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A Review of the Year

1956

Edited by

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.V.O.	State Security Police (*Hungary*).
C.C.F.	Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (*Canada*).
C.D.U.	Christian Democratic Union (*Germany*).
C.E.R.N.	Council of the European Organization for Nuclear Research.
C.G.I.L.	Confederazione Generale Italiano del Lavoro (*Italy*).
C.S.U.	Christian Social Union (*Germany*).
C.P.P.	Convention People's Party (*Gold Coast*).
D.D.R.	Deutsche Demokratische Republik (*East Germany*).
D.E.	Democratic Union (*Greece*).
E.C.S.C.	European Coal and Steel Community.
E.D.A.	United Democratic Front (*Greece*).
E.D.C.	European Defence Community.
E.P.U.	European Payments Union.
E.R.E.	National Radical Union (*Greece*).
F.D.P.	Free Democratic Party (*Germany*).
F.A.O.	Food and Agriculture Organization.
F.V.P.	Freie Volkspartei (*Germany*).
G.A.T.T.	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.
G.E.O.R.G.	Gemeinschafts Organisation Ruhr Kohle (*E.C.S.C.*).
I.C.A.O.	International Civil Aviation Organization.
I.C.E.M.	Inter-governmental Committee for European Migration.
I.F.C.	International Finance Corporation.
I.G.Y.	International Geophysical Year.
I.M.F.	International Monetary Fund.
I.L.O.	International Labour Organization.
I.T.A.	Independent Television Authority (*United Kingdom*).
K.K.E.	Communist Party (*Greece*).
M.E.P.	Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (*Ceylon*).
M.R.P.	Mouvement Républicain Populaire (*France*).
M.S.I.	Movimento Sociale Italiano (*Italy*).
N.A.T.O.	North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
N.C.N.C.	National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (*Nigeria*).
N.L.M.	National Liberation Movement (*Gold Coast*).
N.U.P.	National Unionist Party (*Sudan*).
O.E.E.C.	Organization for European Economic Co-operation.
O.T.C.	Organization for Trade Co-operation.
P.S.D.I.	Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano (*Italy*).
P.S.I.	Partito Socialista Italiano (*Italy*).
P.Z.P.R.	Polish United Workers' Party (*Poland*).
S.E.A.T.O.	South East Asia Treaty Organization.
S.E.D.	Socialist Unity Party (*East Germany*).
S.H.A.P.E.	Supreme Headquarters, Allied Powers in Europe.
S.L.B.P.	Samasta Lanka Bhasa Peramuna Party (*Ceylon*).
S.L.F.P.	Sri Lanka Freedom Party (*Ceylon*).
S.P.D.	Social Democratic Party (*Germany*).
S.U.N.F.E.D.	Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development.
U.D.S.R.	Union Démocratique et Socialiste de la Résistance (*France*).
Unesco	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
U.N.K.R.A.	United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency.
U.N.P.	United National Party (*Ceylon*).
U.N.R.W.A.	United Nations Relief and Works Agency.
U.T.M.	Union of Working Youth (*Rumania*).
V.L.S.S.P.	Viplavakari Lanka Sama Samaja Party (*Ceylon*).
W.E.U.	Western European Union.
W.F.T.U.	World Federation of Trade Unions.
W.H.O.	World Health Organization.
Z.M.P.	Polish Youth Union (*Poland*).

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PREFACE

THE Suez crisis is the central theme of this volume. The record of its development and of the reactions it evoked will be found in a number of sections, particularly those on the United Kingdom and Egypt and the United Nations. But the full tale of the effects of President Nasser's sudden seizure of the Canal in July is yet to be told. Some aspects of the situation that led to this, and to the subsequent intervention by Britain and France following the Israeli attack, can, however, be discerned. They include indecisiveness in Western policies in the face of the rapid growth of nationalist ambitions in the Middle East, increased Soviet influence and support, and the opportunity provided by the withdrawal of the last British troops from the Canal Zone in June. As a result of the crisis a United Nations force took the field, if the police duties carried out by the U.N. force in the Suez area can be so described. Though its armour was far from that of a modern force it nevertheless constituted an important achievement on the part of the United Nations itself and of the nations providing the troops. The presence of the United Nations Emergency Force in Egypt enabled the U.N. to start clearing the canal of the obstructions placed there by order of President Nasser. The Suez crisis brought into relief new influences in international affairs which had been anticipated with the growing membership of the United Nations. A large Afro-Asian block took shape in the Assembly beside the Latin-American and Communist blocks, with voting powers far greater than those of the Western Powers. In December Japan was admitted to membership and took her place once again as an Asian Power in international councils.

The Baghdad Pact continued to be a focus of dissension among the Arab countries, though they combined to condemn Israel's invasion of Egypt and the Anglo-French intervention. The situation of Israel, whatever may have been the faults on either side, called desperately for solution, and the immediate issue of the withdrawal from the Gaza strip and the coast of the Gulf of Aqaba was unsolved when the year ended.

The Baghdad Pact, despite the criticism surrounding it, and S.E.A.T.O., as parts of the new regional defence system, began to get into their stride, each with its practical purposes of security, economic development, and counter-subversion. Linked with NATO by interlocking membership they gave some promise of an increase in stability in their areas. Independence was achieved by four territories on the African continent. Sudanese independence was proclaimed on the first day of the year. Recognition of independence in Morocco and Tunisia followed in March, and the attainment of sovereignty by the Gold Coast, or Ghana, in March 1957 was approved as the year closed. Plans for a British Caribbean Federation and for a self-governing Malaya were also practically completed. Cyprus remained a serious problem for the United Kingdom, its importance as a British base accentuated by events, but Lord Radcliffe's constitutional proposals,

published in December, gave some hope of reaching a solution. Violence continued in Algeria, where repeated attempts by the French failed to achieve a settlement.

Of significance from the point of view of history as well as of current affairs was M. Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and the reactions which followed in Eastern Europe. Discontent in Poland was steered into a course which though savouring of independence was yet acceptable to a Kremlin conscious that Poland must rely on Soviet support to maintain her western frontier. In Hungary revolt led to national tragedy while the Western world stood helplessly by, unable to do more than succour the many thousands of refugees, including skilled men and women, who sought asylum from oppression. The part played by the People's Republic of China in supporting the Kremlin and in helping to restore the cracks in the Communist façade was of interest. The activity of the Chinese Prime Minister in visiting the countries of Asia and Eastern Europe was notable in a year when exchanges of visits between Asian, Middle Eastern, and Soviet block capitals were frequent.

In Europe, France and Western Germany sank their differences in agreeing on the future of the Saar, thus removing a long-standing source of friction between them. Preparatory plans were studied for the creation of a common market for the 'Six Nations' which it was hoped could be harmonized with a European free trade area in which the United Kingdom and Commonwealth countries could participate.

An outstanding lesson of 1956 and not by any means a novel one was the importance of mutual understanding and timely co-ordination in the foreign policies of the United States and the United Kingdom and the other members of the Commonwealth. There was also a wider acceptance of the value of the partnership that was developing towards the end of the year between the United Kingdom and Europe, a collaboration long supported by other members of the Commonwealth and the United States. Another lesson of the year was the magnitude of the strain of present day public life on the national leaders. In a year of acute international anxiety both the President of the United States and his Secretary of State underwent serious operations and would normally have been ordered long periods of convalescence which events denied them; and the British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, after a gallant attempt to renew his strength was ultimately obliged on medical grounds to resign his office.

In the United Kingdom the first nuclear power station was opened by the Queen in October. Towards the end of the year the gold and dollar reserves were run down sharply and needed support by drawing upon the facilities of the International Monetary Fund. Other arrangements were also made to buttress the dollar reserves if required. The credit restraints were maintained and with the rationing of petrol and fuel oil additional taxation was imposed. By December the division in national councils and opinions so marked at the time of the Suez crisis was becoming less accentuated as the nation settled down to a sober recognition of the difficulties that lay ahead.

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Minister	The Rt. Hon. Derick Heathcoat Amory, M.P.
Joint Parliamentary Secretaries	The Earl St. Aldwyn, T.D. George Richard Hodges Nugent, M.P. Harmar Nicholls, M.P.
Air	
Secretary of State	The Rt. Hon. Evelyn Nigel Chetwode Birch, O.B.E., M.P.
Parliamentary Under-Secretary	Arthur Christopher John Soames, C.B.E., M.P.
Colonial Office	
Secretary of State	The Rt. Hon. Alan Tindal Lennox-Boyd, M.P.
Minister of State	The Rt. Hon. John Hugh Hare, O.B.E., M.P. (to 18/10/56). The Rt. Hon. John Scott Maclay, C.M.G., M.P. (from 18/10/56).
Parliamentary Under-Secretary	Lord Lloyd, M.B.E.

* Post vacant from 22/12/55 to 18/10/56, then of Cabinet rank.

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Commonwealth Relations	
Secretary of State	The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Home.
Parliamentary Under-Secretary	Commander Allan Herbert Percy Noble, D.S.O., D.S.C., R.N. (rtd.), M.P. (to 9/11/56). Lord John Hope, M.P. (from 9/11/56).
Defence	
Minister	The Rt. Hon. Sir Walter Turner Monckton, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., M.C., Q.C., M.P. (to 18/10/56). The Rt. Hon. Antony Henry Head, C.B.E., M.C., M.P. (from 18/10/56).
Parliamentary Secretary	Lord Carrington, M.C. (to 22/5/56). The Earl of Gosford, O.B.E. (from 22/5/56).
Duchy of Lancaster	
Chancellor	The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Selkirk, O.B.E., A.F.C.
Education	
Minister	The Rt. Hon. Sir David McAdam Eccles, K.C.V.O., M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary	Dennis Forwood Vosper, T.D., M.P.
Foreign Office	
Secretary of State	The Rt. Hon. John Selwyn Brooke Lloyd, C.B.E., T.D., Q.C., M.P.
Minister of State	The Most Hon. the Marquess of Reading, C.B.E., M.C., T.D., Q.C.
Minister of State	The Rt. Hon. Harold Anthony Nutting, M.P. (to 31/10/56). Commander the Rt. Hon. Allan Herbert Percy Noble, D.S.O., D.S.C., R.N. (rtd.), M.P. (from 9/11/56).
Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretaries	Lord John Hope, M.P. (to 9/11/56). The Hon. William Douglas Ormsby-Gore, M.P. (from 9/11/56). Arthur Douglas Dodds-Parker, M.P.
Fuel and Power	
Minister	The Rt. Hon. Aubrey Jones, M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary	David Lockhart-Mure Renton, T.D., Q.C., M.P.
Health	
Minister	The Rt. Hon. Robert Hugh Turton, M.C., M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary	Miss Margaret Patricia Hornsby-Smith, M.P.
Home Office	
Secretary of State and Minister for Welsh Affairs	Major the Rt. Hon. Gwilym Lloyd-George, M.P.
Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretaries	Lord Mancroft, M.B.E., T.D. William Francis Deedes, M.C., M.P.
Housing and Local Government	
Minister	The Rt. Hon. Duncan Sandys, M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary	John Enoch Powell, M.B.E., M.P.
Labour and National Service	
Minister	The Rt. Hon. Iain Norman Macleod, M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary	L. Robert Carr, M.P.
Law Officers	
Attorney-General	The Rt. Hon. Sir Reginald Edward Manningham-Buller, Bart., Q.C., M.P.
Solicitor-General	Sir Harry Braustyn Hylton-Foster, Q.C., M.P.
Lord Advocate	The Rt. Hon. William Rankine Milligan, Q.C., M.P.
Solicitor-General for Scotland	William Grant, Q.C., M.P.
Lord Chancellor	The Rt. Hon. Viscount Kilmuir, G.C.V.O.
Lord President of the Council	The Most Hon. the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.
Lord Privy Seal	The Rt. Hon. Richard Austen Butler, C.H., M.P.
Minister without Portfolio	The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Munster.
Paymaster-General	The Rt. Hon. Sir Walter Turner Monckton, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., M.C., Q.C., M.P. (from 18/10/56).
Pensions and National Insurance	
Minister	The Rt. Hon. John Archibald Boyd-Carpenter, M.P.
Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretaries	Miss Edith Maud Pitt, O.B.E., M.P. The Hon. Richard Frederick Wood, M.P.

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Post Office	
Postmaster-General	Dr. the Rt. Hon. Charles Hill, M.P.
Assistant Postmaster-General	Cuthbert James McCall Alport, T.D., M.P.
Scottish Office	
Secretary of State	The Rt. Hon. James Gray Stuart, M.V.O., M.C., M.P.
Minister of State	The Rt. Hon. Lord Strathclyde.
Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretaries	James Henderson Stewart, M.P. Jack Nixon Browne, C.B.E., M.P. Niall Malcolm Stewart Macpherson, M.P.
Supply	
Minister	The Rt. Hon. Reginald Maudling, M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary	Frederick James Erroll, M.P. (to 11/11/56). Ian Douglas Harvey, T.D., M.P. (from 11/11/56).
Trade, Board of	
President	The Rt. Hon. George Edward Peter Thorneycroft, M.P.
Minister of State	The Rt. Hon. Austin Richard William Low, C.B.E., D.S.O., T.D., M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary	Derek Colclough Walker-Smith, T.D., Q.C., M.P. (to 11/11/56). Frederick James Erroll, M.P. (from 11/11/56).
Transport and Civil Aviation	
Minister	The Rt. Hon. Harold Arthur Watkinson, M.P.
Joint Parliamentary Secretaries	The Rt. Hon. Arthur Hugh Elsdale Molson, M.P. John Dennis Profumo, O.B.E., M.P.
Treasury	
Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury	The Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Anthony Eden, K.G., M.C., M.P.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	The Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan, M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary	The Rt. Hon. Edward Richard George Heath, M.B.E., M.P.
Financial Secretary	The Rt. Hon. Henry Brooke, M.P.
Economic Secretary	Sir Edward Charles Gurney Boyle, Bart., M.P. (to 5/11/56). Derek Colclough Walker-Smith, T.D., Q.C., M.P. (from 11/11/56).
Lords Commissioners	Martin Redmayne, D.S.O., M.P. Richard Hilton Marler Thompson, M.P. (to 8/4/56). Col. James Harwood Harrison, T.D., M.P. (from 8/4/56). Gerald Wills, M.B.E., M.P. The Hon. Peter Richard Legh, M.P. Edward Birbeck Wakefield, C.I.E., M.P. (from 24/1/56).
War Office	
Secretary of State	The Rt. Hon. Antony Henry Head, C.B.E., M.C., M.P. (to 18/10/56). The Rt. Hon. John Hugh Hare, O.B.E., M.P. (from 18/10/56).
Parliamentary Under-Secretary and Financial Secretary	Fitzroy Hew Maclean, C.B.E., M.P.
Works	
Minister	The Rt. Hon. Patrick George Thomas Buchan-Hepburn, M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary	John Reginald Bevins, M.P.

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ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR 1956

PART I

HISTORY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST QUARTER

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DURING the early weeks of the year the Prime Minister was passing through one of those spells of depreciation which are the lot of all political leaders. It was hard to know whether there was much more behind it than the improvisations of political columnists hard up for exciting material. No doubt the course of events in general had not given the country much to rejoice about since the Conservative victory in the previous spring. The Conservative Government of 1951 had encountered a similar bad patch in the course of its first year and it was then the fashion to say that the Government would get on much better if relieved of the aged incubus of Sir Winston. Perhaps the best comment on the discontents of January 1956 was that of the wag who remarked 'The sooner Sir Anthony retires and makes way for Sir Winston, the better'. On 7 January the Prime Minister took the unusual step of issuing a denial of a rumour that he intended to resign in the course of the next few months.

On New Year's Day it was announced that Mr. Gaitskell, the recently elected Leader of the Labour Party, had asked for an interview with the Prime Minister to discuss the Government's policy of supplying Egypt with a limited quantity of arms, and also current reports that surplus arms sold abroad by the British Government were finding their way to that country. The meeting took place on the following day, and Mr. Gaitskell asked for the issue of a White Paper on the subject with all possible dispatch and also that, if necessary, Parliament should be recalled earlier than its scheduled date of reassembly in order that the debate might take place before the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary sailed for Washington. The Prime Minister acceded to the former request but not to the latter, which Mr. Gaitskell found 'most unsatisfactory'. However the time-table apparently worked out to the satisfaction of all concerned.

The White Paper was issued on 19 January. It regretted the fact that surplus arms had found their way through third parties to Egypt

but pointed out that these had been small in quantity, more or less useless for war purposes in quality, and that the amount that had reached Egypt in this manner was almost balanced by a similar quantity reaching Israel. When the House of Commons, on its day of reassembly, debated the matter on 24 January the Minister of Defence, Sir Walter Monckton, elaborated these facts with his accustomed suavity. Mr. Gaitskell in his reply enlarged the scope of the debate and delivered a general discourse on the deficiencies of the Government's Middle Eastern policy with suggestions for its improvement. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the Foreign Secretary, drew cheers from his supporters by taking these suggestions in turn, commending their wisdom, and proving that the Government had already taken action along the lines suggested. It might seem that on this occasion Mr. Gaitskell had discovered a mare's nest, but he had pleased his followers with a display of initiative and activity.

Immediately after the debate the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary drove to Southampton and thence sailed to America, where they had discussion first with the American leaders at Washington and afterwards with the Canadians at Ottawa. The Prime Minister made a statement on the results of these talks in the House of Commons on 13 February. The statement was mainly concerned with the Middle East and consisted of a reaffirmation of existing policies and assurances of complete agreement between the three Governments concerned.

On 24 January the Home Secretary, Major Lloyd-George, made a statement in the House of Commons about the 'free pardons' granted during the Christmas recess to three men who had been serving sentences after conviction, two years previously, of doing grievous bodily harm to a police constable. The error had been discovered as a result of inquiries after another man, serving sentence for another crime, had stated that he and his companions had been the guilty parties. The three men now pardoned had been given in compensation sums of £300 and in one case £400. Some members protested that these sums were inadequate, but the Home Secretary pointed out that the men were, on their own admission, professional criminals, two of them were serving concurrent sentences for other offences dealt with at the same assizes, and he had the authority of the trial judge to state that the men would very likely have been acquitted if they had not obscured the course of justice by their perjuries in the witness box. However the case afforded one more argument for the campaign against capital punishment which had been growing in volume during the previous year. One of the defences of capital punishment had always been that no one was hanged if there was a scintilla of doubt as to his guilt, but, it was pointed out, here was a case in which, if the policeman had died of his injuries, one or more of the wrongly convicted persons would almost certainly have been hanged.

The capital punishment issue was given a full day's debate on 16 February, on a motion by the Home Secretary 'that this House is of opinion that, while the death penalty should be retained, the law

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relating to the crime of murder should be amended '. The form of the motion suggested that the Government, in its desire to retain capital punishment, aimed at side-tracking the discussion on to ' amendment ', but the Home Secretary's speech made it clear that the issue in debate was to be the death penalty, for or against. Mr. Ede, formerly Home Secretary in the Labour Government, moved an amendment calling upon the Government to introduce forthwith legislation to abolish or suspend the death penalty for an experimental period. On a free vote the amendment was carried by a majority of 31 and the motion as amended by a majority of 46. In the latter vote 48 Conservatives had voted with the majority and 8 Labour members with the minority.

On 23 February the Prime Minister announced that the Government had decided to find time for the passage, if the House on a free vote so willed, of a private member's Bill to abolish capital punishment already introduced by Mr. Silverman. In response to protests he declared that the Government would not be justified in introducing a measure which their spokesman had advised the House against. Cries of ' Why not ? ' raised an interesting theoretical point as to the present state of the continuously evolving British Constitution. On practical grounds the abolitionists, within sight of their goal, felt that a private member's Bill, even with governmental neutrality, might easily fall by the way, either in the Commons or in ' another place '. That remained to be seen. Mr. Silverman's Bill secured a second reading by a majority of 24 after a quiet debate on 12 March. The later stages would be taken after the Easter recess.

On 4 January it was announced that the Trades Union Congress were taking over, by agreement with the Dorchester rural council, the ownership of the recently disused Crown Court at Dorchester where, in 1834, the six Tolpuddle Martyrs were tried for their part in forming a trade union and sentenced to transportation. The building was to be preserved and maintained as a memorial to these tragic pioneers of the Labour movement who, if they could have returned to earth in 1956, would have been astonished at the turning of the tables. The boot was now on the other leg, as might be illustrated by the Smithfield affair a fortnight later.

A butcher named Durrant had brought an action against a Smithfield wholesale meat firm to establish his right, when buying meat at the market, to remove it himself, and on 13 January the judge granted a declaration permitting him to do so, and a second declaration that he was entitled to the delivery to himself or his employees of meat bought at the company's premises. None the less, on 16 January, he found that he was unable to secure his meat without employing one of the market porters, or bummarees as they were called. These bummarees, who were said to earn £25 a week or more, had established a monopoly and appeared to have both the sellers and the buyers at their mercy. They were members of the Transport and General Workers Union, and an official of that Union described the position succinctly when he said ' The position remains exactly as it was.

Retailers cannot take away their meat without a licensed porter. It is this way. The judge said he could, the butcher said he would, we said he couldn't—and he didn't.'

