 1943	37082	Situation in Sweden.
Northern Department		
	37084	Transit of German troops to Norway.
	37085	Transit of German troops to Norway.
	37086	Transit of German troops to Norway.
	37087	Transit of German troops to Norway.
	37088	Transit of German troops to Norway.
	37089	Transit of German troops to Norway.
<u>REEL 94</u>		
SWEDEN 1943	37090	Transit of German troops to Norway.
Northern Department		
	37091	Transit of German troops to Norway.
	37092	Transit of German troops to Norway.
	37093	Transit of German troops to Norway.

	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>REEL 94 (cont.)</u>		
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	37098	Anglo-Swedish relations.
	37100	German propaganda in Sweden.
	37101	Economic conditions.
	37102	Economic conditions.
	37117	Norwegian affairs.
<u>REEL 95</u>		
SWITZERLAND	34871	Economic position.
1943		
Central Department	34873	Switzerland: propaganda.
	34874	Political position.
	34889	Germanophile propaganda.
VATICAN 1943	37537	Speeches by the Pope.
Southern Department	37538	Vatican attitude to the War.
	37543	Anglo-Vatican relations.
	37549	Anti-British propaganda.
	37555	Vatican-Russian broadcasts to German occupied territory.
	37571	Situation in the Vatican.



CONDITIONS AND POLITICS
IN OCCUPIED WESTERN EUROPE 1940 - 1945

PART FIVE. 1944, SECTION A
(Belgium and Luxemburg, Denmark, Economic
and Reconstruction Files, France, General
Files)

Selected from PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE CLASS FO 371
(General Correspondence. Political)

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	38870	Situation in Belgium: exchange rate.
	38872	Position of King Leopold.
	38873	Position of King Leopold.
	38874	Luxemburg - United Kingdom relations.
<u>REEL 97</u>		
BELGIUM AND LUXEMBURG 1944 Central Department	38875	Broadcasts to Belgium and publicity work in general.
	38878	Conditions in Belgium 1943/44.
	38882	Luxemburg affairs.
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	38897	Situation in Belgium: return of Belgian Government.
	38898	Situation in Belgium: return of Belgian Government.
	38899	Situation in Belgium: return of Belgian Government.
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	43065	Situation in Denmark.
	43066	Situation in Denmark.
<u>REEL 100</u>		
DENMARK 1944 Northern Department	43067	Situation in Denmark.
	43079	Political Warfare Executive (PWE) directives.
	43084	Question of Denmark and war crimes.
	43090	Appointment of a Free Danish Representative in Moscow.
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DENMARK 1944 Northern Department	43091	Appointment of a Free Danish Representative in Moscow.
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	43096	Danish forces and Danish police corps in Sweden.

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	43101	Problems of Danish liberation and future government.
	43122	Danish underground press.
	43128	Proposed Danish Liaison Mission to Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force.
	43130	Danish Royal Family: position of King.
	43141	Danish Press interview with Mr. Hedtoft Hansen.
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	40444	Custody of Soviet personnel escaped or released from enemy control.
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	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>REEL 102 (cont.)</u>		
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<u>ECONOMIC AND RECONSTRUCTION 1944</u>	40448	Custody of Soviet personnel escaped or released from enemy control.
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	40752	Religious matters: Christian reconstruction in Europe.
	41078	Relief supplies for Netherlands and Norway.
	41081	Relief supplies for Belgium.
	41102	Estimates of European population at end of 1943
	41250	Swedish-Swiss relief.
	41251	Swedish-Swiss relief.
	41259	Assistance for Belgium and Norway.
	41260	Assistance for France.
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Department	41860	Reports from France.
	41861	Reports from France.
	41862	Reports from France.
<u>REEL 105</u>		
FRANCE 1944	41863	Reports from France.
French		
Department	41864	Reports from France.
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<u>REEL 106</u>		
FRANCE 1944	41878	Administration of France after liberation.
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Department	41879	Administration of France after liberation.
	41880	Administration of France after liberation.
	41881	Administration of France after liberation.
<u>REEL 107</u>		
FRANCE 1944	41882	Administration of France after liberation.
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Department	41883	Administration of France after liberation.

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FRANCE 1944 French Department	41885	British propaganda to France: political warfare.
	41886	British propaganda to France: political warfare.
<u>REEL 108</u>		
FRANCE 1944 French Department	41896	Comte de Paris.
	41904	Special Operations in France: arming and maintenance of the Maquis.
	41905	Special Operations in France: arming and maintenance of the Maquis.
	41906	Special Operations in France: arming and maintenance of the Maquis.
	41907	Special Operations in France: arming and maintenance of the Maquis.
	41908	Activities of Col. Passy and his organisation: the Dufour case.
	41909	Activities of Col. Passy and his organisation: the Dufour case.
	<u>REEL 109</u>	
FRANCE 1944 French Department	41911	Propaganda to France.
	41915	Vichy - German relations.
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	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>REEL 109 (cont.)</u>		
FRANCE 1944	41923	Aid for the French resistance movements.
French Department	41924	Aid for the French resistance movements.
	41925	Aid for the French resistance movements.
	41926	Aid for the French resistance movements.
	41969	Retarded 1942 communications from US Embassy at Vichy.
	41986	Political Intelligence Bulletins.
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FRANCE 1944	42000	"OVERLORD": statements and broadcasts on D-day.
French Department	42005	Psychological Warfare Branch: political intelligence reports.
	42012	Punishment of collaboration offences.
	42013	Punishment of collaboration offences.
	42014	Punishment of collaboration offences.
	42024	H.M.G's. attitude on the question of recognition.