The strikes of these months did not involve large numbers of men, but presented a curious assortment. There was, for example, throughout the whole period, and settled just as it closed, a strike of about 500 employees at Messrs. Cammel, Laird's Birkenhead shipyard arising out of an inter-union dispute as to whether holes in a material containing layers of both metal and wood should be drilled by joiners or metal workers. This involved some nice and difficult points, and the priests of trade unionism were pained to find that an ignorant laity adopted a rather scornful attitude. There was also a dispute between the Musicians Union and the B.B.C. to secure improved pay and conditions of work, which caused the substitution of gramophone records or piano accompaniments for 'live' orchestras in certain broadcast programmes. Then there was news from Canterbury that the lay clerks of the cathedral, the professional adult members of the choir, had notified the Dean and Chapter that the salaries they received for their part-time services were no longer sufficient to compensate for the loss of earnings in other pursuits that their service to the cathedral involved.

The most conspicuous strike, or lock-out, of these months was in the printing trade. It did not affect the London daily papers, which had had their strike in the previous year, but the weeklies, the provincial press, and the publishing trade. It was essentially a pay dispute, involving basic rates, bonuses, and other factors which made it well-nigh impossible for the outsider to understand the real figures involved. Negotiations reached a deadlock in January, when the executive of the London Typographical Society instructed its members to 'work to rule'. There were in fact no set rules to work to, but the members devised rules of their own and rendered the operation of printing works so wasteful that on 15 February about 6,000 of them were dismissed. A fortnight later about 10,000 other printing employees lost their jobs because there was no work for them. Meanwhile the Ministry of Labour had appointed a Court of Inquiry which made an award which fell short of the L.T.S. demands. The men were becoming anxious to resume their in any case well-remunerated employment, but a deadlock ensued on whether the award, if accepted, should be back-dated to the beginning of the lock-out. An agreement to resume work pending further negotiations was reached on 23 March.

More interesting, perhaps, than the strike (or lock-out) were the shifts adopted by some well-known periodicals to remain in circulation. Their enterprise presented a marked contrast to the meek acceptance of annihilation by the national dailies in the previous spring. The *Radio Times*, reduced to a single sheet, was printed in Paris and Lille. Each week 9 million copies were flown by a fleet of chartered aircraft to 12 airports and thence distributed by road. The *Listener* found succour nearer home, and was printed on the presses of *The Willesden Chronicle and Kilburn Times*. Much more romantic were the adventures of *The Economist* which, after being printed for one issue at Brussels

and another at Düsseldorf, found hospitality for five weeks at Fribourg, in Switzerland, with The Little Sisters of Saint Paul, an order of nuns founded in 1873 for the purpose of printing publications for the Greater Glory of God.

Then there was the affair of the teachers, which had also been boiling up in the latter months of the previous year. There were two points. It was recognized as desirable to improve teachers' pensions and the Minister, Sir David Eccles, had a Bill before the House of Commons, which involved an increase from 5 per cent. to 6 per cent. in the teachers' contributions deducted from salary. It was also recognized that teachers were entitled to an increase of salary. The teachers were somewhat naturally inclined to lump these two questions together. They did not like the increased deduction, small as it might be, but an average teacher might have resigned himself to an increased deduction if he had at the same time received a salary increase from which to pay it. The Minister, on the other hand, had been insisting on treating the two questions as distinct. The Teachers (Superannuation) Bill was under way and should come into effect in a few months. Salaries, on the other hand, were a matter for the Burnham Committee, which would not meet till the autumn and a new award would not come into effect until April 1957. The teachers considered this attitude pedantic and unreasonable, and prepared to take such semi-strike action as was consonant with the dignity of their profession. On 5 January the Minister showed signs of relenting; he offered the possibility of an interim increase and also of expediting the coming into effect of the prospective Burnham award, but the teachers were merely encouraged in what the unsympathetic had called their truculence, and on 7 January the executive committee of the National Union of Teachers instructed its members to refrain from handling the children's contributions for savings certificates, which had become an accepted part of their duties.

On 26 January it was announced that the Burnham Committee would get to work at once and that the new scale of salaries therein agreed would come into effect on or before 1 October. On 31 January the Minister took the obvious step of tabling an amendment to his Teachers (Superannuation) Bill postponing its coming into effect until 1 October. Sir David Eccles had discovered by experiment what he might have known without it, that even a teacher will turn. He also found that it was easier to stir up the teachers than to stroke them down. On 18 January the N.U.T. deplored the absence from the new pensions scheme of adequate provisions for widows, orphans, and dependants, and maintained that the Minister had broken pledges which he had given. On 6 March meetings of teachers at the Central Hall, Westminster, demanded the withdrawal of the Bill, to the accompaniment of much noise and uproar. The Easter holiday meetings of the various teaching associations seethed with bellicosity.

A much more complicated Bill in which the public naturally took much less interest was the Restrictive Trade Practices Bill which arose

out of the reports of the Monopolies Commission in the previous year (see A.R. 1955, pp. 40-1) and was regarded as midway in stringency between the majority and minority reports. This Bill, the most ambitious and difficult legislative project of the Government, was published and received its first reading on 15 February. Its main provisions were for—(1) public registration of an extensive range of restrictive practices including price rings, exclusive dealing, and market sharing arrangements; (2) establishment of a judicial tribunal to discover whether or not the registered practices were in the public interest and to prohibit those which proved not to be; (3) laying down criteria on which such an issue could be judged, the onus of proof being on those who sought to justify the practice; (4) prohibition of collective enforcement of resale price maintenance, but provision of new methods to enable individual wholesalers and importers to secure the maintenance of the prices they fixed; and (5) formation of a smaller Monopolies Commission to deal with those matters which were inappropriate for reference to the new court. The Bill received its second reading on 6 March, being introduced by a speech from Mr. Thorneycroft, President of the Board of Trade. Mr. Jay, for the Opposition, took the line that the new procedures would be much too slow, and was answered by Mr. Walker-Smith, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, in an effective winding-up speech which made this complicated subject positively entertaining. It could be foreseen that, in the committee stage, business interests, mainly represented on the Government side of the House, would try to extract some of the Bill's teeth.

On 17 February the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Macmillan, announced further measures (supplementing his predecessor's autumn Budget) designed to counter inflation. They included—(1) hire purchase: increase of deposits for consumer goods, control in hiring certain consumer goods, and extension of control to hire purchase of some capital goods; (2) food subsidies: cuts of £38 million which would increase the price of bread by 1*d.* on the 1¾ lb. loaf and milk by ½*d.* a pint; (3) firms' expenditure: the investment allowance for capital expenditure was to be suspended and the former initial allowance restored; (4) public expenditure: the State industries programme for the year was to be cut by a further £50 million, capital expenditure by government departments reduced by over £20 million, and local authority projects restricted. The Chancellor said he would not resort to import controls or return to building licences. The Opposition received these proposals with scornful demonstrations and a two-day economy debate was arranged for 20 and 21 February.

Opening the debate the Chancellor disclaimed any intention to create unemployment. He appealed to the Opposition not to oppose his disinflationary measures just because they were not precisely the ones they would have chosen themselves. He pointed out that the very small increase in the cost of living involved was far smaller than the increases of wages recently granted. Mr. Harold Wilson, for the Opposition, said that, whatever the Minister's intentions, he would soon

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find that unemployment was being created and that he was heading for a grave bout of industrial conflict. Winding up for the Opposition on the second day Mr. Gaitskell said that the Chancellor would not get the self-discipline for which he appealed or the absence of a sectional point of view until the various groups and sections felt that the restraint for which they were asked would involve fair play between them. He thus struck the note of 'equality' which, under his leadership, seemed to be replacing nationalization as the main theme of Socialist policy. Winding up the debate Mr. Thorneycroft, President of the Board of Trade, set the proposals against the background of the unprecedented spending power that nearly all sections of the community were enjoying and made plain that, if the present measures did not reduce spending, the Government would not flinch from introducing more. On the day after the conclusion of the debate the T.U.C. submitted a critical memorandum to the Chancellor making a series of proposals such as the removal of purchase tax from a wide range of articles.

On 25 February the Chancellor followed up his activities in the House of Commons with a broadcast appeal. Since the end of the war we had increased our production 25 per cent. and paid ourselves an extra 80 per cent. for doing so. It had become too easy to sell at home and more and more difficult to sell abroad. He appealed to his listeners to remember the real purpose of the measures he had imposed and to give them a chance to do their work. It was hard to believe that he would meet with the response for which he asked, for the annual routine of demands for more wages and the granting, in whole or part, of such demands was going ahead as merrily as ever. On 19 January the British Transport Commission had offered all railway workers a further 7 per cent. wage increase at the cost of over £22 million per annum. It was accepted the very next day, which was no doubt in some ways a pleasing circumstance, but realistic commentators were soon pointing to the nationalized industries as the chief culprits in the battle against inflation. When the basic industries were first nationalized it had been agreed by members of the Labour Government which nationalized them that they must be made to pay their way. It was now, apparently, taken for granted, at any rate so far as coal and transport were concerned, that a nationalized industry could be a subsidized industry and enjoy the amenities of 'bankruptcy without tears'. From one sort of Socialist standpoint this was logical enough. If education and medical treatment were provided wholly at the 'public' expense as distinct from that of the customer, why not heat, light, power, and transport? But from another standpoint it was obvious that vast industries which could pay wages regardless of solvency set a very dangerous example and placed the private enterprise which produced the finished goods on which export trade depended in a very difficult position.

On the subject of too much spending statistical information about the previous year was furnished a month later in the *Monthly Digest of Statistics*, published on 12 March. Expenditure on tobacco reached a new all time record of £880 million, in spite of the alleged probability

that it was a cause of lung cancer. Expenditure on household goods was also a record, even when the figures were adjusted to 1948 prices. The nation's clothing bill also reached a new highest figure, but here the 'consumption' fell short of a record. Other items told the same story. The problem was once again summarized in a White Paper entitled *The Economic Implications of Full Employment* published on 22 March.

The Government's annual White Paper on Defence, published on 17 February, indicated that the tendency during the next few years would be towards smaller forces equipped with deadlier weapons, a tendency reflected financially in the increased estimate for the Ministry of Supply balanced by decreased estimates for the War Office and Air Ministry. Three days later a new pay code for the services was published, introducing a new principle, namely, the longer the service the higher the pay, not merely in the later stages of service but from the first. The two days debate on the Defence White Paper opened by Sir Walter Monckton on 28 February, illustrated the bedevilment of the subject by the problems of nuclear warfare. The Minister informed the House that his defence plans included the evacuation of 12 million people, and when some member had sufficiently recovered to ask where they were to be evacuated to, Sir Walter admitted that he did not yet know; plans had reached the stage at which areas for the greatest and least concentration had been considered and the next step would be to consult the local and other authorities concerned. Apparently much would depend on the direction of the prevailing wind. Thereafter an arithmetical journalist got to work and discovered that, assuming a train carrying 1,000 people moved from the evacuation area every ten minutes, it would take 83 days to move 12 million. A million is in fact a larger number than one commonly supposes. It is, for example, a sombre fact that, though we get through 24 hours every day, no inhabitant of this island (except, allegedly, 'Old Parr') has ever lived for a million hours.

In a lighter vein Mr. Head, Secretary of State for War, presenting the Army estimates on 1 March, announced that he had appointed a committee to discover what justification there was for charges that national service men were employed on humdrum and time-wasting jobs such as blacking the soles of boots and blancoing pull-throughs, a subject which naturally produced a cheerful debate in which not all the arguments were on one side.

The report of the Guillebaud committee on the Health Service, which was published on 25 January, was a reassuring document. After what had clearly been a prolonged and thorough investigation the committee found the general structure satisfactory and recommended no fundamental changes. They pointed out that the service was costing a slightly smaller percentage of the national income than in 1950, and recommended minor concessions in the charges made for dentistry and spectacles.

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When the Labour Government appointed the Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce in 1951 it was suggested that its members had been chosen in such a way as to provide a fairly equal balance between those who favoured a fundamental 'liberalizing' of the grounds of divorce and those who were opposed to it. The publication of the report on 20 March showed that this result had been achieved with almost mathematical accuracy. Of its 19 members 9 wanted to supplement the present system, whereby divorce can be secured only when one party can prove the other guilty of a matrimonial offence, by introducing, to a limited extent, the principle that a marriage may be dissolved because it has broken down completely, while the other half of the Commission were flatly opposed to any form of divorce by mutual agreement. Apart from this disagreement on principle the Commission were agreed on recommending three new grounds for divorce: refusal to consummate the marriage; acceptance by the wife of artificial insemination without her husband's consent; and the detention of a spouse in an institution for a continuous period of five years because of dangerous or violent propensities without prospect of recovery.

Much had been said in recent months of the small percentage of the British population receiving technological education as compared with the position in both the United States and Russia. On 29 February a White Paper announced a five-year programme for the further expansion of technical colleges to cost nearly £100 million. The programme was designed to enable technical colleges in England and Wales to increase the number of advanced course students from the present 9,500 to 15,000. It was pointed out, however, that every technologist relied on technicians and craftsmen, and the scheme was also designed to double the number of employed boys and girls under 18 who were released for part-time day study, the present number of these being slightly over 200,000. The provision of the greatly increased body of teachers that the plan involved would clearly present greater difficulties than the provision of buildings and equipment.

Easter Day being on 1 April Parliament rose on 29 March. The by-elections of the first quarter had shown a marked swing from the Government to the Opposition, though in no case had a seat changed sides. At Hereford the result announced on 15 February showed a more than 10 per cent. increase in the Liberal vote, but whether this meant a revival of Liberalism or an increase in the number of political Mercutios could not be determined.

The situation in Cyprus grew worse throughout the period covered by this chapter. Events followed a dismally familiar pattern. Government concessions which might have been welcomed a year earlier were scornfully rejected. On the other side there were methods of terrorism which counter measures by the Government, whatever their relative effectiveness, did not discourage as the terrorists, though a small body, enjoyed the sympathy and passive support of the bulk of the Greek Cypriot population. On 26 January the Colonial Secretary, Mr.

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Lennox-Boyd, made a statement in the House of Commons. The Governor, Field-Marshal Sir John Harding, who had recently visited England, and the British Government were in complete agreement on the next steps to be taken. As a result of the talks which the Governor had been having with Archbishop Makarios differences had been narrowed, but still remained substantial. Four days later, in answer to a question, the Colonial Secretary announced that the Government had authorized the jamming of broadcasts from Athens to Cyprus if the step was considered necessary. This aroused brief but sharp controversy. On the one side it was said that these were methods which no British Government had ever adopted, even during the war. From the other side it was retorted that soldiers, policemen, and civilians, British and Cypriot, were being killed or wounded by the terrorists, and that such crimes were deliberately encouraged by the Athens radio which the Greek Government was unable or unwilling to control. If the jamming of these broadcasts could to any extent diminish political crime by cutting off a daily stream of criminal incitement it was our duty to jam them on an experimental basis: the jamming policy was in fact adopted on 5 March. On 31 January the Governor submitted to Archbishop Makarios a set of proposals offering self-government as soon as order was restored and self-determination (i.e. the right to leave the British Empire and unite with Greece) in some more distant and unspecified future period.

Nearly a month passed in abortive negotiations between the Governor and the Archbishop on these proposals and on 26 February the Colonial Secretary flew to Cyprus. In the House of Commons on 5 March he declared that his efforts to reach agreement had failed and that order must be restored before profitable talks could be resumed. On 9 March the Archbishop and three of his principal associates were deported to 'an unknown destination', which turned out to be the Seychelles Islands.

In the course of the five days that elapsed before this drastic action was debated in Parliament an explanatory statement was published showing that the Archbishop, who had consistently refused to issue an official condemnation of terrorist tactics, had been in the movement 'up to the neck', as the Colonial Secretary put it. Bombs, grenades, and ammunition were found stored in his palace. The debate in the House of Commons on 14 March was opened by Mr. Bevan, who introduced a motion censuring the Government for breaking off negotiations, but not explicitly for the deportations. Apart from a few characteristic asperities it was not an all-out attack, and one of its most notable passages was a criticism of the American Government for failing to give us the diplomatic support to which we were entitled in our Middle Eastern policy. The Prime Minister followed, and told the House that the Archbishop had been deported because, in consultation with Sir John Harding, the Government had become convinced that the restoration of order in Cyprus was impossible so long as the Archbishop was allowed to remain there. The Colonial Secretary wound up the debate and, returning to the specific point of censure, namely the

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breaking off of negotiations, stated that the negotiations had been broken off because he had reluctantly concluded, as a result of his recent visit to Cyprus, that the Archbishop was determined to spin them out indefinitely, since he 'was not prepared to surrender a powerful weapon in his armoury lest he might fail to get everything he wanted in the political field and find it difficult to start a campaign of terrorism again'.

The debate in the House of Lords on the following day was opened by Lord Attlee in a maiden speech which concluded with a reminder that deportations seldom if ever secured the result desired, and that the rebels of the past were apt to end up as Commonwealth Prime Ministers. The Archbishop of Canterbury followed with an interesting account of his relations with and correspondence with Archbishop Makarios, as an ecclesiastic of a Church with which the Church of England was on terms of close fellowship. Unfortunately Archbishop Makarios was also a politician and had suffered as such. Dr. Fisher proceeded to outline a plan of action which would, he hoped, lead up to Archbishop Makarios's return from exile. Later in the debate the Bishop of Chichester rebuked the Government for deporting Archbishop Makarios, making a point of the many protests received by the World Council of Churches of which he was a prominent member. Dr. Fisher expressly dissociated himself with this view, which was roundly condemned by Lord Salisbury, who wound up the debate as Leader of the House.

A debate in the House of Commons on foreign affairs on 27 February was notable for the concluding speech of the Prime Minister in which he offered the House some of the thoughts prompted in his mind by a study of the speeches at the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress recently held in Moscow. He agreed with M. Khrushchev that the risk of war had probably decreased. There was the powerful mutual deterrent of the hydrogen bomb, but he scouted as 'a fantastic illusion' the notion that the use of the bomb would mean the end of capitalism but not of Communism. He passed on to the Soviet view that there was more than one road to Communism and commented: 'There is no mention of any road back.' No theme, he said, was worked harder at this conference than the denunciation of what was called colonialism, but in this pejorative sense of the word many free peoples thought that there was only one great colonial Power left, namely Russia herself. No Communist could understand the progress towards self-government which was going on all over the Commonwealth. Earlier in the debate the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, had also enlarged upon the Russian theme. He reminded the House that if the Communists were now challenging the free nations to 'a battle of ideas, fairly waged', there would be nothing to fear. The Communist Powers might enjoy the tactical initiative in many fields but, while ostensibly challenging the free world to a peaceful contest, they shrank from allowing their own subjects to hear both sides of the argument.

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After the debate the Foreign Secretary left the country for a tour of Middle Eastern capitals. While he was in Cairo it was announced, on 2 March, that King Hussein of Jordan had summarily dismissed General Glubb, commonly known as Glubb Pasha, the British commander of the Arab Legion, who had faithfully served members of the Hashimite family for the previous 26 years. Several other British officers were dismissed at the same time. Cairo radio had for some time past been issuing a stream of gibes at General Glubb as a symbol of 'colonialism', but it was probable that the pressure on the young King came mainly from inside Jordan, indeed from inside the Arab Legion, which had been growing restive at the curb placed by its British commanders on its ambition to strike at Israel, an ambition explained by the fact that one-third of the population of Jordan consisted of Arab refugees from Israel.

Questions were asked in the House of Commons on 5 March and a debate arranged for 7 March, in which Mr. Gaitskell further raised his steadily rising reputation by giving the House a statesmanlike survey of the whole Middle Eastern situation, particularly in relation to the threat of Russian imperialism to the oil fields. Apart from this speech the debate was unsatisfactory. Mr. Robens wound up for the Opposition with a provocative harangue and the Prime Minister, who followed him, most unfortunately allowed himself to be provoked and to retort in kind.

Much better than the debate was the wise and generous letter from General Glubb which appeared in *The Times* of 9 March. After a sympathetic explanation of the young King's difficulties he urged that it would be 'a serious political error to "get tough" with Jordan at this stage', and to cut off the British subsidy, a step which 'would either destroy Jordan or force the King into the arms of friends who would almost certainly ruin him'.

The long promised House of Commons debate on the future of Malta took place on 26 March. The position at the beginning of the year was that an all-party committee appointed by the British Prime Minister to examine the proposal of the Maltese Prime Minister for 'closer integration', and the election of Maltese members to seats in the British House of Commons, had, shortly before Christmas, reported with only two dissentients in favour of that proposal. The next step was to ascertain the balance of popular opinion in Malta by means of a referendum. This was to take place on 11 and 12 February. On 5 February the Archbishop of Malta who was, in effect, the leader of the opposition to the Maltese Labour Government's proposals, asked for the postponement of the referendum, and, when this was refused, advised Catholics to boycott it. The result of the referendum was that 67,607 voted for the proposals and 20,177 against them, 2,559 having spoiled their ballot papers. Another 30,000 or more of those who voted in previous elections abstained, presumably in response to the Archbishop. It was estimated that the proposals had been supported by 74 per cent. of those who voted, 57 per cent. of those who

usually voted at elections, and 45 per cent. of the whole electorate. The debate of 26 March found the Colonial Secretary and Mr. Bevan agreed on the policy of proceeding with the plan, though arguments against it were stated by various members in their individual capacity. Two days later the Prime Minister announced that the Government had decided to introduce a Bill to carry out the recommendations in the report of the round table conference, but that the clauses relating to the representation of Malta at Westminster would be brought into operation only if and when the Maltese people had shown a desire for it in a general election.

On 13 February, at the conclusion of a conference at Lancaster House, the Colonial Secretary and the plenipotentiaries from the West Indies set their signatures to a report that opened the way for the first Federal Government of the British Caribbean to be elected early in 1958. The inaugural members would be Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, the Leeward Islands, and the Windward Islands, but observers from British Guiana and British Honduras asked that a route of entry into the Federation should be left open for them. A long discussed project was thus achieved. The capital of the future Federation was not yet chosen.

On 27 January the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh set out from London airport for a three weeks visit to Nigeria. Hundreds of Nigerians, many of them in native dress, went to the airport to give the Royal pair a foretaste of the welcome they were to receive on arrival, and it was sad that airport regulations frustrated their friendly plans for a display of native music and dancing and a presentation of bouquets. The tour, which included visits to selected places in each of the three provinces of the country, is described elsewhere in this volume. They returned on 17 February to a London much more firmly gripped by winter than when they departed. In fact the air journey from Lagos had involved a drop of 60 degrees of temperature in a few hours. A few weeks later the public were glad to learn that the Queen and the Duke were able to enjoy a much needed cruising holiday in the Mediterranean.

The subject of inland waterways had cropped up from time to time in recent years. Of those interested some emphasized the fact that this slow but cheap system of transport could still prove a valuable supplement to road and rail. Others referred to the value of canals for purposes of rowing and canoeing and objected to the derelict and weed-grown condition into which many had been allowed to decline. On 18 January the British Transport Commission announced its intention of spending £5½ million on developing their principal inland waterways during the following 5 years. The work would be concentrated on the 325 miles of the seven wide waterways which already carried substantial traffic. Although these waterways represented only 15 per cent. of the total mileage they carried two-thirds of the total traffic. A further 994 miles of narrow waterways would receive

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improved maintenance. The deduction from these figures was that about 40 per cent. of the canals were commercially obsolete, and a question whether anything was to be done about the Kennet and Avon canal, on which canal lovers had concentrated their affection, received a discouraging reply. However, the Minister of Transport stated in the House of Commons on 1 February that a committee was to be appointed to conduct a further inquiry into the whole system of inland waterways.

On 26 January, in the standing committee on the Road Traffic Bill, the Minister of Transport agreed to the insertion of a clause imposing compulsory tests of the satisfactory condition of road vehicles. The Minister had previously rejected the proposal on account of the difficulty of providing for the testing of some 5 million vehicles, but he had been converted by the evidence supplied by the voluntary vehicle testing station at Hendon. This had been opened in October of the previous year with the assurance that it would not be used as a 'prosecuting machine', but for record only. An analysis of results carried out down to the end of the year had shown that five out of every six vehicles examined had faults which, in the opinion of the inspectors, should be put right before the vehicles could be considered fully roadworthy. Of the 6,393 vehicles tested 5,322 were found to require attention to headlights, footbrakes, steering, or tyres. Headlight defects were much the commonest failing, but defective steering was found in over 1,800, and defective brakes in over 1,500 of the vehicles submitted.

On 10 March Britain gained the distinction of being the first country to take the world air speed record beyond 1,000 miles an hour. Subject to official confirmation the speed had been advanced to 1,132 m.p.h., more than 300 miles an hour faster than the record set up by an American in the previous August. The hero of the occasion was Mr. L. P. Twiss flying a Fairey Delta 2 research aircraft, powered by a Rolls Royce Avon turbo-jet fitted with reheat. The issue of *The Times* recording this achievement also described the performance of six members of the Surrey Walking Club who, fully armed in the style of 11th century Anglo-Saxon warriors, marched 20 miles along muddy tracks in the Wiltshire Downs, fortified throughout their ordeal with Anglo-Saxon food and drink. Their purpose was to prove that King Harold's famous march of 200 miles in ten days from his victory at Stamford Bridge to his defeat at Hastings was a feasible achievement, and they proved it. They also found that they felt, at the conclusion of their march, unequal to fighting a battle with a well rested invader.

On 13 February a statement was made about the renovation of Westminster Abbey. The cleaning of the stone and marble work inside would probably be finished by 1965 in time for the celebration of the 900th anniversary of the founding of the original Abbey just before the Norman conquest, but the exterior would not be free from scaffolding for at least 20 years. On 16 March details were made public of Sir William Holford's plan for the rebuilding of the area

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round St. Paul's Cathedral, and a large-scale model was exhibited at Guildhall. The Minister of Housing informed the House of Commons that he was inviting representatives of the City and the London County Council to discuss the matter with him. As was to be expected, the plan was greeted with a diversity of opinions, ranging from enthusiastic praise to absolute condemnation. On 13 March the House of Lords protested in vain against the Government's decision to demolish the Imperial Institute in order to provide room for the expansion of the Imperial College of Science. The Imperial Institute had never been much admired. It was built to commemorate Queen Victoria's first Jubilee, and it is on record that someone proposed that it should be pulled down to celebrate her second. However, now that it was doomed, pleas were made for the preservation of its tower as an adornment of the Kensington skyline. On the same day it was announced that an anonymous donor had bequeathed £20,000 for building a new bridge across the lake in St. James's Park.

Archbishops have their troubles just like other men. On 5 February the emergency committee of the National Society for the Abolition of Cruel Sports met to consider the reply of the Archbishop of Canterbury to their letter asking him to state the attitude of the Church of England to hunting. Dr. Fisher had replied that 'to the best of my belief, neither in Convocation nor in the Church Assembly has any resolution ever been passed concerning the ethics of hunting. It is a matter upon which members of the Church, clergy and laity, are free to form their own Christian judgment.' Mr. Clinton Gray-Fisk, the secretary of the N.S.A.C.S., found this very unsatisfactory, recommended the Archbishop to study St. Luke x. 31, and contrasted him unfavourably with the leaders of the Free Churches. The contrast was what one might have expected, for there was a long tradition behind it. Many Victorian novels present fine specimens of fox-hunting parsons, but they would be searched in vain for a single example of a fox-hunting nonconformist minister.

Under the pleasing title of 'The Drinking Classes' *The Economist* of 4 February published some interesting information. The consumption of light wines was steadily increasing, a fact attributed to rising incomes, to better and more numerous luncheons charged to expense accounts, to un-British habits picked up abroad, but most of all to the policy of that austere teetotaller, Sir Stafford Cripps, who in 1949, mainly to help France, had halved the duty on light wines. Beer consumption had fallen every year since the war. Whisky had been gaining on gin as more supplies had become available but consumption was still only two-thirds of that of 1938, whereas gin consumption had been more than doubled since the pre-war years.

An annual drinking week with sales at sensationally reduced prices had never been thought either necessary or desirable, but this technique of salesmanship, long a feature of the drapery and allied trades, had reached the austere level of the book trade in 1955 with results that justified a repetition of the experiment. On 21 February more than a million books were to be displayed for a fortnight at sale prices in

bookshops throughout the country. The inaugurating reception giver by the Booksellers and the Publishers Associations was attended by Mr. Butler who gave the project his blessing.

On 14 March Mr. Harry Pollitt, the general secretary of the British Communist Party, unveiled the massive memorial erected to Karl Marx in Highgate cemetery, where he was buried in 1883. On the following day M. Malenkov, a member of the Soviet Government, arrived at London Airport with a party of Russian engineers on a three weeks visit to study British power stations and electrical installations. They were met on arrival by the Minister of Fuel and Power and Lord Citrine, the chairman of the Central Electricity Authority. During their visit they carried out a strenuous programme and, wherever they went, M. Malenkov, through an interpreter, asked intelligent and searching questions. Nor was the lighter side of life neglected, and M. Malenkov revealed himself as a genial and appreciative visitor. On 25 March, for example, while motoring in Lancashire he stopped to inspect a caravan which was being towed by a car, remarking 'We have nothing like that in Russia.' Arriving at Blackpool he chatted with a honeymoon couple and presented a stick of 'rock' to a small boy. Two days later he visited the birthplace of Burns, who was apparently highly esteemed on the far side of the iron curtain. He also attended the Grand National where he saw the Queen Mother's horse unaccountably fail in the last lap when it seemed a certain winner. At a televised press conference on 5 April, at the end of his visit, M. Malenkov eluded penetrating questions on current international issues and the recent official denigration of Stalin, but gave warm praise to the industrial and scientific achievements which he had been privileged to inspect and to the friendliness of the British people.

The blandishments of M. Malenkov did not, however, beguile a section of the British public who were opposed to the forthcoming visit of the heads of the Russian Government as the invited guests of the British Government. Their views were expressed at a meeting in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on 26 March, which had been organized by Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge, the editor of *Punch*. The great Hall was well filled and, though no steps had been taken to exclude dissidents, the audience was orderly, enthusiastic, and apparently unanimous.

Towards the end of January the south countryman, though he had occasionally seen mention of snow in the north, must have felt that he was getting through the winter quite comfortably, but the night dividing January from February ushered in with disconcerting suddenness a cold spell of unusual intensity. *The Times* of 2 February presented the conspicuous headline 'Coldest day since 1895', and oldsters were glad to be reminded of the pre-eminence of that notable winter in which, perhaps, they had first put on skates. The cold spell lasted until nearly the end of the month but, though it produced a week in which the temperature hardly ever rose above freezing point

it had to yield precedence not only to 1895 but also to 1947, 'Shinwell's winter' as it was called owing to the failure of that politician, as Coal Controller, to supply all the coal demanded of him. In 1956 the average temperature on the Air Ministry roof up to 25 February was 32·5 degrees whereas in 1947 it had been 30·5 degrees for the whole month. In 1895 there was no Air Ministry.

We have written of this cold spell as if it was continuous, but it was broken by a sudden thaw, as sensational in its onset as the frost itself, on 5 February. So much water was lost through burst pipes that Mr. D. G. Davies, engineer and manager of the Mid and South-East Cheshire Water Board, appealed to housewives to postpone their Monday washing. In a couple of days the frost returned and burst the pipes again. The great plumbing mystery, why the pipes of some houses were so placed that they always froze, was plumbed once again. The best explanation was that pipes were put in exposed positions in order that, when they burst, it might be easy to get at them and repair them.

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CHAPTER II

EASTER TO MIDSUMMER

In the third week of April Mr. Macmillan and his Budget were competing for public attention with 'B. and K.'—in long hand, the visit of M. Bulganin and M. Khrushchev.

The invitation to the Russian leaders had been given by the Prime Minister at the close of the Geneva talks 'at the summit' in July 1955. Since that date various untoward events had occurred. The genial warmth of the Prime Ministers' conference had been followed by the chilling frosts of M. Molotov's performance at the Foreign Secretaries' Geneva conference in October-November. Between those two conferences M. Bulganin and M. Khrushchev had toured in India and other Asian countries where their speeches were loaded with insults to British rule and British policy, and in September it was learned that the satellite Government of Czechoslovakia, with Russian approval, or perhaps under Russian orders, had made an agreement with Egypt for the export of arms to that country, with the object, as it seemed, of bedevilling a Middle Eastern situation which was in any case causing acute anxiety to Great Britain and her allies. In these circumstances there were widespread expressions of opinion, some of which were referred to in the last chapter, that the visit should be cancelled. The British Government, however, held to its original intention.

On the eve of the visit the opinions prevailing among the British public, exclusive of the small minority of Communists and fellow-travellers, might perhaps be canalized into three lines of thought, two of them favourable and the third unfavourable to the experiment. There were those who thought that the confidential talks of the

statesmen would lead to an improvement in the international situation, or at least enable the British statesmen to probe the real intentions and outlook of the Russian leaders. The Prime Minister, in his answers to parliamentary questions, emphasized that the talks were the real purpose of the visit. There were also those who believed that the Russian leaders were grossly ignorant of conditions in Britain and that the visit would open their eyes to realities very different from the nonsense they talked in their speeches and caused to be published in their newspapers. On the other side, there were those who resented the fact that these 'thugs' should be invited to the United Kingdom at all, and deplored the discouragement it would doubtless bring to the millions who suffered from Russian tyranny, either as exiles or behind the iron curtain, and looked to the Western Powers as their ultimate deliverers.

The Times of 12 April published the answers given by M. Bulganin to a series of questions submitted to him by *The Times* correspondent in Moscow on the purposes of the visit as seen by the visitors, and from the mass of conciliatory verbiage could be extracted the conclusion that the primary purpose of the Russians was to secure an extension of Anglo-Russian trade.

The Russian leaders arrived at Portsmouth in the Soviet cruiser *Ordjonikidze* on 18 April and proceeded by train to London, where they were met by the Prime Minister at Victoria station. The crowd which assembled to see the visitors gave them a cool reception. One who was present recorded his impression in the *Spectator*, that 'about 60 per cent. of the crowd remained silent, about 20 per cent. cheered, about 15 per cent. booed (I have never heard booing from an English crowd on these occasions before) and the remaining 5 per cent. were either policemen or plain clothes men'. On 19 April the long series of secret discussions with the Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary, and other relevant authorities began. It was agreed that there should be no formal agenda and no divulgence except by means of agreed communiqués. A communiqué issued on the following day, described the discussions as frank, useful, and cordial.

Before proceeding further into this rather colourless record of what was intended on the British side to be a rather colourless affair it seems desirable to quote, by way of contrast, from an article which Mr. Edward Crankshaw, a recognized authority, contributed to the *Observer* of 22 April, describing how the visit was viewed in Russia:

> Moscow's reaction . . . puts it beyond all doubt that the occasion is regarded by the Kremlin as a major event in Soviet history. . . . This build-up virtually commits Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev in advance to making a success of the occasion . . . the Soviet Government is determined that whatever happens it shall appear, at least in the Soviet Union, to be a success. . . . The Soviet people have long been crying out for a sense of solidarity with humanity at large and an end to the harsh isolationism which cuts them off from all mankind. . . . They also have their doubts about the ability of the present leadership to cope with the immense problems by which they are beset. . . . The Russians, too, are waiting to be shown that Stalin's successors can do better than Stalin. The rapprochement with Britain is intended to show precisely this. . . . The Russians are being told to like and respect the British. . . . Instead

of the old carping account contrasting the long-suffering workers with the predatory selfishness of the ruling class the Soviet public is being regaled with vivid portraits of a balanced and vital society.

The week-end 21-22 April was spent at Chequers, where the discussions were relentlessly continued. On their way thither the Russian guests visited Oxford where official hospitality was diversified by undergraduate pranks which the visitors appeared to accept with good humour. But the efforts of these youngsters to inject a little excitement into what was becoming a very dull affair were much less successful than the unrehearsed and undesigned performance at the dinner given by the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party on Monday, 23 April. Perhaps the programme of the evening had not been planned with sufficient care in advance, but a question asked about the Social Democratic victims of the Russian Government so riled M. Khrushchev that he delivered an impromptu harangue of a character which drew spirited and equally plain spoken interruptions from Mr. George Brown. The incident evidently made a deep impression on the guests, for, when they got back to Russia, M. Bulganin made a statement which seemed to imply that everything in the British garden was lovely—except some of the leaders of the Labour Party. In fact the Opposition leaders had, whether by accident or by design, played the valuable part of Hans Andersen's child who remarked that the Emperor had no clothes on ; they had reminded the British public that its distinguished visitors were brutal oppressors, not only of Social Democrats but of all who, within their reach, opposed the Soviet régime. A gesture of this kind could not, in the circumstances, come from the British Government and it was therefore perhaps just as well that it came from her Majesty's Opposition.

Half-way through the visit it began to appear that the official discussions, though friendly and decorous, were not likely to produce any particular result, and this news was warmly welcomed in the American press. On 24 April the visitors attended question time in the House of Commons and even devoted ten minutes to a fragment of a House of Lords Debate on the Clean Air Bill. On 25 April they attended a performance of the Sadlers Wells ballet at Covent Garden and were subsequently photographed, obviously purring with satisfaction, between Dame Margot Fonteyn and Miss Beryl Grey. On 26 April an agreed communiqué was issued covering all the subjects discussed, of which the German Chancellor subsequently remarked that it was a model of its kind because it was long and contained nothing. On the next day the visitors started home in their cruiser after giving a press conference to about 450 journalists in the Central Hall, Westminster. On the evening of the same day the Prime Minister broadcast his impressions of the visit.

At the press conference M. Bulganin read a long statement which, translated sentence by sentence, occupied almost the whole of the time allotted for the proceedings. At its conclusion the Russians made signs of leaving the platform, but when it became apparent that this was not what a press conference meant in a capitalist country M.

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Khrushchev undertook to answer questions, and proceeded to do so with a smiling adroitness which suggested that, if he had been brought up differently, he might have rivalled Sir Winston at question time in the House of Commons.

Sir Anthony Eden in his retrospective broadcast declared that the visit had been 'certainly worth while'. On some subjects, such as Germany, no progress was achieved; both parties, however, wanted a settlement of the conflict between Israel and her Arab neighbours. On trade the Russians had an extensive 'shopping list', perhaps £200 million a year as compared with the £23 million of the last completed year, and at least two-thirds of the Russian demand fell outside the list of articles excluded for strategic reasons. It was up to British industry, especially the engineering industry, to supply the goods at acceptable prices. Admittedly the results of the conference did not 'add up to a revolutionary agreement. How could it? But . . . they could be the beginning of a beginning.' What the Prime Minister naturally refrained from saying, though it was apparent to many thoughtful commentators, was that the British Government had presented a firm front and made no weak concessions. This, and the uniformly cool reception of the crowds in the streets, may have sent the visitors home with a realization that the often foretold collapse of the 'capitalist world' was much further away than Soviet publicity had been in the habit of suggesting.

On 13 April the House of Commons gave a third reading to the Small Lotteries and Gaming Bill, a private member's Bill, the object of which was to legalize the lotteries and the like which had in any case long been promoted, in many cases by church organizations and charities, to raise funds for laudable purposes. The Bill prospered in its passage through committee, which increased the percentage allowed for expenses, the maximum total value of the tickets, and the maximum allowed for prizes. In his speech moving one of these amendments Sir Robert Boothby said that he hoped that there would soon be State lotteries, and forecast that at the present rate of inflation that day was not far off. Though his remark was greeted with laughter it proved a good forecast.

On 17 April Mr. Macmillan introduced his Budget. He described it as a 'Savings Budget' and proposed a number of measures to encourage private savings. In addition to new issues of savings certificates with improved rates of appreciation and new Defence Bonds with a higher rate of interest there were to be premium bonds without interest but with tax-free prizes up to £1,000, for which there would be a draw every three months. The details of this scheme were to be announced later, and it would probably come into operation at about the beginning of the ensuing year. There would be a limit on individual holdings. It would not be a 'pool or lottery' as nobody could lose his money. The Chancellor was said to have smiled 'impishly' as he made this last assertion, for it was evident to purists that the element of 'lot' was not entirely absent, even though not

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extending to the sum staked. Another feature designed to encourage saving was the exemption from income tax of the first £15 of interest on savings-bank deposits.

Other features of the Budget were—profits tax: the rate on distributed profits raised by 2½ per cent. to 30 per cent. and on undistributed profits by ½ per cent. to 3 per cent.; tobacco duty raised by 3*s.* a pound; the remainder of the bread subsidy abolished, involving a further increase of 1½*d.* on the 1¾ lb. loaf; family allowances increased by 2*s.* a week for third and subsequent children, with a raising of the qualifying age for children still at school or apprenticed; a scheme of tax relief for retirement provisions made by the self-employed; stamp duty on house purchase up to £5,000 reduced. There would be an immediate review of Government expenditure with a view to saving not less than £100 million. Capital expenditure of the nationalized industries would be met by the Exchequer for the next two years up to a maximum of £700 million. A negative feature of the Budget was the small part played in its provisions by changes in taxation, only £20 million being given away and £28 million taken back by new taxation.

It was inevitable that the premium bonds scheme should secure the spot-light of attention, for, like capital punishment, it raised a 'moral' issue on which everyone felt himself entitled to form an opinion. Opening the debate for the Opposition on 18 April Mr. Harold Wilson described the scheme as a 'squalid raffle' which, he warned the Chancellor, would offend hundreds of thousands of people, including many who had worked for the savings movement. He also regretted that more attention was not given to the problem of tax avoidance, and produced a leaflet instructing the wicked rich how this could be legally achieved. On the following day Mr. Henry Brooke, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, in the course of a speech which filled in gaps in the Chancellor's opening statement, told Mr. Wilson that this leaflet was well-known to the Treasury and assured him that the officials of the Inland Revenue were well abreast of the tax-dodgers. On 23 April the Chancellor wound up the debate with what was generally regarded as a brilliant speech. Apart from premium bonds there had not really been much substance in the three days' debate and, however eloquent Opposition speakers might be in the House, it was doubtful if they would find this issue very profitable to them with the electorate, the great majority of whom, deplorable as it might be, were addicted to gambling in some form or other.

To serious commentators unconcerned with the 'morals' of premium bonds or the exigencies of party politics the Budget came as something of an anti-climax. 'Does this Budget offer the prospect of a stable currency?' asked *The Times*. 'Will it finally, in conjunction with all that has been done hitherto, halt inflation, restore an adequate external surplus, and in general preserve the pound sterling?' It was difficult to answer these questions with a confident affirmative. The root cause of inflation was the continual demand for higher wages which, unaccompanied by equivalent increases in production, threatened to

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price British firms out of their export markets. These were problems to which budgetary policy could only make an indirect approach. Meantime it was encouraging that the gold and dollar reserves, which had been falling throughout 1955, had begun to rise again.