	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	
<u>REEL 111</u> FRANCE 1944 French Department	42025	H.M.G's. recognition of French Provisional Government.	
	42026	H.M.G's. recognition of French Provisional Government.	
	42027	Visit to Paris of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden.	
	42048	Death of Monsieur Pierre Viénot.	
	42049	Herr Grohe, German Commissioner for Northern France.	
	42051	Reported handing over to the Milice of MM. Reynaud, Blum and Daladier.	
	42056	German war crimes in Normandy and Brittany.	
	42064	Swedish-Vichy relations.	
	42071	Movement to France of French National Committee and Allied Missions.	
	42072	Movement to France of French National Committee and Allied Missions.	
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	<u>REEL 112</u> FRANCE 1944 French Department	42079	Restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France.

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<u>REEL 112 (cont.)</u>		
FRANCE 1944	42081	Appointments in French Government.
French Department	42082	Political and economic situation in France.
	42083	Decisions of Council of Ministers.
	42084	First meetings of the Consultative Assembly.
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	42090	Creation of "interior zone".
	42128	Operations of General Leclerc in Alsace.
<u>REEL 113</u>		
GENERAL 1944	39014	Political Warfare Executive (PWE) directives.
French Department	39015	Political Warfare Executive (PWE) directives.
<u>REEL 114</u>		
GENERAL 1944	39016	Political Warfare Executive (PWE) directives.
French Department	39017	Political Warfare Executive (PWE) directives.
<u>REEL 115</u>		
GENERAL 1944	39018	Political Warfare Executive (PWE) directives.
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	39031	Iron and Steel industry of Western Europe.
	39033	Underground resistance movements in Europe.
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	39040	Recognition of French National Committee as Provisional Government of France.
	39050	Civil affairs in liberated Europe.
	39099	Copies of Leaflets disseminated over occupied Europe.
	39100	Copies of Leaflets disseminated over occupied Europe.
<u>REEL 116</u>		
GENERAL 1944	39101	Copies of Leaflets disseminated over occupied Europe.
Central Department		
	39102	Copies of Leaflets disseminated over occupied Europe.
	39103	Copies of Leaflets disseminated over occupied Europe.
	39104	Copies of Leaflets disseminated over occupied Europe.

	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>REEL 117</u>		
GENERAL 1944	39105	Copies of Leaflets disseminated over occupied Europe.
Central		
Department	39106	Copies of Leaflets disseminated over occupied Europe.
	39107	Copies of Leaflets disseminated over occupied Europe.
<u>REEL 118</u>		
GENERAL 1944	39108	Copies of Leaflets disseminated over occupied Europe.
Central		
Department	39109	Copies of Leaflets disseminated over occupied Europe.
	39110	Copies of Leaflets disseminated over occupied Europe.
<u>REEL 119</u>		
GENERAL 1944	39111	Copies of Leaflets disseminated over occupied Europe.
Central		
Department	39112	Copies of Leaflets disseminated over occupied Europe.
	39113	Copies of Leaflets disseminated over occupied Europe.
	39121	Economic conditions in Germany and occupied Europe.
<u>REEL 120</u>		
GENERAL 1944	42669	INTELS (Intelligence telegrams).
General		
Department	42670	INTELS (Intelligence telegrams).
	42717	Daily Foreign Office intelligence Summaries.

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<u>REEL 120 (cont.)</u>		
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	42808	Situation of Jews in countries under Nazi rule and in German occupied Hungary.
	42809	Situation of Jews in countries under Nazi rule and in German occupied Hungary.
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GENERAL 1944	42810	Situation of Jews in countries under Nazi rule and in German occupied Hungary.
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	42811	Situation of Jews in countries under Nazi rule and in German occupied Hungary.
	42812	Situation of Jews in countries under Nazi rule and in German occupied Hungary.
	42842	Refugee situation in Italy.
	42843	Refugee situation in Italy.
<u>REEL 122</u>		
GENERAL 1944	42844	Refugee situation in Italy.
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	42884	Yugoslav internees in Norway and Finland.
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	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>REEL 122 (cont.)</u>		
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General		
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	43001	Violations of the established rules of war.
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CONDITIONS AND POLITICS
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PART FIVE. 1944, SECTION B
(Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal,
Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Vatican)

Selected from PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE CLASS FO 371
(General Correspondence. Political)

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	43792	Political situation under the Badoglio Government.
	43793	Political situation: Signor Bonomi takes office.
	43794	Political situation: Signor Bonomi takes office.
<u>REEL 124</u> ITALY 1944 Southern Department	43795	Political situation under the Bonomi Government.
	43796	Political situation under the Bonomi Government.
	43797	Political situation under the Bonomi Government.
	43799	Reorganisation of the Italian cabinet.