The Finance Bill embodying the Budget proposals had a fairly quiet passage, the Chancellor rejecting with regret a number of amendments from both sides of the House designed to temper the wind to various shorn lambs, such as a proposal to abolish the entertainments tax on the 'live' theatre. The premium bonds clause was reached on 18 June and the Chancellor gave the House further details of his plans. The sales would begin on 1 November and the maximum holding would be 500 £1 bonds instead of 250 as originally announced. Drawings would be held monthly instead of quarterly, and a six months holding was required as qualification to participate. The prize fund would consist of 4 per cent. interest free of tax on the bonds and each £10,000 of prize money would provide 237 tax free prizes ranging from one of £1,000 to 200 of £25. Parents would be entitled to buy bonds on behalf of their children. The Labour Party opposed the scheme but apparently without general enthusiasm. After Mr. Harold Wilson had delivered the official attack the Chancellor asserted that the Opposition had taken their decision to oppose it at a meeting attended by only 55 members, of which only 29 favoured opposition. Mr. Wilson retorted that these figures were incorrect, but he seemed to imply that they were not very far wrong. The days when nonconformist chapels dictated the policy of 'the party of progress' had long passed away.

The Budget was designed to check inflation, and so were the speeches delivered by the Prime Minister, the Chancellor, and other ministers up and down the country during these months. We may take as a sample a speech by Mr. Macmillan at Newcastle upon Tyne on 25 May in which he gave warning of the harmful effect of rising prices on the export trade. Another round of wage increases such as there had been in the past two years could be disastrous. Such increases, spreading from industry to industry, could not bring any benefit to anyone. On 31 May the management board of the Engineering and Allied Employers National Federation unanimously decided that, 'in light of the national inflationary position' and in view of the fact that a general wage increase had been conceded in March, they would reject any further wage demands from the engineering unions. Such an announcement before any demand had been formally made was unusual. On the other side trade union leaders declared that wage increases must be demanded and granted so long as prices continued to rise. It was to meet this line of argument that in the latter half of June all the great nationalized industries, coal, gas, electricity, and transport, announced one after another that they would make no increase in charges to their customers for the remainder of the year or, in some cases, until the end of March 1957. Such a policy would run these industries into debt and involve Government subsidies. Critics of Government policy remarked on the oddity of abolishing the bread subsidy and almost

simultaneously drifting into a coal subsidy—in both cases with the professed object of checking inflation.

At about this time the horrid word 'automation', with its Greek body and Latin tail, which had for some years been hovering in the wings of industrial and economic discussion, suddenly strode on to the centre of the stage and stared from the headlines of every newspaper. It became necessary to discover what it meant and a *Times* leading article of 7 May said that it was 'used to refer to a group of technical devices which seem likely, in some types of factory and some offices, to replace men by machines on a scale much greater than has been experienced in recent times'. The occasion of this sudden spotlighting of automation was a strike, beginning on 26 April, of 11,000 production workers at the works of the Standard Motor Company, Coventry, on account of a threatened large-scale installation of automatic machines. Mr. Macleod, the Minister of Labour, submitted himself to interrogation on the subject in the B.B.C. current affairs programme of 4 May. While refusing to discuss the merits of the Coventry dispute he declared that unemployment was much more likely to result from a refusal to accept technical improvements than as a result of the technical improvements themselves. Questioned about compensation for workers displaced by new technical processes he replied that there were in the Midland area many more vacancies than men unemployed. Two days later Mr. James Griffiths, Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, declared that the trade unions must have an effective voice in the planning of the change-over entailed by the 'second industrial revolution'.

Labour members appeared to be much reassured by a statement made by Mr. Macleod in the House of Commons on 8 May. Automation, he said, was welcomed by the Government and by responsible opinion on both sides of industry as essential to our future efficiency and the continuation of full employment, but he recognized the 'very natural anxiety' that its introduction might cause. There was bound to be a redeployment of labour, but the problems could be solved if the Government and both sides in industry worked in close co-operation. A Labour spokesman in reply assured the Minister that organized workers were by no means wedded to a 'Luddite' philosophy. On the following day it was announced that a meeting 'at top level' between union officials and the management of Standard Motors had been arranged for 13 May and that the men would be advised to return to work on the following day. On 11 May the Prime Minister reinforced the efforts of his Minister of Labour. We must not, he said, be afraid of change, even when it is given 'a frightening name, a hideous name, like automation. Our only fear should be that we shall not modernize ourselves quickly enough to hold our position in the markets of the world.' On 15 May the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research published a report on automation, emphasizing the fact that the limiting factor on the speed of the development of the new electronic techniques was the shortage of technicians capable of handling them.

The Standard Motors dispute was not settled as easily or as soon as had been expected. It dragged on into the middle of June owing to

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the belligerence of the mainly Communist shop stewards with their demand for 'no redundancy'; in other words, that no one should be dismissed but that the reduced work should be carried on by working short time, a programme to which the company objected as wasteful. However, the automation issue had faded out and the dispute became an item in a wider conflict arising from the shortage of work in the motor industry due to the credit squeeze and to the increasing difficulty of finding export markets. This subject will be held over till the next chapter.

The visit of the Russian leaders had a curious sequel. On 29 April the Admiralty announced that Commander Lionel Crabb, R.N.V.R., a frogman, 'did not return from a test dive which took place in connexion with trials of certain underwater apparatus in Stokes Bay, in the Portsmouth area, about a week ago'. This announcement was provoked by rumours and allegations which had been appearing in the press since Commander Crabb had been reported missing after a dive on 19 April. The Admiralty announcement failed to discourage curiosity and on 9 May a Labour member, Mr. Dugdale, addressed a number of searching questions to the representative of the Admiralty in the House of Commons. The Prime Minister took charge and declined, in the public interest, to disclose the circumstances in which the Commander disappeared. He stated that what had been done was without the Government's authority or knowledge, and that appropriate disciplinary steps were being taken. Mr. Gaitskell then intervened with a reasoned appeal for more information, in view of the fact that so much had already been published in the press, and asked whether the public was to conclude that an officer or officers of her Majesty's Forces had been engaged on the business of espionage during the Russian visit. On Sir Anthony's refusal to enlarge upon his statement in any direction the Opposition decided to use some of its parliamentary time to initiate a debate on the subject. *The Times* in a leading article on 10 May remarked that the earlier announcement by the Admiralty could not be reconciled with the Prime Minister's statement. If Commander Crabb had simply lost his life during a trial of underwater apparatus in Stokes Bay, there seemed to be no call for disciplinary action.

Before the debate took place an interchange of letters between the Russian and British Governments was published. The Russian Note, received on 4 May, called attention to the fact that a frogman had been seen floating between two Soviet destroyers in Portsmouth Harbour, and asked for an explanation. The British Note, which reached Moscow at about the same time as the Prime Minister was making his statement in the House of Commons, acknowledged the fact as stated, declared that Commander Crabb had approached the Russian warships without permission, and apologized. *The Times* appended to these letters a statement that if it were true that the Russian cruiser in Portsmouth Harbour had been subjected to the inquisitiveness of the British secret service, with or without authorization, it was suffering

the same fate as had befallen British warships on their State visit to Leningrad in October of the previous year.

Mr. Gaitskell opened the 'frogman debate' with a speech which was designed to provoke the Prime Minister into throwing some further light on what was obviously an interesting mystery, and in this design he entirely failed. The Opposition's censure motion was negatived by 316 votes to 229. This majority of 87 was about 30 above the Government's average figure, and suggested that the attempt to extract political profit out of an accident which had nothing to do with party politics had been mistaken tactics.

The Death Penalty (Abolition) Bill, having already received a second reading, was considered in committee of the whole House on 25 April, 16 and 29 May, and received a third reading on 28 June. On 25 April an amendment which sought to retain the death penalty in cases where the jury found that the killing was a deliberate and calculated act was rejected by 20 votes, and an amendment to provide that the Bill should not apply to any murder for which the death penalty was prescribed by the Army and Air Force Acts, or the Naval Discipline Act was rejected by the same majority. On 16 May the Committee voted, by a majority of 4, to retain the death penalty in cases of murder committed by a person already serving a sentence of life imprisonment. It rejected by 31 votes an amendment to retain the death penalty where the offender was convicted of murdering a police officer with intent to escape from custody or avoid arrest, and by 12 votes an amendment to exclude murders committed by armed robbers, and rejected without a division an amendment to exclude cases where the offender had been convicted of murdering a child. On 29 May the committee rejected by 62 votes an amendment to exclude Scotland from the Bill, and by 42 votes an amendment for retaining the death penalty for murders committed in pursuit of rape. On 28 June, on the report stage the House voted by a majority of 23 for the elimination of the only amendment that had been carried in committee, and gave the Bill a third reading by a majority of 19. It was observed, however, that the numbers voting on these successive days had steadily declined. On 16 May, for example, the total numbers voting had constituted about two-thirds of the House and in the final vote on the third reading less than half of it. This fact might, of course, be variously interpreted. The original motion against the death penalty, which had led the Government to offer facilities for the present Bill, had been carried in a very full House.

The debate in the committee stage of the Restrictive Trade Practices Bill continued. By 8 May the first 20 of the 40 clauses of the Bill had been reached. *The Economist* of 12 May described the prolonged proceedings in committee as a 'marathon of the specialists' but held that the results had been satisfactory. The Ministers in charge of the Bill, Mr. Thorneycroft and Mr. Walker-Smith, had shown themselves masters of their subject. On the side of the Opposition a small group of experts had assisted a willing President of the Board of Trade to

tighten up the measure in detail, and on the Government side a group of Tory M.P.s who had tabled amendments designed to emasculate the Bill had retreated, more in sorrow than in anger, from the positions in which they had been expected to fight.

On 29 April the new salary scales for teachers, over which there had been an unedifying rumpus recorded in the previous chapter, were announced. They would cost an extra £31 million in a full year, an increase of 15 per cent. on the existing State teachers salary bill of £214 million. The maximum increases would be £500 for certain head teachers and no teacher would get an annual increase of less than £25. Two-year-trained teachers would be guaranteed not less than £1,025 as heads of the smallest village schools, and it became a commonplace, especially in ecclesiastical circles, that such persons would be very much richer than the parson. Good honours graduates in the large grammar schools could look forward to rising to £2,200 a year. The proposals fell short of the demands of the teachers' associations and were received with expressions of 'disappointment', but there was little doubt that they would be accepted and come into operation in October. One result of this act of governmental generosity (or justice) would be to put up once again the fees of the private—*soi-disant* 'public'—schools, which could not afford to let the salaries of their teachers lag behind.

On 7 June a by-election in the Tonbridge division of Kent, normally a safe Conservative seat, yielded a sensational, or almost sensational, result. The Conservative General Election majority of 10,196 was reduced to 1,602 but the Labour vote fell by only 412. The by-elections of the first quarter of the year had shown a marked Conservative decline, but comparisons had been complicated by the appearance or disappearance of Liberal candidates. Here, on the other hand, the comparison was between two straight fights. More than one reason was alleged as a cause of the drop in Conservative votes. There had been some contention over the choice of the Conservative candidate, and some potential Conservative voters were said to have been annoyed by the rejection of a local man in favour of an outsider. It was also alleged that, since Mr. Harold Wilson had taken control of the electoral organization of the Labour Party, the constituency workers had been gingered up. But it seemed probable that the main cause was something quite different, which was forcibly expressed in the letter from a Mrs. Beryl Platts published in *The Times* of 14 June. Mrs. Platts, a Conservative, was not a Tonbridge elector, but if she had been she would have been one of the thousands who abstained, and she would have abstained in order to jolt her party into doing its duty towards the middle classes. The final paragraph of her letter may be quoted as an effective expression of a widespread discontent:

> The Conservative agents who describe that result [at Tonbridge] as due to apathy delude themselves. It is a wonderfully encouraging gesture from a class which, after all, refuses to be exterminated. It is our only way to enforce representation at Westminster. For—and let the Conservative headquarters be under no misapprehension

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about this—if we refuse to vote and thereby admit the Socialists to power, we allow a period of Socialist legislation which can later be revoked. If we permit the Conservatives to frame Socialist measures in their ill-considered bid for left-wing support, we are saddled with such measures for ever. Which is the greater evil ?

In other words, Mrs. Platts appealed to the Conservative Party to be conservative, and the party might find that difficult in the middle of the 20th century more than 60 years after Sir William Harcourt had ruefully remarked ' We are all Socialists nowadays.' Nearly ten years had passed since Mr. Shinwell had said that he did not care ' two hoots ' for those sections of the population that were not organized. Conservative politicians might care many more hoots than two, but it was difficult to know what they could do about it, with political expediency. Could they, to take one of Mrs. Platts' examples, give tax relief to those who wished to have their children educated at private schools ? They had certainly done nothing about it—' nothing but sympathize '.

Movements were however already on foot to persuade Conservative politicians to do something more than sympathize. *The Times* of 11 June contained information about the Middle Class Alliance. Though barely six weeks old, its organizers were already more than half way towards their object of establishing a branch in every constituency. There was also The Peoples League for the Defence of Freedom, directed against ' Trade Union Tyranny and Arrogant Bureaucracy '. This organization placed a full page prospectus as an advertisement in *The Times* of 8 June, and when a *Spectator* columnist somewhat sneeringly remarked on this as evidence that the movement had big money behind it, the chairman of the League, Mr. Edward Martell, wrote to the 15 June issue of that weekly to say that the money for this advertisement, costing £1,200, had come entirely from subscribers to the movement and that no subscription had amounted to more than £20. His letter carried the implication that each of the successive advertisements placed by the movement had brought in more money than it cost. The *Spectator* itself accepted a two page advertisement of the Peoples League on the central pages of its issue of 22 June. What would come of all this remained to be seen.

On 11 June Mr. Maudling, the Minister of Supply, was questioned in the House of Commons about the case of Mr. Lang, an assistant solicitor in the employ of Imperial Chemical Industries who had been dismissed, with compensation, by his employers because they had been informed that the Government were not prepared to place secret contracts with them in circumstances which would enable Mr. Lang to have access to secret information. Mr. Maudling stated that the fact that Mrs. Lang had formerly been a member of the Communist Party was not the only reason for the Government's decision. After the debate on the Maclean and Burgess case in November 1955 a conference of Privy Councillors had been appointed to advise on the security regulations, and in March of the present year it had reported that where there was evidence of ' close association with members of the Communist Party . . . it is right to continue the practice of

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tilting the balance in favour of offering greater protection to the security of the state rather than in the direction of safeguarding the rights of the individual'. Mr. Lang was a possibly innocent victim of this rule. Many of those who complained that the Government was now too strict over Mr. Lang had accused it of being too lax over Maclean and Burgess.

On 26 June Mr. Macmillan gave the House of Commons an interim report on his efforts to achieve a £100 million saving in Government expenditure as promised in his Budget speech. So far he had reached £76 million of which £50 million was on defence costs and the rest on various domestic expenses. His statement received a critical scrutiny from the press. It was pointed out that fully three-quarters of the £50 million defence economies appeared to derive from the running down of stocks, much of which would ultimately have to be replaced. The remaining £26 million included as its largest item the abolition of the bread and milk subsidies, which had been separately announced in the Budget and were assumed to be in addition to the promised £100 million. The rest were very small beer: trifling additions to the charges for school meals, driving tests, passports, and county court fees. The Opposition challenged the Government in a censure debate on 3 July. Mr. Wilson, opening the attack, gave an effective exhibition of knockabout party politics which contributed little to the solution of desperately serious problems by which all men of goodwill, irrespective of party, were perplexed. The Chancellor replied with a catalogue of encouraging features. The economy was beginning to move towards 'the position of balance wanted'; the increase in consumption was halted; the increase in exports was accompanied by a check in imports. It could not be said that everything in the garden was lovely, but some of the plants were growing and the gardener could modestly claim a little credit for them.

On 27 June Viscount Astor opened a debate in the House of Lords on a motion welcoming the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce a comprehensive Bill dealing with betting. His most striking proposal was that this country should follow the example of France by establishing a monopoly for the totalisator in horse-racing. By this means betting could be made to provide revenue for the Exchequer and also a much needed subsidy to the racing industry. Though many bookmakers were honourable men the elimination of the bookmaker was not to be regretted. 'Any chief constable would say that the bookmaker was the chief cause of corruption of the police.'

At the annual Conference of the Labour Party in the previous October study groups had been appointed to produce a set of pamphlets on a variety of subjects to supply material for a reformation of Socialist policy. The first of these was published on 17 June with the title *Personal Freedom: Labour's Policy for the Individual and Society.* The authors seemed to be aware that, as things stood, the blessed word freedom was a weapon more effectively used against Socialists than on their behalf, and sought to counter this with the assertion that a 'really' free society would not exist until the Labour Party had

destroyed 'privilege based on class'. The pamphlet had nothing to say about the enforcement of the 'closed shop', the tyranny of trade unions, or the practice of sending to Coventry workers who persisted in working for their employers, though these subjects might seem to come well within their terms of reference. The second pamphlet, published a week later and entitled *Homes of the Future*, set out a sweeping policy: 'To cope with the slums and the general problem of repairs and improvements, houses and flats that were rent-controlled on 1 January 1956, and remain tenant-occupied, should be taken into public ownership.' The authors expressed themselves convinced that this project would 'enhance individual happiness' and 'dwarf into insignificance all other such measures yet undertaken'. The financial aspects of the scheme were left extremely vague.

In the spheres of foreign relations and colonial policy the period under review in this chapter, after the visit of the Russian statesmen, lacked salient events. The Cyprus issue, for example, continued along the course set by the deportation of Archbishop Makarios. On 14 May a Cyprus debate was initiated by the Deputy Leader of the Opposition, but the most remarkable feature of the debate was that not only back bench Conservatives but a Labour member, Mr. Paget, sharply reminded the House that Mr. Griffiths's Gladstonian fervour took no account of the Turkish element in the problem. Mr. Paget declared his conviction that *enosis* (union with Greece) would be resisted with armed force by the local Turks, supported in sufficient force by Turks from the mainland. Bluntly, the alternatives for Cyprus were British rule or Turkish. This was not of course the only argument against British withdrawal. Speaking at Norwich on 1 June Sir Anthony Eden emphasized the need to retain Cyprus as a war base for the defence of our oil interests in South West Asia. 'No Cyprus, no certain facilities to protect our supply of oil. No oil, unemployment and hunger in Britain. It is as simple as that', he said.

Another strategic outpost of the free world was before the public eye in the middle of May when Mr. Marshall, the Chief Minister of Singapore, headed a delegation to London to negotiate a further advance of self-government. On 16 May Mr. Lennox-Boyd told the House of Commons that the negotiations had broken down because the demands of the delegation would not permit Britain to retain the 'powers necessary for the carrying out of defence responsibility'.

Cyprus, Singapore, Trinidad—the sun never sets on the headaches of British imperialism in retreat. On 7 June the Chancellor of the Exchequer in answer to a parliamentary question stated that the Government were in touch with the Government of Trinidad over the offer of the American Texas Oil Company to buy the assets and rights of the Trinidad Oil Company. Both the Chancellor and the leaders of the Opposition appeared to regard the proposal with natural repulsion, and the attitude subsequently revealed at a meeting of Conservative back benchers in their 1922 Committee was robustly imperialistic. On 8 June, however, Mr. Vos, the chairman of the Trinidad Oil Company

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issued a statement in which he said: 'The blunt truth is that the Company has not the financial resources to maintain its position in an ever expanding oil world.' Five days later Mr. Macmillan announced that the Government had agreed to sanction the deal, subject to certain provisos most of which were designed to safeguard the interests of the people of Trinidad. The Opposition expressed dismay and insisted on a censure debate. This debate, held on 20 June, presented the somewhat ludicrous spectacle of an anti-imperialist party desperately upholding the Union Jack in a remote island (against the interests of the, in other contexts, downtrodden islanders) but suffering parliamentary defeat at the hands of a Government which had apparently no difficulty in bringing its 1922 imperialists to heel on the anti-imperialist side. Still, Mr. Wilson got in a witty allusion to 'drooping primroses', so perhaps it was all worth while.

On 13 June the last British troops left the Suez Canal Base, and a story which had begun in the early 1880s, in the days of Cromer and Wolseley, was brought to an end. Mr Gladstone had disliked it at the time, when he declared, with characteristic verbal infelicity, that the bombardment of Alexandria would be 'the almost certain egg' of a British North African Empire; but he had been carried forward none the less to the task of laying the foundations of that Empire. In those days the Empire could no more help expanding than in the middle of the 20th century it could help contracting.

On 29 June the Minister of Defence, Sir Walter Monckton, announced that, after hard bargaining, the West German Government had agreed to pay £34 million during the year ending May 1957 towards the cost of the British troops stationed in that country as part of the NATO garrison. This was less than we desired or deserved. We had asked for £50 million, and the full cost would be about £64 million. The German Government had begun by saying that they would pay nothing, and ended by saying that they would never pay again.

On 8 June the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh arrived at Stockholm in the royal yacht *Britannia* for a three days' visit to the King and Queen of Sweden. After the official visit was over they were joined by other members of the Royal Family and stayed on for the equestrian section of the Olympic Games, in which Miss Pat Smythe received a warm welcome as one of the first two women competitors to take part in the jumping event. The Queen returned to England in time to review on 26 June a parade of holders of the Victoria Cross, on the same piece of ground in Hyde Park as that on which Queen Victoria had made the first presentations 100 years before. These centenary celebrations included an exhibition at Marlborough House and a service at St. Paul's Cathedral, and were attended by V.C.s and representatives of V.C.s from all parts of the Commonwealth.

The Economist in its issue of 23 June published statistics showing the 1951 populations of six principal English cities and their surroundings. These were (the populations being given in thousands): Greater

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London 8,348, Greater Manchester 2,423, Greater Birmingham 2,237, Greater Leeds 1,693, Greater Liverpool 1,382, Greater Newcastle upon Tyne 836. These populations amounted to nearly two-fifths of the population of the country, almost exactly the same proportion as in 1871. This latter fact seemed at first sight surprising in view of the constant references to increasing urbanization. The explanation was that each of these cities, and most of all London, had an ever increasing penumbra of what had come to be called by the American term 'commuters'. A comparison of these figures with those of 1931 revealed another surprising fact: that for five of the six the increase had been quite insignificant, 2½ per cent. or less, increase in the outer regions being balanced by displacements of residential population from the centre. The only one to show a big increase, 15 per cent., was Greater Birmingham.

For London the traffic problem of the daily in-and-out flow of commuters got constantly worse, and efforts to induce large employers of office or factory workers to remove themselves from the central area produced little result. *The Times* of 9 July published an interesting letter from the chairman of a firm which, in 1941, having been forcibly ejected as a war measure and having established itself in Surbiton, had found the advantages of the move so greatly to outweigh the disadvantages that it had never come back. Among the advantages was the increased will to work of the employees who no longer arrived devitalized by long journeys in overcrowded trains.

On the smallest of these 'conurbations' *The Times* had published a very cheering report in its issue of 17 April. The Tyneside, relying almost exclusively on a small number of basic industries, coalmining, shipbuilding, steel, and heavy engineering, had in the 1930s been one of the worst of the depressed areas. In 1932 36 per cent. of the working population were unemployed, the national figure being 22·5 per cent. At the time of writing the unemployment figure was 2 per cent. Only one-twelfth of the insured population were now employed in the mines and one-fifteenth in the shipyards. A multitude of light industries had established themselves, producing, one might say, anything from dresses to detergents, and from chocolates to cheese.

The British public had so often been given to understand that the burning of coal in open fires was a wasteful and well-nigh immoral proceeding that they were cheered to hear from Mr. W. C. Moss, technical manager of the Coal Utilization Council, addressing a press conference on 22 May, that they could continue to warm themselves in this primitive style with a clear conscience after all. Solid fuel remained much the cheapest for space heating and hot water supplies. But they must adopt one of the new convector open fires.

A *Times* leading article of 29 June reviewing a study of the international book trade prepared for Unesco revealed the interesting fact that the United Kingdom was the largest exporter of books and that Australia was her best customer. Those who were unfamiliar with such matters would have supposed that the United States, with more than ten times Australia's population, would be our best customer.

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The explanation was that British books with any substantial prospects in the American market were published, by agreement with the British publisher, by American firms in American editions.

The outstanding feature of the spring weather was its dryness, prolonging and accentuating the conditions of the latter half of the previous year. It seemed surprising that the country as a whole did not suffer seriously from water shortages but, though the consumption of water both domestically and industrially had enormously increased over the past half century, the storage and supply systems had kept pace with this increase. There were also many more facilities for switching water from places where there was still a surplus to places where shortage threatened. Manchester, for example, which had raped two of the fairest of the English lakes in the course of its not entirely successful efforts to keep its people clean, was in a position to pass on water to Liverpool. June brought some rain, enough to spoil a Test match but not enough to make much difference to the reservoirs. In fact June made a poor showing altogether. In some parts of the country 8 June was the coldest day within 16 days of what is oddly called Midsummer Day (24 June) in the present century.

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CHAPTER III

MIDSUMMER TO MICHAELMAS—THE SUEZ CRISIS

The holiday quarter, normally the quietest part of the year for the annalist, was disturbed by the international crisis ensuing on the seizure of the Suez Canal, on 26 July, by the Egyptian President, Colonel Nasser. But before proceeding to that event a varied selection of items have to be recorded.

The previous chapter described the circumstances of the strike at the Standard Motor Works, Coventry. On 27 June the British Motor Corporation announced the immediate dismissal of 6,000 of its employees at factories in Birmingham, Oxford, and elsewhere, with a week's pay in lieu of notice, on account of the fall in car sales. In the House of Commons on the following day the Minister of Labour, Mr. Macleod, deplored the abruptness of the Corporation's action but informed the House that all but about 300 of the dismissed men were semi-skilled or unskilled and that for most of these there were more suitable vacancies than were required within reasonable distance of their homes, though this statement was disputed by an Opposition member for a Birmingham constituency. *The Economist*, in its issue of 7 July, took the line that the B.M.C., though too brusque in its methods, 'by becoming the first motor company to let go of its workers promptly had struck a blow for swifter mobility' of labour, and hoped that the unions would henceforth 'lay rather more emphasis on

bargaining for higher severance pay and rather less on demonstrations against the fact of redundancies'.

In the course of the following week the two unions principally concerned, the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Transport and General Workers, decided to call a strike of the 48,000 employees of B.M.C., though various groups of the men concerned declared their opposition. The purpose of the strike would be to establish the principle that something more than a week's pay was due in compensation for dismissal. The B.M.C. refused to consider the point, declaring that compensation was a national issue beyond the competence of an individual firm.

The strike began on 23 July. The B.M.C. announced, after the first day, that 53 per cent. of its employees remained at work. The unions thereafter set themselves to paralyse the concern by instructing their members in other industries, dockers, lorry drivers, and others, not to handle goods consigned to or issuing from B.M.C. factories. On 26 July the Minister of Labour invited the leaders on both sides to confer with his chief industrial commissioner and on 10 August the strike was called off on an agreed compromise, the B.M.C. agreeing to make compensation payments to those of the dismissed employees who had been in its service for three years or more, this being about one-third of the employees dismissed. Five-sixths of the total dismissed had already found employment elsewhere.

On 2 July a parliamentary debate on prostitution drew from the Home Secretary, Major Lloyd-George, an informative survey of the law on the subject, the difficulties of effective police action within it, and the undesirability of trying to amend it before the publication of the report of the Wolfenden committee which was studying the subject. 'It is often assumed', he said, 'that if you drive prostitutes off the streets you solve the problem of prostitution. But unless you remove the demand—and I should be interested in suggestions about how that is to be done—prostitution will go on in some form.'

After a two-day debate on 9 and 10 July in which over 60 peers took part the House of Lords rejected, by 238 votes to 95, the private member's Bill abolishing capital punishment which had been accepted by the House of Commons against the advice of the Government. Several of those who voted in favour of rejection, and also of those who voted for the Bill, indicated that they would prefer the middle course—declared impracticable by a recent Royal Commission—of amending the law by introducing distinctions between capital and non-capital murders. Questioned by Mr. Silverman, the author of the defunct Bill, as to what steps the Government now proposed to take in the matter, the Prime Minister replied, on 17 July, that he would announce the Government's decision 'before the session ends', a phrase which turned out to mean after the reassembly of Parliament in October.

The report stage of the Finance Bill is, as *The Times* remarked, an unlikely occasion for a display of emotion by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but such was the mood in which, on 11 July, Mr. Macmillan

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commended to the House an amendment moved by Colonel Lipton, an Opposition member, to exempt from income tax the annuities and additional pensions paid to holders of the Victoria Cross. Logic was against it, but this was the centenary year of the foundation of the Order, and it was right that logic should be swept aside.

On 12 July there was a debate on a motion tabled by Mr. Gaitskell on the awkward subject of M.P.s' salaries. The motion reaffirmed the decision of the House on 24 May 1954 when, on a free vote, there was a majority of 114 in favour of a select committee's recommendation for an increase of £500 on the existing salary of £1,000. The Government at that time refused to agree and gave instead a scheme of allowances based on attendance which could amount to about half the increase proposed. Mr. Gaitskell's motion called upon the Government to implement the 1954 decision of the House without further delay. The Prime Minister intervened in the debate to state the Government's view that no such step should be taken at the present moment, when restraint was being urged on other sections of the community. A free vote would not be allowed, and no vote was taken. The motion was later withdrawn.

A conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers concluded a week of meetings on 6 July. Its most tangible result was an agreement with the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. Bandaranaike, who had recently won a sweeping victory in his country with a somewhat 'advanced' programme, on the problem of British rights to the use of the naval base and air force station in that island.

On 12 July it was announced that Lord Radcliffe, a distinguished lawyer, had accepted the Government's invitation to draw up a new Constitution for the Government of Cyprus and would forthwith visit the island. On 19 July the Opposition moved a reduction of the Colonial Office vote in order to censure the Government for allowing its Cyprus policy to become subservient to the demands of the Turkish minority. The Foreign Secretary in his reply said that it was one thing to accept the principle of self-determination, which they all did, but that to decide on the method of its application was a very different matter. Later in the debate the Colonial Secretary called attention to the curious fact that, whereas Cypriots were emigrating to Britain at a rate of over 5,000 in 15 months, according to recent statistics, only one Cypriot was recorded within the same period as emigrating to Greece, with which country it was claimed that Cypriots desired union.

A two-day debate on foreign affairs, 23 and 24 July, was of an unusually serene character; appearing in retrospect as a calm before the Suez storm. The Prime Minister, who received applause from both sides of the House, devoted himself to the improved prospects of world peace, due in part to the realization of what all-out war with present-day weapons would mean and partly to the increasing flexibility of Russian policy in the post-Stalin period. The only note of passion in the debate occurred on the second day when the Foreign Secretary deplored the reiterated refusal of Russian statesmen to accept any plan for international control of armaments which would involve

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interference with their sovereignty. The hours that he had wasted in pleading with them had clearly left a bitter impression on his mind. The Leader of the Opposition had meanwhile commended the Prime Minister's speech in terms which some thought generous and others patronizing. The debate of 31 July in which Mr. George Brown, on behalf of the Opposition, called upon the Government to prepare a four-year plan for ending national service with the last call-up in 1958 did not enjoy the advantage of the pre-Suez atmosphere, and Mr. Macleod, Minister of Labour, had no difficulty in showing that, with the present rate of voluntary recruitment for the armed services, the plan was entirely unrealistic.

On 26 July, as climax to a speech of two-and-a-half hours delivered to a mass meeting at Alexandria, Colonel Nasser announced that Egypt had nationalized the Suez Canal Company and would use revenue from the international waterway for building the Aswan high dam, a project on which his Government had staked its prestige. The nationalization law had already been published and the company's funds in Egypt frozen. The company's shareholders would be paid the price of their shares current before his announcement. All the company's employees, Egyptian and foreign, must continue at work under pain of rendering themselves liable to punishment. Digressing into past history Colonel Nasser asserted that 120,000 Egyptians had died in forced labour while digging the canal. It subsequently transpired that this figure was taken from Herodotus and referred to the digging of a Suez canal in the 7th century B.C. According to official statistics the number of Egyptian employees who died in the ten years of the digging of the 19th century canal was 1,394. Medical supervision was of a contemporary Western standard and the death rate among canal workers was lower than that for similar age groups in Egypt as a whole during the same period.

The Times leading article in the issue containing the news of the *coup* described it as 'grave, if not entirely unexpected'. It was a retaliation for the withdrawal by the American Government on 19 July, followed by similar British action a day later, of their offer to help in financing the Aswan dam. On the other hand, the details of the project could not have been worked out within the previous week, and the action of the Western Powers over the dam had been the occasion rather than the cause of the Suez *coup*. What Egypt had now done suddenly and by violence was something which, as recently as 4 June, she had announced her intention of doing legally and by negotiation in 1968 when the existing concession under the Convention of 1888 expired. The existing company was in form an Egyptian joint stock company, but its headquarters were in Paris and only 5 of its 32 directors were Egyptians, 16 being French and 9 British.

On 27 July, in reply to a question from the Leader of the Opposition, the Prime Minister stated that the unilateral action of the Egyptian Government affected the interests of many nations, and that the Government was consulting other Governments immediately concerned.

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Mr. Gaitskell then expressed approval of the Prime Minister's statement, condemned the action of Colonel Nasser, and asked the Prime Minister if he intended to refer the matter to the Security Council. Sir Anthony replied that this was one of the matters on which other Governments were being consulted. On 29 July representatives of the American, French, and British Governments began a series of discussions in London. On 30 July the Prime Minister, after announcing various financial measures designed to put pressure on Egypt, gave evidence of a readiness to resort to force which, in the course of the weeks that followed, was to estrange the Opposition leaders and alarm a large section of the public, irrespective of party. Asked about the whereabouts of two destroyers which Britain had recently sold to Egypt he said: 'I do not know where they are, but I think we can leave it to the Royal Navy. It will take care of them wherever they are.' In fact they were at Portsmouth with their Egyptian crews waiting to take possession, and were a few weeks later handed over to them as a matter of routine.

The last day of July was one of mounting tension, with announcements from the Admiralty and the War Office of precautionary measures 'with the object of strengthening our position in the eastern Mediterranean and our general ability to deal with any situation that may arise'. Mr. Dulles was coming to London; Sir Anthony Eden postponed his holiday; and *The Times* abandoned the courtesy of prefixing 'Colonel' or 'President' to the name of the Egyptian leader and referred to him simply as 'Nasser'. It was generally recalled that in 1938-39 *The Times* had been too slow in taking similar measures against Hitler. Meanwhile Colonel Nasser was declaring in Cairo that 'nationalization did not in any way or to any extent affect the international commitments of Egypt'. His Government were determined to maintain the freedom of navigation of the canal; no country could, obviously, be more interested than Egypt in maintaining the efficient functioning of the canal and the consequent revenue deriving from it. The Western Powers, however, were not impressed by such assurances and on 2 August the American, British, and French Foreign Ministers, assembled in London, announced agreement that an international conference should be called, to meet in London on 16 August, to establish an international company or agency to exercise sufficient control over the Suez Canal to ensure that (1) freedom and security of passage were preserved, and that (2) dues remained stable and equitable and that profits were not diverted to its detriment. The Soviet Union, Egypt, and the principal maritime Powers were to be invited to the conference. Wide powers were to be contained in a proclamation, by the Queen, calling out reservists. The object, it was explained in the House of Commons, was 'to obtain a comparatively small component which we consider essential'.

A debate on the Suez situation was opened by the Prime Minister on the same day, before the House rose for the summer recess: though the official communiqué of the conference was not issued until later he was in a position to expound and defend its essential features. Mr.

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Gaitskell's speech, following the Prime Minister, was regarded as a masterpiece of balanced statement. He considered that the act of nationalization was not wrong in itself, but it had to be taken in the light of Colonel Nasser's repeated boasts of his intention to create an Arab empire from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf. The struggle was essentially for prestige in the Middle East. If President Nasser's prestige was allowed to go up, ours would go down and all our friends in that region would desert us. He welcomed the proposed conference. He did not object to the precautionary military measures, but he warned the Government that we must not allow ourselves to get into a position where we could be denounced as aggressors by the United Nations.

On 3 August the attitude of the United States, which had been criticized by Mr. Morrison in the House of Commons, appeared to be clarified by a broadcast by Mr. Dulles on his return to America in which he said that the forthcoming conference would provide 'moral forces that are bound to prevail' in convincing Egypt to accept some form of international control. In a broadcast on 8 August the Prime Minister emphasized the industrial importance of the canal. 'Through it comes about half the oil without which the industry of Britain, western Europe, Scandinavia, and many other countries could not keep going. . . . Colonel Nasser has promised not to interfere with shipping passing through the canal. Why, then, don't we trust him? The answer is simple. Look at his record.' On this point many commentators had pointed out that, even before his recent *coup*, the canal had been in fact at Egypt's mercy as a simple territorial fact. For several years past, even before the withdrawal of the British canal base, Egypt had used her position to exclude from the canal ships going to and from Israel, and protests had not moved her from this course of action. The more one considered the problem the more difficult it became. What alternatives were there to the canal? Pipe lines from the oil fields to the Mediterranean could and probably would be multiplied, but they were as vulnerable as the canal. The route round the Cape was long and costly, and for the time being there was not anything like a sufficient number of tankers to supply by that route the rapidly expanding demand for oil.

On 9 August the Soviet Government announced that they would send a representative to the conference, though they considered it incompetent to deal with the problem. The Indian Government also, after much consideration, agreed to be represented. Egypt announced her refusal, which was expected, on 12 August. In all 22 of the 24 invited nations accepted, the other absentee being Greece. Before the conference met public opinion, focused by but by no means confined to the political Opposition party, was becoming alarmed lest the policy pursued by the Government should be pointing, consciously or unconsciously, towards war. On the one side were those who denounced 'appeasement' and recalled the events of the 1930s when, on a widely accepted view, prompt military action over, for example, the military occupation of the Rhineland by Hitler in 1936 would have averted, at trivial cost, the ordeal of 1939-45. On the other side were those who

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held that the present situation was utterly different and that Nasser was no Hitler. On 13 August the Labour Shadow Cabinet commissioned Mr. Gaitskell to ask the Prime Minister to recall Parliament immediately after the conclusion of the London Conference and 'to make plain that the military preparations taken in the last ten days are purely precautionary, solely intended for defence against possible aggression, and not preparations for armed intervention outside and inconsistent with our obligations under the Charter of the United Nations'. After an interview with the Prime Minister Mr. Gaitskell declared himself satisfied with the assurances he had received.

The London conference met on 16 August, as arranged. It was essentially a conference of canal users or 'customers', its members representing about 95 per cent. of the traffic. Opinion crystallized round alternative plans, the Dulles plan, with which Britain, France, and all other Western members associated themselves, and the plan of Mr. Khrishna Menon the Indian representative, which had the support of four countries including Russia. The Dulles plan involved the creation of an international Suez Canal Board associated with the U.N. to run the canal. Egypt would be a member of the Board and the Egyptian Government would hand over to the Board 'all rights and facilities appropriate to its functioning'. The Menon plan would leave the Egyptian Government in control of the canal and establish a purely advisory international body. Though Mr. Menon defended Egypt's right to nationalize the Suez Canal Company, he agreed with the supporters of the Dulles plan that the manner in which nationalization had been carried out had aggravated the situation; he had put forward his own plan because he considered that there was no possibility of the Dulles plan securing acceptance from Egypt.

The conference ended on 23 August. The Dulles plan had the support of 18 members out of 22, and this majority set up a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Menzies, the Australian Prime Minister, to approach President Nasser and offer to explain the proposals to him, the other members of this committee being representatives of Ethiopia, Persia, Sweden, and the United States. Colonel Nasser agreed to receive these emissaries in Cairo, but there was never much likelihood that he would accept the plan they had to lay before him, and on 9 September it was announced that the Cairo talks had failed. On the following morning, as soon as Mr. Menzies was airborne on his return journey to London, President Nasser issued to all governments of the world except Israel a note proposing immediate discussions among all States using the canal for the creation of a 'negotiating body' to consider the questions of freedom of navigation, canal development, and toll charges. 'These', the Note said, 'are admittedly questions in which all States using the Suez Canal are interested and in which Egypt, as the sovereign Government concerned, has at least equal interest.' The British Foreign Office described this Note as adding nothing new to the situation.

Meanwhile the Opposition leaders had renewed their demand for the recall of Parliament and on 31 August a statement was issued from

10 Downing Street that the date could not be fixed until the Government had had an opportunity of considering the results of the Cairo talks. On 6 September the Government announced that both Houses would meet on 12 September for two-day debates on the Suez situation. On the day before the debates it was announced that the British and French Prime Ministers, who had been conferring in London, were in complete agreement as to the next steps to be taken.

Opening the debate in the Commons the Prime Minister took the House by surprise and provoked the hostility of the Opposition by announcing that, in agreement with France and the United States, the Government had decided to proceed at once to set up a provisional Suez Canal 'users' association' which other nations would be invited to join. It was proposed that the organization should employ its own pilots and collect its own dues. Egypt would be requested to co-operate. The Government were 'not prepared to embark on a policy of abject appeasement'. Mr. Gaitskell's reply was a vigorous condemnation of the Prime Minister's announcement as provocative and certain to be rejected, merely making the position more difficult, and the debate thenceforth developed on party lines. On the second day of the debate the Opposition moved a vote of censure calling upon the Government to refer the dispute immediately to the United Nations. It was defeated by 70 votes on a party vote, the Liberals voting with the Government.

In the course of the debate held concurrently in the House of Lords the Archbishop of Canterbury made a weighty plea for the maintenance of an undivided parliamentary front. On the essential issues the parties and the country were united; the differences were matters of tactics and timing, as for example the precise stage at which it would be appropriate to refer the matter to the Security Council. The fact that the Commons debate developed acrimony and ended in a division on party lines was a measure of its failure to serve the national purpose. There had been faults on both sides, no doubt. On the side of the Opposition was a desire to score debating points against a Government which they disliked on domestic grounds. But there was a widespread opinion that the greater fault lay with the Prime Minister on account of his clumsy handling, not only of this parliamentary debate, but of public opinion from the start of the crisis.

Meanwhile, on 11 September, the dispossessed Suez Canal Company authorized the resignation of its non-Egyptian personnel, and more than three-quarters of them ceased work, most of them leaving Egypt, two days later. The Egyptian Government, in view of this prospect, had been busily recruiting and training Egyptian pilots and pilots from Russia and elsewhere. Canal traffic continued to be handled much as usual in the period immediately following. Some Western authorities held that deterioration was bound to set in. On the other hand an ex-naval officer, Sir Stephen King-Hall, declared in his *Newsletter* that the difficulty of piloting ships through the canal was grossly exaggerated and forecast that Egypt would have no difficulty with that aspect of her problem.