	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>REEL 125</u> ITALY 1944 Southern Department	43800	Reorganisation of the Italian cabinet.
	43801	Italian cabinet crisis.
	43802	Italian cabinet crisis.
	43803	Policy of Count Sforza - relations with Marshal Badoglio.
	43814	Political situation: Bari Congress of Democratic Parties.
	43815	Political situation before the liberation of Rome.
<u>REEL 126</u> ITALY 1944 Southern Department	43834	Soviet policy in Italy.
	43836	Internal situation in Italy.
	43837	Internal situation in Italy.
	43838	Internal situation in Italy.
	43842	Political warfare in Italy.
	43858	Prohibition of political activity in occupied territory.
	43869	Situation in Rome prior to liberation.
	43870	Situation in Rome prior to liberation.

	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>REEL 127</u>		
ITALY 1944	43871	Situation in Rome prior to liberation.
Southern	43872	Situation in Rome prior to liberation.
Department	43873	Situation in Rome prior to liberation.
	43874	Situation after liberation of Rome by Allied Forces.
<u>REEL 128</u>		
ITALY 1944	43876	Political situation in Northern Italy.
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	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>REEL 130</u> (cont.) ITALY 1944 Southern Department	43912	Allied policy in Italy: abdication issue.
	43913	Allied policy in Italy: abdication issue.
<u>REEL 131</u> ITALY 1944 Southern Department	43914	Allied policy in Italy: abdication issue.
	43932	German and neo-Fascist propaganda.
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	43943	Reports on conditions in liberated Italy and in enemy- occupied Italy.
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	43945	Reports on conditions in liberated Italy and in enemy- occupied Italy.
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<u>REEL 133 (cont.)</u>		
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<u>NETHERLANDS</u> 1944 Central Department	39321	Broadcast addresses by Queen Wilhelmina.
	39328	Political Warfare Executive directives.
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	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>REEL 135 (cont.)</u>		
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	43229	German directives to Norwegian press.
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 <u>REEL 136</u>		
NORWAY 1944	43232	Directives for BBC Norwegian service.
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	43243	Review of the Foreign Press: Norway.
	43250	Provisional plans for liberation of Norway.
	43251	Provisional plans for liberation of Norway.
	43252	Provisional plans for liberation of Norway.
	43253	Provisional plans for liberation of Norway.
	43254	Provisional plans for liberation of Norway.
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	<u>FILE NO.</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
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	39619	Political and Internal situation.
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SPAIN 1944 Central Department	39675	Political situation: Falange activities.
	39676	Political situation: Falange activities.
	39677	Political situation: Sr. Lequenca, appointed new Minister for Foreign Affairs.
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	39683	German espionage in Spanish North Africa.
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	39712	British press publicity: BBC broadcasts.

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	39714	British press publicity: BBC broadcasts.
	39715	British press publicity: BBC broadcasts.
<u>REEL 139</u>		
SPAIN 1944 Central Department	39722	German activities: procrastination in regard to expulsion of German agents by Spanish government.
	39723	German activities: procrastination in regard to expulsion of German agents by Spanish government.
	39735	Spanish press: anti-Allied propaganda.
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	43473	Review of Foreign Press: <u>European Neutrals.</u>
	43478	Norwegian Police Force in Sweden: training of.

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 <u>REEL 141</u>		
SWEDEN 1944	43499	Swedish foreign policy and attitude towards the war situation.
Northern Department	43500	Swedish foreign policy and attitude towards the war situation.
	43501	Internal situation: political events.
	43516	Alleged military collaboration between Sweden and Germany.
	43529	German press and propaganda activities in Sweden.
	43536	Swedish reaction to transport of Norwegian internees to Germany.
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Department		
	44216	Speeches by the Pope.
	44217	Speeches by the Pope.
	44225	Asylum in the Vatican City for Axis diplomats.
	44226	Asylum in the Vatican City for Axis diplomats.
	44227	Foreign policy of the Vatican: Papal diplomacy in the World War II.
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	44231	German propaganda: exploitation of Roman Catholic sentiment.
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PART SIX. 1945, SECTION A
(Belgium, Denmark, European General, France)

Selected from PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE CLASS FO 371
(General Correspondence. Political)

CONTENTS OF PART SIX, 1945, SECTION A

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	48975	Political and economic situation in Belgium: Franco-Belgian relations: Communist activities.
<u>REEL 144</u> BELGIUM 1945 Western Department	48976	Political and economic situation in Belgium: Franco-Belgian relations: Communist activities.
	48977	Political and economic situation in Belgium: Franco-Belgian relations: Communist activities.
	48978	Political and economic situation in Belgium: Franco-Belgian relations: Communist activities.
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