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The second London conference on the Suez Canal, consisting of representatives of the 18 nations who had supported the Dulles plan of the previous conference, met on 19 September and concluded on 21 September, having accepted a plan for a Canal Users' Association to which it was expected that the great majority of the member nations would adhere after the plan had been laid before their Governments. The plan was expounded by Mr. Dulles at the opening session, and it was at once apparent that it was free from some of the provocative features which the Opposition had found in it as expounded by the Prime Minister in the parliamentary debate of the previous week. It might be regarded as a gambit for reopening negotiations with Egypt.

On 23 September it was announced that the British and French Governments had decided to refer the Suez problem at once to the United Nations and to ask for a meeting of the Security Council on 26 September. In so doing they were acceding to the expressed desires of several members of the London conference recently concluded. They also removed thereby one of the bones of contention between the British Government and the Opposition. It was in fact a British decision and it was at once apparent that the French Government did not much like it. No doubt the reluctance of the French Government had been one of the reasons for the Prime Minister's unwillingness to assent to Opposition demands on this point ever since the trouble began. On the following day it was announced that the Egyptian Foreign Minister was going to New York. Egypt was not a member of the Security Council, but it was thought that her representative would be invited to take part in its discussions at the appropriate stage. The development of the Middle Eastern crisis is dealt with in the next chapter of this section.

On 16 August leaflets were circulated throughout Cyprus bearing the name of Dighenis, the leader of the EOKA terrorists who had been identified as Colonel Grivas, formerly an officer in the Greek army. The leaflet contained an offer to suspend operations pending 'full corresponding action on the part of England to enable the fulfilment of Greek Cypriot claims'. It went on to state that the organization would retain their arms, 'ready for new sacrifices if these should be imposed on us'. On 22 August the Governor of Cyprus, Field-Marshal Sir John Harding, replied by offering detailed terms of surrender. The terrorists would be allowed to go to Greece without prosecution or to stay in Cyprus and take the consequences of any terrorist activity that could be proved against them. Three weeks were offered for the consideration of the terms, but Dighenis gave them an unqualified rejection on the following day and terrorism was resumed. On 26 August the Colonial Secretary made a statement on a selection of captured documents, including a diary kept by Dighenis, which showed that Archbishop Makarios, far from being a moderate reluctantly associated with the terrorists, was the real leader of the EOKA movement. Greek newspapers denounced the documents as forgeries, but Cypriots

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appeared to take their genuineness for granted as establishing facts well known in the island.

The recall of Parliament to debate the Suez situation gave opportunity for debates in both Houses on Cyprus on 14 September before Parliament resumed its recess. The Colonial Secretary announced that the terms of reference for Lord Radcliffe, the constitutional commissioner, provided that his recommendations should be consistent with the requirement that all matters relating to internal security as well as external affairs were retained in the hands of her Majesty's Government or the Governor. There was discussion of the Grivas diaries and Mr. Bevan challenged the Government to bring the Archbishop to trial, a step which the Colonial Secretary did not consider to be in the public interest. The Suez crisis overhung the Cyprus debate and pointed to the 'inescapable conclusion' that recent events in the Middle East had underlined the fact that Cyprus was vital for the protection of our strategic interests and those of the free world in that area.

Anglo-Russian relations had passed into a stretch of calm water ruffled, so far as the period of the present chapter is concerned, only by the 'Nina' affair. On 31 August it was announced that the athletics match between Great Britain and Russia on the two following nights at the White City, London, had been cancelled by the withdrawal of the Russian team in protest against the issuing of a warrant for the arrest of Mrs. Nina Ponomareva, the Russian Olympic champion discus thrower. On 29 August this young lady had been charged with stealing five hats, valued at £1 12*s.* 11*d.* from C. and A. Modes Ltd., Oxford Street, and on the following day had failed to appear to answer the charge at the Marlborough Street police court. M. K. Krupin, the leader of the Russian team, announcing the cancellation of the contest, declared that Mrs. Ponomareva was 'the victim of a dirty provocation', and the same phrase was used by *Tass*, the official Russian press agency. When the Russian athletes left England Mrs. Ponomareva was not among them. The Russian embassy first declared that they did not know of her whereabouts and afterwards that she was within their sanctuary. That, it might be hoped, would be the end of the story and at some subsequent date unknown, Mrs. Ponomareva would 'slowly and suddenly vanish away', having provided a newspaper story which could be described, like many Victorian nursery games, as both amusing and instructive. But there was more to come.

On 20 September the Russian Government newspaper *Izvestia* published a letter in which members of the Bolshoi theatre ballet company threatened to cancel their engagement to appear at Covent Garden in October. In their letter they referred to the 'incomprehensible provocation' against Mrs. Ponomareva and expressed a fear that they might be exposed to similar 'provocation'. It was learnt in London from a Russian source on the next day that the Bolshoi ballet company would come if the charge against Mrs. Ponomareva were withdrawn. To this suggestion the British Government could only

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respond by stating, not for the first time, that under the British Constitution the executive had no power to interfere with the routine of the law courts. None the less, on 28 September, the Bolshoi ballet company, or the Government department controlling its decisions, decided, at the last possible moment, to come after all and face the hazards involved, in the interests of 'furthering the development of cultural ties' and in response to the many welcoming and reassuring messages they had received from British well-wishers. The first performance, of *Romeo and Juliet*, at Covent Garden on 3 October was attended by the Prime Minister and received an enthusiastic appreciation in *The Times*.

Finally Mrs. Ponomareva herself, the apple of all this discord, appeared at the Marlborough Street police court on 12 October. Though she pleaded 'not guilty' the magistrate arrived at the opposite conclusion. 'I realize', he continued, after recording his verdict, 'the fallibility of human nature, and perhaps the hats at C. and A. Modes constitute a considerable temptation to a number of women. I think the interests of justice will be served if I discharge her absolutely, under the Criminal Justice Act, on payment of three guineas costs.' Thereafter Mrs. Ponomareva was whisked away to the London docks and on board a Russian ship which sailed the same afternoon.

On 18 September a dispatch from the Colonial Secretary to the Governor of the Gold Coast was published declaring that, subject to parliamentary approval, the country would achieve independence on 6 March 1957, thus becoming the first African State to secure independence within the Commonwealth. The Prime Minister Dr. Nkrumah had gained, in a General Election in July, the substantial majority on which this declaration was contingent. There were, of course, problems ahead. Just prior to the Colonial Secretary's declaration representatives of the minority groups, Ashantis and peoples of the Northern Territory, had been in London pleading for the introduction of amendments to the new constitution. But the die was cast. Henceforth the peoples of Ghana, as the new State was to be called, must settle such questions among themselves. It was, in the proper sense of the term, an epoch-making event.

On 9 July the Duke of Edinburgh opened in Oxford a conference which he had initiated, and which was attended by 300 persons of the rising generation, drawn from all parts of the Commonwealth, and selected on the ground that they seemed likely to rise to influential positions on one 'side' of industry or the other. The plan of the three weeks programme was that, after preliminary lectures and discussion in Oxford, the members should be divided into groups and shown industrial activities in different parts of the country, returning finally to Oxford to exchange impressions on what they had seen. The Duke gave his guests a fascinating account of some of his experiences as a Royal sightseer in many parts of the world and mentioned some of the questions that such experiences had raised in his mind. The

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conference was entirely in the tradition established more than 100 years earlier by that former 'Prince Consort' from whom the Duke, like the Queen, was descended. The Duke had a lighter touch than Prince Albert, but he was not less in earnest.

A project to build in the grounds of the Battersea fun fair a tower of galvanized steel, 162 feet high, with a lift holding 48 passengers had been criticized by many eminent persons of aesthetic sensibility. On 12 July the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that the Government held that in view of the economic situation the project should be postponed, and the parties concerned at once agreed to do so. The eminent persons could reflect that the economic situation had its compensations. Another much more important scheme was rejected 'not without regret' by the Ministry of Housing on 29 August, on appeal from its previous rejection by the City Corporation. This was the so-called New Barbican scheme, designed by a group of architects and planners for the rebuilding of a heavily bombed site of 47½ acres to the north of St. Paul's Cathedral. The plan included five tower blocks between 200 and 300 feet high, warehouses, factories, shops, restaurants, a cinema, a community hall, and extensive accommodation for underground parking. The objection to the scheme was that, though some residential flats were included, it would make an enormous addition to the number of commuters struggling into and out of the City every morning and evening. What was wanted, in view of the traffic congestion, was to reverse the course of development of the past 100 years and encourage more people to live in the City and fewer to work there.

The same Minister, by an announcement on 22 September, gave his decision on the problem of Oxford traffic congestion which had long agitated both Town and Gown. He rejected the City Council's plan for two relief roads, one to the north and one to the south, and decided that the 'only feasible solution' was to build a single new road across Christ Church Meadow, starting from the junction of the three eastern main roads, and to close Magdalen Bridge to all but pedestrian and cycle traffic. This decision was not going to be accepted in Oxford without a struggle.

On 24 September the Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmuir, addressing a private meeting of Lancashire magistrates, said that the courts had a part to play in the difficult task of reducing the appalling toll of road casualties and were not playing it adequately. They did not make anything like sufficient use of the imposition of the dreaded penalty of the driving ban. In 1955 there were nearly 30,000 convictions by magistrates for careless driving, yet only 800 drivers were disqualified, including no more than one in three of those convicted of the more serious offence of reckless or dangerous driving. The reason commonly advanced for this failure to impose the most effective penalty was that, in many cases, it would deprive the offender of his job but, as *The Times* leading article on the subject remarked, 'penalties are not meant to be painless'.

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The Times of 13 August contained an interesting and detailed article on a subject not often brought to the attention of the general public, namely Sunday schools. In the 18th century they had largely preceded week-day schools in offering a means of general education to the labouring children of the labouring poor. The Victorian age was their heyday as an instrument of religious education for children already receiving free secular education under State provision. Since the beginning of the present century the numbers both of pupils and of teachers had declined, by as much as 50 per cent. in some denominations, much less in others, but they were still very much alive and had modernized their methods, and integrated their activities more effectively with Christian worship. The impression conveyed by the article was encouraging, and inspired respect for the unpaid and unadvertised devotion of those who carried on the work.

However it might be with Sunday schools, public libraries were a rapidly expanding concern that accorded with the spirit of the age. It was not unusual for a medium-sized branch, catering for a population of 25,000, to attract a membership of 7,000 and to issue 250,000 books each year. The figures are taken from an article by a librarian in *The Times* of 21 August entitled 'Realism about Readers' which described, with something like scorn, the unintelligent habits of the largest section of the libraries' customers, the consumers of 'thrillers, romances, and westerns'. The article provoked a lively correspondence, and raised the question what justification there was for supplying this sort of stuff at public expense. No one expected the local Council to supply him with free sweets or cigarettes or seats at the cinema, and in what respect was the consumption of these printed anodynes more worthy of public endowment? One writer went so far as to suggest that, since it was impossible to draw a line between good and bad fiction, all fiction by living writers should be excluded from free libraries—'Not what they want but what's good for them', as Cromwell is reported to have said.

However, signs of relief appeared at the annual conference of the Library Association, held at Folkestone, on 19 September. There were 13 million registered borrowers from public libraries but 16 million television addicts. These two bodies largely overlapped and the 12 hours weekly spent on an average before the screen made a formidable inroad on the hours devoted to reading. Librarians found that light fiction was the principal sufferer thereby, a result not altogether regrettable. The impacts of television were various. It reduced attendance at cinemas, and numbers of the smaller houses were being closed as unprofitable. It reduced the takings of tubes and buses in the evening hours. It distracted school children from their evening 'prep', and here the public libraries were beginning to undertake rescue work. 'The experiment now being made' said *The Times* of 10 September, 'on a small and exploratory scale, by the Willesden Public Libraries, of providing rooms in which schoolchildren can do their homework, is one of much social interest.' The scheme, already working at neighbouring Neasden and Kilburn and about to

be undertaken in Harlesden, had been suggested by a recent report of the Central Council of Education.

No English word, except 'frustration', had so extended its circulation in recent years as 'nostalgia'. Among the various organizations catering for the satisfaction of this emotion was the National Traction Engine Club, which held a rather disappointing 'meet' at Pulborough, Sussex, on 11 August—disappointing because only 8 engines attended, as compared with an attendance of 28 at a recent meet in the Midlands. The oldest performer dated from 1890 and one was surprised to learn that the youngest was only 23 years old. All alike, however, gave pleasure to the members of the N.T.E.C., and it was a curious thought that not so long ago they were being denounced as the latest menace to rural tranquillity. At about the same time the Corporation of Ramsgate was petitioning the Prime Minister to secure the removal of the American jet fighters from their too-neighbouring camp at Manston. Would a time come when jet fighters were admired by the nostalgic as curious monsters of a bygone age?

The summer was of the kind stigmatized in the old phrase 'Summer was on a Thursday last year'. Actually there was a sudden spell of dry heat covering the inside of a week near the end of July and terminated by one of the most violent gales all along the south coast ever recorded at that time of year. In the orchards it blew down innumerable apples and among its sea casualties was the splendid sailing ship *Moyana* which, with a British crew, had recently won the Torquay to Lisbon race and was on her way home. She sank off the Lizard and her crew of cadets were rescued. An even more sensational storm was the thunder and hail storm on bank holiday, 6 August, at Tunbridge Wells, when blocks of coagulated hailstones which looked like blocks of concrete had to be removed from the streets. Both July and August produced the heaviest rainfalls of the century in different parts of the country, and the weather did not really recover until the second half of September when a fine warm spell rescued, for most though not all farmers, a harvest situation that was becoming desperate.

Cricket naturally suffered severely, including an Australian tour. The test matches were not one of the best series, four of the five matches being seriously affected by rain. England won the rubber and retained the Ashes; they were indeed obviously the stronger side—under the weather conditions provided. The fourth match, at Manchester from 26-31 July, was memorable for the astonishing performance of the Surrey spin-bowler, Laker, who in the two innings took 19 Australian wickets at the cost of 90 runs. His record for the whole series was 46 wickets at an average of 9·6 runs, far surpassing any previous achievement. Mr. Laker was a man with other qualifications besides his bowling for he shortly afterwards refused an offer of a £3,000 a year post from an Australian firm. Surrey won the county championship for the fifth year in succession, another record for the present century, in spite of the frequent absence not only of Laker but also of P. B. H.

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May, England's captain and most successful batsman. Financially it was, inevitably, a disastrous year for nearly all the county clubs, and Jeremiahs wondered how much longer this slow-motion 'Victorian' game would attract the support without which, at its highest levels, it could not survive.

The Economist of 25 August contained a note on the weather as it affected the south coast holiday season, which we quote *in extenso* for the light it throws on the manners and customs of the time.

> South coast townspeople are surprisingly cheerful about the summer's bad weather. It seems that in the resorts, at least for the big hotels, trade one year is much the same as another. The best of it is that as the holiday traffic grows—25 million people went away last year, spending an estimated £400 million within the country—it becomes necessary to book long before one can see whether it will be a good summer or not. Conferences, moreover, are a growing source of income; Hastings, for example, has over 30 this year. But small hotels and boarding houses complain of a shortage of money—mainly, no doubt, because of hire purchase commitments at home.
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> Some hotel managers even seem pleased about the weather—'It keeps the guests in the bar'. And those who provide dancing and good food can still do well in the rain. The staff problem is, as ever, severe, but at least visitors are now used to, and less indignant about, the mealtimes dictated by the Catering Wages Act, whose regulation of working hours can make a late dinner more expensive to serve than to buy. Many hall porters and waiters are students, and the young man who carries your bag is likely to say Sir in the manner of the very best public schools.
>
> The saddest sights are people who in fine weather are the life and soul of the resort: the ice cream men, soft drink sellers, chair attendants, pier owners, and beach photographers. These, above all, are the people who seem, in more senses than one, to be feeling the draught.

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CHAPTER IV

THE LAST QUARTER—INTERVENTION IN EGYPT

BEFORE dealing with the subject which gives a title to this chapter it is necessary, on grounds of chronology, to dispose of various items of the annual routine.

The Trades Union Congress met at Brighton on 3 September. On 29 August the Chancellor of the Exchequer held a press conference to which he addressed the substance of the speech which, as he said, he would like to have been invited to address to the Congress itself. After speaking of the economic importance of the Suez Canal he came to the subject of wage restraint. Since the beginning of 1953 German wages had increased on the average 15 per cent. and output per man had increased by the same amount; in U.S.A. wages and output had also balanced, with an increase of 10 per cent. In Great Britain wages had increased 20 per cent. and output per man only 10 per cent. Since 1951 retail prices had gone up 24 per cent. but wages had gone up 40 per cent. Mr. Macmillan may not have hoped that his remarks would influence the tone of Congress speeches, but he may have hoped that it would affect the reception of such speeches by the press and public

opinion. On 2 September Sir Vincent Tewson, the general secretary of the T.U.C., delivering an apologia in advance, reminded the public that the T.U.C. had not been formed to direct the trade union movement but merely to co-ordinate the policies of autonomous unions. It could not 'bulldoze' the unions into a line of action remote from the aspirations of the rank and file of their members.

After discussing various inter-union problems on 3 September and automation on the following day the Congress debated wages on 5 September. The result was, as one speaker said, a demonstration rather than a debate. With what *The Times* called 'a great roar of approval' the Congress carried by acclamation a resolution which amounted to a flat rejection of the Chancellor's appeal. The principal speaker from the platform was Mr. Cousins, the recently elected general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, a man much further to the left than his predecessors. Referring derisively to Mr. Macmillan's wish to address them he said that the Congress would gladly welcome a visit from a Chancellor of the Exchequer when they had a Labour one, thus putting into a nutshell the drawback of having this 'parliament of industry' affiliated to one of the rival political parties. Journalists who enjoyed the privilege of hearing the 'off-the-record' opinions of responsible leaders of the trade-union movement, as for example a writer in *The Economist* for 8 September, got the impression that their approach to the wage problem was much more cautious than the public debate suggested, and it may have been information of this kind that led Mr. Macmillan to say, on 19 September, that he did not find 'serious disagreement' between the T.U.C. and himself. 'I think' he added, 'that what they want is what I want.'

On 6 September the Congress unanimously adopted a resolution warning the Government against using force in the Suez Canal dispute without the approval of the United Nations.

The Labour Party Conference opened at Blackpool on 1 October in a mood of optimistic enthusiasm and general amiability which was maintained throughout the proceedings. This was the more significant because, when the party is in a state of dissension, it does not hesitate, on these annual occasions, to display the fact to the world. The most important debate took place on the first day when a motion on the Suez Canal problem was moved and seconded by two delegates who could hardly have displayed more enthusiasm for President Nasser's cause. The Conference roared applause, and when Mr. Gaitskell rose to reply, amid acclamation that was no more than polite, he faced a difficult situation which he handled with remarkable skill. He suggested that his party was in danger of doing the 'very thing that the Tories wanted it to do' by making Labour look unpatriotically pro-Nasser. Instead, he insisted, the real issue to concentrate upon was that the use of force would be disastrous. With this tactful opening he led the Conference back to the middle-of-the-road position which was widely supported outside as well as inside the Labour movement. His success was proved by the ovation which greeted the conclusion of his speech.

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On 2 October it was announced that Mr. Bevan had been elected, by a narrow majority over Mr. George Brown, to the Treasurership of the party, a post which he had twice unsuccessfully contested against Mr. Gaitskell during Lord Attlee's leadership. Questioned as to his further intentions Mr. Bevan was oracular, but when Parliament reassembled he did not challenge either Mr. Gaitskell or Mr. Griffiths, who were re-elected Leader and Deputy Leader unopposed.

There were debates on the recently published official pamphlets on Housing and Equality and on 4 October the Conference accepted an idealistic and altruistic programme of colonial reform introduced by Mr. Brockway, who had long made this subject his own. Speaking from the platform Mr. Griffiths was at pains to remind the delegates what they were asked to vote for, which included an allocation of one per cent. of the national income to the aid of underdeveloped colonial areas. 'If they get it we must go without', said Mr. Griffiths. Speaking for himself he was prepared to go without, and so it appeared from their subsequent voting were the delegates.

The Liberal Party Conference had been meeting a few days earlier at Folkestone, where the most notable event was the retirement, on 30 September, of Mr. Clement Davies from the leadership, to be succeeded, when Parliament reassembled, by Mr. Grimond, the member for Orkney and Shetland.

The Conservative Party Conference, which met at Llandudno on 11 October, equalled its Socialist rival in harmonious enthusiasm. The voices of discontent which had been raised and the gingering organizations which had been formed after the Tonbridge by-election (see p. 26) seemed to have faded out, perhaps because, when a party is in power, its annual conference serves purposes of propaganda rather than of debate. On the first day Mr. Sandys outlined the Government's plans for the progressive abolition of rent control, and the Conference gave an all but unanimous support to the Government's Suez policy, the exception being provided by Mr. Yates, M.P. for the Wrekin, whose courageous speech of dissent did not obtain a courteous hearing. The debate was wound up for the Government by Mr. Nutting whose declaration that, if the United Nations failed to do its duty and 'the hard test should come upon us . . . this country will not flinch', contained no hint of his resignation at a later stage, presently to be recorded.

On 12 October the Conference devoted itself to industrial problems and Mr. Macleod, Minister of Labour, announced the Government's intention to revive the Conservative Party's proposal of ten years back for the introduction of a contract of service to give greater security to the worker. There was also a debate on capital punishment in which the enthusiasm of some speakers for the retention of hanging struck unfriendly critics as savouring of sadism. On 13 October the Prime Minister delivered his customary address in the course of which he scornfully described the retreat of the Opposition from the patriotic and co-operative attitude adopted by their leader in the first Suez debate on 2 August. Another notable event of this, the last, day of

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the conference was a speech in which Mr. Butler surveyed an extensive domestic programme. It was evident that, since his retirement from the Treasury, Mr. Butler had resumed the activities he had pursued when in opposition as the designer of Conservative programmes. Among the subjects he touched on was the problem of Britain's attitude to the Continental movement towards Western European free trade.

We now resume the record of what may be called the first Suez crisis, caused by President Nasser's arbitrary nationalization of the canal, from the time when, on 23 September, it was announced that the British and French Governments had decided to refer the matter at once to the Security Council of the United Nations. Accordingly on 26 September, the Security Council met to consider two resolutions on the Suez question, one sponsored by Britain and France and the other by Egypt. The British representative, Sir Pierson Dixon, opening the discussion, agreed with the President, Dr. E. Nuñez-Portuondo of Cuba, that it would be best to confine the proceedings to procedural matters, as several Foreign Ministers were expected to attend in the following week for the substantive debate. The American representative, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, supported Sir Pierson and agreed that the Anglo-French resolution should take precedence and that the Egyptian resolution should not be discussed until the former had been disposed of. This was accepted by the Council.

On 5 October Mr. Selwyn Lloyd opened the substantive debate. After reviewing the history of the dispute he stated five 'operative paragraphs' on which his Government considered that the Security Council should take action and concluded by suggesting that, after all the representatives had made such public statements as they desired, the Council should consider the matter in private session. The public discussion was resumed on 8 October, when the Egyptian and Russian representatives proposed that the Security Council should shift its responsibility to a negotiating body selected for the purpose. This appeared to be simply a delaying action. Private sessions followed and a final public session on 13 October, when a revised version of the Anglo-French resolution was supported by 9 out of 11 members of the Council but vetoed by Russia—which was what had been from the first expected. The Security Council was thus relieved of the obligation to take any further steps in the matter and Egypt relieved of the obligation to pay any attention to the views of the majority.

Meanwhile the plan for a Suez Canal Users' Association, which had been adopted by the second London Conference on 21 September after exposition by Mr. Dulles, had been carried forward a few stages. On 1 October it was formally established at a meeting in London of the representatives of the 18 countries concerned, presided over by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, and certain committees set up. But Mr. Dulles at a press conference in his own country seemed to have retreated so far from what had been supposed in Britain to be the purposes and powers of the Association that it seemed doubtful if it would serve any useful purpose. This was but one of the oscillations of American policy which

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contributed to the sensational unilateral action taken by the British and French Governments a few weeks later. Whether it, or any other of the attendant circumstances, justified that action became a matter of acute and bitter controversy.

Meanwhile the relations between Israel and her Arab neighbours had been going from bad to worse, the point of special danger being the Israel-Jordan frontier. On 12 October the British Government gave warning to Israel that in the event of aggression by Israel Britain would be bound to come to the assistance of Jordan if King Hussein invoked the Anglo-Jordan treaty.

Parliament reassembled on 23 October for the conclusion of the old session and, though the Opposition showed itself very restive on points of domestic controversy, the Government's replies to questions on the Suez issue raised no excitement. The Foreign Secretary reaffirmed the view already expressed by the Government that the next move lay with the Egyptian Government, to formulate proposals in place of those which it had rejected, and the Leader of the Opposition did not dissent.

On 29 October it was announced in Tel Aviv that Israeli forces were advancing across the desert between the frontier and the Suez Canal, the announcement declaring that this operation was necessitated by the continuous military attacks on Israel's land and sea communications; and that its purpose was to eliminate the *fedayeen* bases in the Sinai peninsula. Under the Tripartite Declaration of May 1950 the British, French, and American Governments had stated that, if either Israel or the Arab States were preparing to violate frontiers or armistice agreements, the three Powers would 'immediately take action, both within and without the United Nations, to prevent such violation'. Meetings of the Tripartite Powers at ambassadorial level were in progress at Washington on the day of Israel's action.

On 30 October the Prime Minister told the House of Commons that the British and French Governments had asked the Governments of Egypt and Israel to answer within 12 hours urgent communications calling on them to stop all warlike action forthwith and to withdraw their forces to a distance of 10 miles from the Suez Canal and asking the Egyptian Government to agree that Anglo-French forces should move temporarily into key positions at Port Said, Ismailia, and Suez. If at the expiration of 12 hours one or both Governments had not undertaken to comply with these requirements British and French forces would intervene 'in whatever strength may be necessary to secure compliance'. Mr. Gaitskell pressed the Prime Minister to promise that no further physical action would be taken until the Security Council had reached a decision or the House had had an opportunity of discussing the matter, but the Prime Minister replied, with regret, that he could give no such undertaking. The time factor was all important. The security of British and French lives and property was at stake. There was nothing either in the Tripartite Declaration or in the United Nations Charter, he said, which contradicted the right of a Government

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to take such steps as were essential to protect the lives of its citizens and vital international rights.

Israel accepted and Egypt rejected the Anglo-French ultimatum and on 31 October bombers under British and French command launched an offensive against military targets in Egypt. Some hours after this had been officially announced President Eisenhower (who was within a few days of his confidently expected re-election) declared that the Anglo-French attack was an error which could not be reconciled with the principles of the United Nations. A statement issued by the Government of India expressed the same opinion. When the subject was resumed in the House of Commons on 31 October the Prime Minister recapitulated the points he had made on the previous day, and also declared that in view of Egyptian provocation his Government could not support the United States resolution before the Security Council condemning Israel as an aggressor. Mr. Gaitskell followed with a trenchant attack and the promise of a strongly worded vote of censure on the following day. His speech was followed by an uproarious Opposition demonstration and cries of 'resign'. This was renewed at question time on the following day with the result that the Speaker took the unusual step of suspending the sitting for half an hour.

The motion of censure deplored the action of the Government as a violation of the United Nations Charter, thereby affronting the convictions of a large section of the British people, dividing the Commonwealth, straining the Atlantic alliance, and damaging the foundations of international order. Mr. Griffiths moved it in a characteristic speech. In his reply the Prime Minister drew attention to the lesson which had often been drawn from our failure to act in the 1930s. 'You best avoid great wars by taking even physical action to stop small ones.' The action of the British and French Governments, he said, was essentially a police action to stabilize the position, and if, when it was stabilized, the United Nations were then willing to take over the physical task of maintaining peace in the area 'no one would be better pleased than ourselves'. One or two members on each side abstained from voting, but otherwise the vote was on party lines and the Government secured a majority of 69.

On 31 October President Eisenhower had issued what *The Times* called 'a restrained declaration of a policy of non-involvement in the Middle East crisis'. The same restraint did not characterize the American press and radio and, to quote the same dispatch from Washington, 'the British observer is shocked by the self-righteous indignation, often unbridled licence, with which charges of "trickery and deceit" or "stark imperialism" are hurled by radio and television'. On the other hand the Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Menzies, who proved himself a staunch friend of the British Government throughout the difficult weeks which followed, defended the action taken by the British and French Governments and urged the British and American Governments to confer speedily at a high level to reconcile their differences.

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By 2 November it was known that the Israel forces had won a decisive victory over the Egyptian forces in the Sinai peninsula, and that British and French bombers had largely destroyed the Russian-supplied Egyptian air force which put up no resistance but remained on the ground. The same day, a Friday, would, in the ordinary course of events, have witnessed the conclusion of the old parliamentary session, leaving a long week-end before the opening of the new one on Tuesday, 6 November. It was, however, agreed that the House of Commons should meet on the Saturday and Monday. Mr. Gaitskell warned the Government that, when the Prime Minister addressed them on the following day, they would expect to be told that the Government accepted without equivocation the resolution of the United Nations Assembly in favour of an immediate cease-fire.

On the evening of 3 November the Prime Minister broadcast to the nation. He said that the Government's first and foremost object had been to separate the armies and stop the fighting. Until the United Nations were there, ready to take over, Britain and France must be ready to go on with the job till it was done. 'Here was a situation likely to inflame the whole Middle East. . . . Should we have put the matter to the Security Council and left it at that? Should we have been content to wait and see if they would act? How long would this have taken? . . . I believe that before long it will become apparent to everybody that we acted rightly and wisely.' On the following evening Mr. Gaitskell broadcast in reply. He declared that the Government's real purpose was not as stated by the Prime Minister but to occupy the canal. In the latter part of his broadcast he appealed to Conservatives who had doubts on the Government's policy to secure the resignation of Sir Anthony Eden. 'I give them this pledge', he said; 'we undertake to support a new Prime Minister in halting the invasion of Egypt; in ordering a cease-fire; and in complying with the decisions and recommendations of the United Nations.' If Mr. Gaitskell's object was to ensure that as many doubtful Conservatives as possible rallied round their leader, he had adopted the most effective method of securing this result.

On 3 November Sir Winston Churchill had broken a long silence on controversial issues in a letter to the chairman of the Conservative Party in his constituency. He expressed whole-hearted approval of the Government's policy. The most notable passage in his letter came near the end of it with the sentence—'I am confident that our American friends will come to realize that, not for the first time, we have acted independently for the common good.'

On 31 October (though the fact was not published until 3 November) Mr. Nutting wrote to the Prime Minister resigning his position as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs because he was unable to support the Government's policy. A few days later Sir Edward Boyle, Economic Secretary to the Treasury, took the same step for the same reason. Neither of them was a member of the Cabinet. From the other side it was announced on 20 November that Mr. Stanley Evans had resigned his membership of the Labour Party and his seat in the

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House of Commons because he supported the Government policy. Mr. Nutting had by this time resigned his seat as well as his office. Both Mr. Nutting and Mr. Evans could be described as having resigned voluntarily, but under pressure from their constituencies.

We return to the parliamentary record with the emergency debate of Saturday, 3 November. The Prime Minister opened the debate by describing the reply sent by the British and French Governments to the previous day's resolution of the United Nations' General Assembly demanding a cessation of hostilities. The reply stated that the British and French Governments would willingly stop military action as soon as the following conditions were satisfied: (1) Both Egypt and Israel to accept a United Nations force to keep the peace; (2) the United Nations to constitute and maintain such a force until an Arab-Israel peace settlement were reached and until satisfactory arrangements had been agreed about the Suez Canal; (3) in the meantime, until such a force were constituted, both combatants to accept forthwith limited detachments of Anglo-French troops to be stationed between the combatants. Mr. Gaitskell in his reply demanded the resignation of the Prime Minister, stating that he had defied the General Assembly. The Prime Minister pointed out that resolutions of the General Assembly were, by the terms of the Charter, not mandatory but only recommendations, to which Mr. Gaitskell replied that there was a 'moral' obligation to accept such recommendations. The sitting concluded automatically at 3 o'clock with the House in a state of uproar provoked by the Foreign Secretary's announcement that troops were about to be landed in Egypt.

At a dramatic session of the General Assembly of the United Nations which ended at 2 a.m., American time, on 4 November a Canadian resolution was carried requesting the Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, to submit within 48 hours 'a plan for the setting up, with the consent of the nations concerned, of an emergency international United Nations force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities'. The proposal was supported by 57 nations, none opposed, and 19 abstained. Among the abstainers was Great Britain whose delegate, Sir Pierson Dixon, did so on the ground that the resolution seemed to go too far in some respects and not far enough in others.

On 5 November the Russian Government, which was engaged at the same time in crushing the independence movement in Hungary with brutal violence, issued a series of Notes to the Security Council, to President Eisenhower, and to the Prime Ministers of Britain, France, and Israel. The general purport of the Note to the British Prime Minister was that Russia was determined to crush aggression and re-establish peace in the Middle East in co-operation with other members of the United Nations. The letter to President Eisenhower invited the United States to co-operate with Russia in this undertaking. The United States Government lost no time in announcing that it would oppose any attempt of Russian or other military forces to enter the Middle East.

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On the same day, 5 November, British and French airborne forces were dropped in the neighbourhood of Port Said at dawn. An allied communiqué from Cyprus the same evening stated: 'A cease-fire has been ordered at Port Said, and Brigadier Butler, the allied paratroop commander, is at this moment discussing surrender terms and the cease-fire with Port Said's Governor'. The Prime Minister was able to make a dramatic announcement of the first news of these events in the House of Commons.

On 6 November the new session opened with the usual ceremonies and the Queen's Speech, to which we shall return in another context. After the speeches of the mover and seconder of the Address the Leader of the Opposition devoted himself exclusively to the Egyptian situation and concluded with an appeal for an effort to end the divisions within the Commonwealth and the Western Alliance and, he added, 'we must try to close some of the gulf that has opened between us at home'.

The Prime Minister entered the House at six o'clock and announced that the British Government had informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations that they were ordering their forces to cease fire at midnight unless attacked. This action was being taken pending confirmation that the Egyptian and Israeli Governments had accepted an unconditional cease-fire and that the international force to be set up would be competent to secure and supervise the attainment of the objectives set out in the resolution of the General Assembly of 2 November. They wished to point out, the message to the Secretary-General stated, that the clearing of the obstructions to the Suez Canal, which was in no sense a military operation, was a matter of great urgency, in the interests of world shipping and trade and that the Franco-British force was equipped to tackle this task at once. There would be no forward movement of British forces from their existing positions. The Prime Minister then proceeded to read to the House the vigorous reply which he had sent to the Russian Prime Minister. In conclusion he firmly asserted that the Anglo-French action had limited the area of conflict. 'As the dust settles', he said, 'it may well be that out of this anxiety . . . a better opportunity will come than has ever been available before for the United Nations to prove itself a really effective international organization.'

The first and most acute phase of the Anglo-French intervention was thus concluded with a cease-fire and an agreement which penned the interveners down at the northern entrance to the canal. They had been compelled by pressure from outside, coming mainly from the United States Government and the United Nations General Assembly, to abandon their plan, announced in advance, to occupy a 20-mile strip along both sides of the whole length of the Suez Canal. The next phase, in the view of the enemies of the Government policy at home and abroad, was to prise them out of the territory they had occupied. In pursuit of this purpose the Government of the United States enjoyed an enormous advantage if it chose, as in fact it did, to make its assistance in solving the Middle Eastern problems dependent on Anglo-French withdrawal. On 8 November the Prime Minister told the House

of Commons that there was no question in the Government's mind of a withdrawal unless and until there was a United Nations force ready to take over from them. Meanwhile thirteen nations had offered to contribute to this force, and the Canadian Major-General Burns, who had hitherto been chief of staff of the U.N. truce supervisory organization in the Middle East, was appointed its commander. Egypt refused to allow the Anglo-French invaders to take part in the heavy task of removing the obstructions which the Egyptians had sunk in the canal, but could not of course prevent them getting to work on the harbour of Port Said and the small part of the canal that was within their control.

On 8 November the Opposition moved an amendment to the Address calling for a conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in view of the divisions in the Commonwealth caused by the Government's policy, but the debate ranged over the whole intervention problem and its principal feature was a speech by Mr. Thorneycroft, President of the Board of Trade, in which he roundly asserted that the plans of the Russian Government had included the take-over of the Middle East, using President Nasser's ambitions as their instrument. Anglo-French intervention, he said, had stopped this 'in the nick of time'. This line of argument, unmentioned by Sir Anthony Eden in his speech announcing the intervention, henceforth became one of the main lines of the Government's defence. On the following evening, speaking at the annual Guildhall banquet, the Prime Minister said that Britain and France 'did what the United Nations, without a police force, could not do in time. If we had not acted the whole Middle East would be in flames to-day'. Referring to the terrible events in Hungary he said, 'The world has stood powerlessly by, unable to help, except with such medical supplies as it may be possible to distribute. We must face the fact that, so long as such things can happen, the United Nations is very far from being the world order which we would wish it to be.'

On 12 November the House of Commons debated the second Labour amendment to the Address deploring the economic effects of the Government's Middle Eastern action. Mr. Macmillan told the House that apart from an additional £35 million to £50 million expenditure on military arrangements he saw no reason why the Budget forecasts should not be realized. In New York on the same day Mr. Hammarskjöld announced that agreement had been reached with the Egyptian Government about the admission of the United Nations force, and that the first contingents would be moved to the canal zone in the next few days. On the following day the debate on the Address was wound up with a vigorous defence of the Government by Mr. Butler.

Throughout these critical weeks the Government had, on the whole, a bad press. They were supported by the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Sunday Times*, and a number of 'popular' papers. *The Times* was dubious and hesitant. They were totally opposed and heavily criticized by the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Observer*, the *Spectator*, and *The Economist*, to mention no others. Judging the policy by results, no clear verdict

could be reached. The situation in the middle of November was, beyond question, deplorable, but the Government asserted, while others denied, that it would have been much worse if they had merely gone on talking. An effective line of attack was to question the Government's real purpose. Was it to safeguard the canal ? The upshot was that the Egyptians had put it out of action for a long period ahead. Was it to overthrow President Nasser ? He was still there, the former villain of the piece, now basking under the patronage of the United Nations and dictating to the Secretary-General what he would or would not be allowed to do with the U.N. ' police force '.

A ' moral ' line of attack was traditionally effective with the British public, and it could be said that the Government, by entering upon hostilities without the authorization of the Security Council, had ' broken the Charter ' of the United Nations. Mr. Griffiths had spoken of the General Assembly of the United Nations as ' the highest tribunal in the world ', and it had condemned the Anglo-French action again and again by enormous majorities. But it was not a tribunal if a tribunal is a court of justice. The impressiveness of these enormous majorities evaporated under analysis. Of the 79 members 26 were Asian and African States who voted automatically against anything that could be called British or French imperialism ; 10 were Communist States ; 20 were Latin-American Republics. These, under the leadership of the United States, made up the great bulk of the anti-British vote. The American Government, though by no means the whole of the American press and public, had been deeply offended by the British Government's sudden and independent action. Had the British Government foreseen the depth and strength and deplorable consequences of this American reaction ? A wave of anti-American sentiment was spreading over Britain, which found dramatic expression in a motion tabled on 27 November by 110 Conservative M.P.s which deplored not only the most recent of the many hostile resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations but also the attitude of the Government of the United States, which was ' gravely endangering the Atlantic Alliance '. A counter motion was tabled by other Conservative M.P.s and neither of them was ever brought to debate.

A by-election at Chester, a safe Conservative seat, on 15 November, provided an eagerly awaited test of the effect on public opinion of all these new and searching questions. The answer seemed to be that they had had no effect at all ! The Conservative percentage of the poll fell by 5 per cent., which was very slightly more than its fall in the Chester-le-Street by-election of September but less than its fall at Newport in July and much less than its fall at Tonbridge in June. A Gallup poll published in the *News Chronicle* on the previous day showed a more interesting result. Support for Government policy in Egypt had risen from 40 per cent. of those questioned a fortnight earlier to 53 per cent., and for the first time since the previous year the question about voting in a hypothetical General Election had given the Conservatives a majority (of one per cent.) over Labour. It looked as if the number

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of Conservative devotees of the *Observer-Guardian* line of thought was rather more than balanced by the number of Socialists who were pleased that we had started 'getting tough' with Nasser, for that was probably how the Government's policy struck its average supporter.

On 19 November it was announced that the Prime Minister was suffering from 'severe overstrain' and two days later he left the country to recuperate in Jamaica, where he spent the following three weeks.

On 20 November it was announced that petrol rationing would become operative on 17 December. The allowance for ordinary motorists, enough to give about 200 miles a month, was considerably more generous than that which had prevailed in any part of the ration period during and after the war.

On 22 November Mr. Butler, deputizing for the Prime Minister, emphatically denied the charge, widely believed in the United States and elsewhere, that there had been 'collusion' between the British, French, and Israeli Governments; in other words, that the Israel attack had been arranged in order to give the British and French an excuse for their intervention. He also detailed the answers given by the British Government to questions addressed to it by Mr. Hammarskjöld. The main point was that the British and French Governments were not prepared to withdraw until they considered that the international police force was competent to discharge the tasks assigned to it by the United Nations, among which was the clearing of the canal. He affirmed that it was the desire of the Government to work with the United Nations. Mr. Gaitskell exhorted him to 'swallow his pride and withdraw the British troops'.

It was becoming daily more apparent that the Government would have to act, willingly or unwillingly, along the lines of this exhortation. On 3 December the Foreign Secretary, after returning from a somewhat cheerless visit to New York and after discussions with the French Government, made the decisive announcement. The British and French Governments would withdraw their forces in the Port Said area without delay. General Burns had been instructed to draw up immediately with the Anglo-French commander in Port Said a time-table for the complete withdrawal, taking account of the military and practical problems involved. Given good faith on all sides it could be carried out in a short time. He claimed that the Government's action had done a great deal to produce the conditions, previously non-existent, in which progress could be made in getting a long-term settlement of all the problems of the area. The Foreign Secretary's grave statement was continuously punctuated by the Opposition with manifestations of the noise called 'loud laughter'. After he had concluded he was subjected to a series of bitterly ironical questions by Conservative members of the so-called Suez group, who regretted that the Government had not stuck to their guns and, in the words of a great imperialist of the previous generation, 'damned the consequences'.

Some of the economic consequences were set before the House by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the following day. The monthly

statement on the gold and dollar reserves for November showed a fall of $270 million, which was slightly greater than the whole of the rise which had accumulated in the first half of the year. There were other unfavourable financial factors, all of them more or less directly flowing from events in the Middle East during the previous month. Mr. Macmillan announced various measures which the Government were taking. The tax on petrol and other forms of fuel oil would be raised from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* a gallon. (This, together with an increase in price which the oil companies were making because of higher costs, meant petrol would cost between about 5*s.* 6½*d.* and 6*s.* 5*d.* a gallon.) The Government was asking the United States and Canada for a waiver of the interest about to fall due to them on the loans negotiated shortly after the end of the Second World War. Mr. Harold Wilson, speaking for the Opposition, promised support for all reasonable measures the Government might take to maintain the stability of sterling.

On 5 and 6 December the House of Commons held what might be called a *post mortem* debate on the Government's intervention policy. The Foreign Secretary opened the debate, moving that this House 'supports the policy . . . which has prevented hostilities in the Middle East from spreading, has resulted in a United Nations force being introduced into the area, and has created conditions under which progress can be made towards the peaceful settlement of outstanding issues'. He thought that the recent open conflict with the United States Government would have the effect of clearing the air and establishing a better understanding in future. Mr. Bevan moved the Opposition amendment 'that this House, recognizing the disastrous consequences of Her Majesty's Government's policy in the Middle East, calls upon Her Majesty's Government to take all possible steps to restore Commonwealth unity, recreate confidence between our allies and ourselves, and strengthen the authority of the United Nations as the only way to achieve a lasting settlement in the Middle East'. It was remarked that this amendment, apart from its inevitable condemnation of the past, was wholly co-operative in character, and was asking the Government to do what they were themselves intent on doing. Mr. Bevan's speech was commended as 'brilliant' at a later stage in the debate by Mr. Macmillan, who contrasted its statesmanlike approach with the factiousness displayed by all the rest of the Opposition front bench.

Winding up the debate for the Government Mr. Butler stigmatized as 'utterly revolting' a speech made at the opening of the second day from the Opposition front bench by Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, in which he had sought to prove that the Anglo-French landings in Egypt had prompted, or at any rate encouraged and facilitated, the Russian decision to stamp out by force the nationalist movement in Hungary. This notion had been aired off and on by critics of the Government's policy, and Mr. Butler adduced facts and dates which, in his opinion, demonstrated its absurdity.

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It was known that Captain Waterhouse and some other Conservative members, who had applauded the Government's armed intervention but now condemned their withdrawal, would vote with the Government against the amendment but refrain from voting with it on the original motion, and all were concerned to see how large their number would be. They proved to be 15. The Government had a majority of 67 on the rejection of the amendment and of 52 in favour of the motion. On the same day it was announced that the Prime Minister intended to return in ten days' time and at once resume his duties.

The Times of 10 December published a letter from Mr. Geoffrey Shakespeare, a former Conservative M.P. who had listened to the debate from the gallery, contrasting the courtesy accorded to Opposition speakers with 'the continuous barrage of interruptions, catcalls, and ironical laughter' which punctuated Mr. Butler's speech winding up the debate—a speech for which (though Mr. Shakespeare did not mention this) he had been allowed by Mr. Gaitskell, who preceded him, eight minutes less than half of the hour normally divided between the two concluding speakers. Replies followed from the Labour side suggesting that Mr. Shakespeare's views were biased. Reviewing the bad behaviour characterizing the whole series of debates *The Economist* (15 December) found that both sides had been to blame; 'if Labour started it all by its booing, the Tory shouts of "Nasser" every time Mr. Gaitskell opened his mouth eventually became equally shocking and (for this previously sober party) much more astonishing'.

The House of Lords debated the same subject on 11 and 12 December. Opening the debate for the Government Lord Salisbury deplored the fact that the United Nations General Assembly had become 'a kind of stamping ground for conflicting Power groups', but said that that was no reason for 'writing the United Nations off as a dead loss. It was a compelling reason for getting together with other like-minded nations to give the organization the life and strength without which it would be not a protection but a danger to the world.' Forcible speeches were made by Lord Bruce, formerly High Commissioner for Australia, who criticized the American Government and press with a severity which he alleged that they would appreciate, and Lord Tedder, one of the most distinguished of the air force leaders during the war, who proved to be as severe a critic of the Government's intervention policy as any Socialist could desire.

As the Anglo-French forces conducted their withdrawal the question 'what next' naturally crystallized on the clearance of the canal. The instrument best equipped to carry out this duty was, politics apart, the Anglo-French salvage unit on the spot, which had already cleared as much of the waterway as was within its control. On the other hand the United Nations were engaged in assembling a multi-national salvage force under the command of an American, General Wheeler, and President Nasser had declared that he would not permit the United Nations to allow the Anglo-French unit to take part in the

operations. Suggestions were made that the British Government should lend their ships and other equipment only, withdrawing their crews. On this point, replying to a question in the House of Commons on 13 December, Mr. Butler said that the Government would not agree to the use of British salvage ships without their crews, and this was a point on which many who had condemned the Government's intervention would seem to have agreed with him. On the following day it was reported from Paris, after a meeting between the British Foreign Secretary and Mr. Dulles, that the American Government were now firmly pledged to the policy of getting the canal cleared by the quickest means available, without regard to political considerations. In other words, they would urge Mr. Hammarskjöld to persuade General Wheeler to persuade President Nasser to allow his canal to be cleared by the most efficient and quickest methods, which was by the employment of the British ships and crews. In order to make this proposal more palatable it was agreed that the British sailors should wear civilian clothes and United Nations armlets.

Three days later, on 17 December, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd told the House of Commons that arrangements for clearing the canal were 'not going as well as I had hoped'. The Anglo-French offer of the whole of their salvage fleet to be used under United Nations auspices, provided the safety of equipment and crews could be guaranteed, had not yet been accepted. The offer remained open, but speedy decision was required, as otherwise the vessels would have to be withdrawn under the withdrawal agreement. The Foreign Secretary estimated that, if the Anglo-French resources were fully used, a channel could be cleared through the whole canal in seven weeks. If they were not used it would take at least double that time and probably much more.

Meanwhile, on 14 December, the Prime Minister had returned from Jamaica, 'absolutely fit', he said, to resume his duties. To reporters and others at the airport he said, 'I am convinced, more convinced than I have been about anything in the whole of my public life, that we were right, my colleagues and I, in the judgement and the decisions we took, and that history will prove it so'. The Prime Minister emphatically repeated this assertion in the House of Commons when, on 20 December, he was given, by Opposition questions, an opportunity of answering the charge of 'collusion'. This charge, which had been constantly reiterated and widely believed by opponents of the Government's policy, had taken a variety of forms. In its extreme form it amounted to an assertion that the British and French Governments had incited Israel to attack Egypt in order that they might thereby be provided with a pretext for a military occupation of the Suez Canal. In its more moderate form it amounted to an assertion that the British and French Governments knew that Israel was about to attack Egypt, knew perhaps the exact date on which the attack was to be made, did nothing to discourage it, and laid their plans accordingly. Sir Anthony categorically denied the charge in all its forms. The British Government, he said, had no foreknowledge of Israel's attack on Egypt, and had in fact been assured by Israel that her mobilization was purely

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defensive. 'But', he added, 'we knew perfectly well that there was a risk of it' and made plans accordingly.

On 22 December the last British troops left Port Said. There had been and would continue to be violent differences of opinion as to whether they should ever have been sent there, but there was a unanimity of admiration for the manner in which the troops of all ranks had conducted themselves during their seven weeks in Egypt. They had been subjected to continuous provocations and had displayed unwavering self-control.

On the last day of the year the United Nations salvage force began their operations—at last. It was stated at General Wheeler's headquarters in Cairo that 'some Anglo-French salvage vessels engaged in certain operations under way in Port Said harbour have been temporarily incorporated in the United Nations fleet and will continue such work under General Wheeler's direction during January'. It was expected that the canal would be cleared for ships up to 10,000 tons by early March, and completely cleared by May 1957.

We have now to summarize events, political and otherwise, unconnected with the Middle Eastern crisis.

On 18 October a week before Parliament reassembled, Sir Walter Monckton resigned the office of Minister of Defence, remaining in the Cabinet as Paymaster-General. Mr. Head, Secretary of State for War, succeeded Sir Walter, Mr. Hare, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, succeeded Mr. Head, and Mr. Maclay succeeded Mr. Hare.

The Queen's Speech opening the parliamentary session on 6 November forecast a somewhat meagre legislative programme. The chief measures, in the judgement of *The Times*, were the Rents Bill for the progressive abolition of rent control and the Homicide Bill to limit the scope of capital punishment. The former might be described as important but, except to the very large number of people financially concerned, uninteresting and too technically complicated for exposition here. The latter was interesting, to those not yet weary of this unpleasant subject, but might fairly be described as unimportant. The purpose of the measure was to provide an alternative to the private member's 'Abolition' Bill which had passed the House of Commons, against the advice of the Government, during the previous session and been rejected by the House of Lords. This Homicide Bill restricted capital punishment to certain classes of murder: murders of police or prison officers, murders by professional criminals carrying firearms and murders committed in pursuit of theft; murders committed by persons already convicted of previous murders. There were also clauses reducing certain killings from the category of murder to manslaughter. What made the Bill unimportant except as a piece of parliamentary tactics was the fact that, since the resolution condemning capital punishment had been carried in the House of Commons nine months previously, no murderer had in fact been executed and it was reasonable to suppose that this practice would continue. A point made by 'abolitionists' was that the number of known murders committed

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during that period had been slightly fewer than in the period of equal length immediately preceding. It was also generally assumed that if and when a Labour Government came into power capital punishment would be abolished.

The Hungarian rebellion against the Russian-supported Communist Government began in the last week of October and by the beginning of November it was apparent that the Russian Government had decided to suppress it by a ruthless application of force. On 9 November, at the Guildhall banquet the new Lord Mayor, Sir Cullum Welch, announced that he was about to launch a national appeal for the relief of those suffering as a result of these 'distressing events'. The original target of £1 million was reached by the end of the month and then raised to £2 million. The Government undertook to accept 2,500 refugees and, when the magnitude of the exodus from Hungary into Austria became apparent, this limitation was withdrawn. On 23 November the Home Office, making this announcement, stated—'Plans are being worked out on an emergency basis to accommodate large numbers of refugees when they come here and steps are being taken to provide for them temporarily until proper arrangements can be made for their disposal'. The first contingent had arrived in London by air from Vienna on 17 November and were welcomed by Lord Mancroft, Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Home Office. A by-product of these tragic events was the cancellation of the projected visit of the Sadlers Wells Ballet company to Moscow. The Russian Bolshoi Ballet's visit had been nearly cancelled because one Russian woman had been accused of stealing five very cheap hats: the return visit was cancelled because the Soviet dictators were murdering 'a people rightly struggling to be free'.

On 6 December the Home Secretary stated that by 12 December 11,000 Hungarian refugees would have been admitted, a number larger than that taken by any other country. Though the Government placed no limit on the number it would ultimately accept, there would have to be thereafter a temporary suspension of the flow to ease the position at the reception centres. It was said that a number of the refugees in England were to pass on eventually to Canada.

On 17 and 19 December *The Times* published disturbing letters from persons who had been acting as interpreters at Hungarian refugee camps to the effect that the great majority of the refugees wished to go on to the United States or the Commonwealth and considered that they had been brought to Britain under false pretences. It was alleged that organizations handling the refugees in Austria, desperately anxious to get them moved on to make room for the flood of other refugees coming in behind them, had, without any authority, assured them that their stay in Britain would be a brief pause before the continuation of their journey. The consequence was widespread discontent and refusal to accept the jobs offered them. The Foreign Secretary alluded to these difficulties in guarded terms in a statement on 19 December in the course of which he announced that it was hoped to resume admission of Hungarian refugees early in the New Year.

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The Hungarians were not the only refugees with a claim on British hospitality. On 19 December Lord Colwyn broadcast an appeal on behalf of the several thousand British subjects expelled from Egypt and arriving destitute in the United Kingdom. Some of these were of British birth, others Maltese for whom no room could be found in their own overcrowded island.

Lord Radcliffe's proposals for a constitution for Cyprus were published on 19 December (see p. 118). On the same day the Colonial Secretary told the House of Commons that the Government would be prepared to introduce a constitution on these lines as soon as they were satisfied that a situation existed in which elections could be held free from violence and intimidation. The proposals would give the Cypriots the widest possible measure of autonomy compatible with the reservation to the Governor of defence, external affairs, and public security. When the international situation permitted, and provided that self-government was working satisfactorily, the British Government would be ready to review the question of the application for self-determination. When that time came the Turkish community, no less than the Greek, should have freedom to decide for themselves their future status. In other words, self-determination might involve partition. Mr. Lennox-Boyd had just returned from visiting Greece and Turkey, where he had discussed the proposals with the Prime Ministers of those countries. The proposals were now going to be shown to Archbishop Makarios. If the Archbishop should wish to discuss them with anyone from Greece or Cyprus, he would be given the necessary facilities. Opposition spokesmen regretted the mention of the possibility of eventual partition of the island, but Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that, in the eventual interests of the Turkish community, which were fully safeguarded under the proposed constitution, the possibility of partition, if and when the proposed constitution was superseded by self-determination, could not be ruled out.

On 18 December the Prime Minister announced that the Government had decided to suspend, for an experimental period of about six months, the much criticized '14 day rule' which prevented the discussion on radio or television of controversial subjects about to be debated in Parliament (see A.R. 1955, p. 58).

The motor industry which for most of the year had been suffering a diminution of sales both at home and abroad, received a further blow from the rationing and increased taxation of petrol and other oils. To offset this it was announced, during a debate on economic affairs on 20 December, that the Government had decided to relax, for the time being, hire-purchase restrictions on cars, light vans, and motor cycles, new and second-hand, by reducing the minimum down payment from 50 to 20 per cent. Parliament rose for the Christmas recess on the following day.

On 15 October the Duke of Edinburgh left London airport on the first stage of a four months journey of 35,000 miles of which the

centre-piece was to be the opening of the Olympic Games at Melbourne on 22 November. The Duke's outward journey included stops of varying duration at Gibraltar, Kano, Entebbe, Mombasa, Ceylon, Singapore, New Guinea, Rabaul, Darwin, Alice Springs, and Canberra. On his way home he proposed to visit New Zealand, the Antarctic base at Deception Island, the Falkland Islands, South Georgia, Tristan da Cunha, St. Helena, Ascension Island, and Gambia. It may well be doubted whether anyone had ever visited *all* these places before.

On 17 October the Queen opened the world's first large-scale nuclear power station at Calder Hall, on the Cumberland coast a few miles south of Whitehaven. In her opening words the Queen said: 'As power from Calder Hall begins to flow into the national grid, all of us here know that we are present at the making of history.' The scientific significance of Calder Hall is discussed elsewhere in this volume (see p. 335). On 13 December it was announced that contracts worth well over £100 million had been awarded for the construction of three more commercial atomic power stations in Essex, Gloucestershire, and Ayrshire, this being an instalment of the Government's provisional programme, announced in 1955, for the development of nuclear energy for non-military purposes by the building of ten such stations in 12 years.

The stormy summer was followed by an autumn exceptionally tranquil and serene. Throughout October and November the days slipped by, all much alike and all most agreeable. All ?—Well, nearly all, in the south at any rate. Christmas proved that the Christmas card trade had not yet reached its ceiling. Over the past six years the sale of these cards had increased by 86 million and had reached a total of over 500 million, a 'monstrous surge of printed bonhomie' said *The Economist*, in an article which explored the subject with its customary thoroughness. Some aspects of the Christmas card mania were, it appeared to the writer, less admirable than others: but on the whole it was an innocent and amiable fashion and no body of experts or moralists had as yet arisen to denounce it.

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CHAPTER V

SCOTLAND, WALES, NORTHERN IRELAND

Our survey of events in the United Kingdom will be concluded with an account of the developments in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.

Scotland. The principal Scottish statute of the year was the Valuation and Rating Act, which, after being discussed in 22 sittings of the Scottish Grand Committee, became law on 2 August. Under its terms (see A.R. 1954, p. 66, and 1955, p. 67) the transfer to occupiers of liability for owners' rates was to be made in 1957.

The municipal elections (1 May) produced dismally low polls, no surprises and negligible changes—a net loss by Labour of three seats in the large burghs and seven in the small burghs. This very subdued 'drift from the Left' had the effect of creating exactly balanced councils at Paisley (12–12) and Kirkcaldy (15–15); political alignments were unaltered in the cities, where the Moderates offset a single loss in Edinburgh with a single gain in Dundee; but internal dissension at Motherwell cost Labour two seats and the control of the council.

Amidst adverse weather conditions Scottish farmers had a surprisingly good year. The total tillage area, some 1,643,000 acres, was 27,700 acres more than that of 1955, and this factor, in conjunction with maintained or improved yields, ensured heavier crops of oats, barley, wheat, potatoes, hay (from both rotation and permanent grass), grass silage, turnips, and swedes. Such an unbroken range of increases among major agricultural products must have been something of a record, and implied a high tribute to the arable farmer's skill. Moreover herds of beef cattle (933,570 head) and of dairy cattle (802,638 head) each showed a slight rise. Thanks mainly to a good lambing season there were 189,000 more sheep than in 1955, while the poultry total increased by 232,700; pigs, however, fell off by 10 per cent. The labour force, full-time, part-time, and casual, dropped by 2,655 to 90,329.

The winter herring season brought little change in total landings and values (£291,315 for all Scotland), the summer season yielded sales of £1,110,000 (£127,000 short of the preceding year's figure), and the autumn fishing off East Anglia was as unsatisfactory for the fewer Scottish boats that went south as that of 1955.

Among primary industries coal, largely because of labour disputes, had a lower output, with 21,480,325 tons, but steel improved to 2,518,900 tons, and pig-iron also stood slightly higher at 931,400 tons. House-building, however, again declined, and, with 31,501 units, or 2,168 fewer than in 1955, cannot be said to have kept pace with the national needs. In Scotland, as elsewhere, future prospects for shipbuilding were favourable, but the actual output of the Clyde dropped to 417,177 tons, although the east coast tonnage (89,252) rose by 6 per cent. Unemployment ranged between 59,224 in February and 44,943 in July, or 2·7 and 2·1 per cent. of all insured workers—rates about double those of Great Britain as a whole.

Modernization and diversification of industry, with some help from Anglo-American enterprise, were carried further. On 16 January a project was announced for the production of caterpillar tractors at Bellshill, in the heart of the Lanarkshire 'black country', while by 2 February the manufacture of detergent alkylate of high quality had begun at Grangemouth. On 14 May another industrial estate, the twenty-first in Scotland, was opened at Inverness. A new oil storage depot, with a capacity of one million gallons, came into operation at Kirkcudbright on 25 May. The Lawers hydro-electric scheme in northern Perthshire, capable of averaging 80 million units a year, was

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opened on 30 June. The vast Daer Valley water scheme, completed in eight years and designed to serve many of Lanarkshire's industrial and domestic needs, was inaugurated by the Queen on 16 October. In transport, too, the old gave way to the new. On 11 June British Railways put into experimental service on two Scottish routes their new light-weight diesel railcars, with a view to instituting regular services in 1957. Dundee's tramways, begun in 1875, were closed on 20 October, and the Edinburgh system, dating from 1871, had its last run on 16 November. Following the success of the single-engined Prestwick Pioneer (see A.R. 1953, p. 68), the Prestwick Twin Pioneer airliner was granted its certificate of airworthiness on 16 November.

The National Coal Board's plans included a new pit to be sunk at Airth, in Stirlingshire, and to become the deepest in Scotland (13 February), and an opencast project at Westfield, Fife, expected to yield at least 20 million tons of bituminous coal (8 June). A four-year £13 million scheme to electrify the railway network in and around Glasgow was authorized on 27 April. As for the Firth of Forth crossing (see A.R. 1955, p. 68), the Secretary of State, Mr. James Stuart, having already consulted a panel of experts and also the interested local bodies, officially declared on 15 June in favour of a road bridge and against an underwater 'tube'.

It was not all smooth sailing for the planners and the year closed with several local conflicts unresolved. At Milngavie, near Glasgow, mining needs and residential amenities clashed sharply, while both Edinburgh and St. Andrews suffered modern variants of the ancient town-and-gown disputes. Misgivings were also voiced over the announcement, on 13 December, of plans for locating a huge nuclear power plant, costing about £40 million, at Hunterston on the Ayrshire coast; work would start early in 1957 and be completed in 1962.

In education teachers' salaries were augmented on 1 April and again on 1 November, and the Government declared, on 9 May, their intention to institute a new lower (or 'ordinary') grade of the Leaving Certificate, for award in the fourth year of secondary school. As regards religion much interest attached to the reunion, on 24 May, of the United Original Secession Church with the Church of Scotland: thus was finally healed a breach that had endured for 223 years.

Memorable royal 'occasions' included the Queen's visits to Ayrshire (3 July) and the Western Isles (12-18 August), and the ceremonial opening of the National Library in Edinburgh on 4 July.

Wales. On 30 January a debate on Welsh affairs was held in the House of Commons in the course of which Mr. David Llewellyn, Conservative member for Cardiff North, alleged that there was 'a distinct bias on the Welsh Region of the B.B.C. in favour of Welsh nationalism and *Plaid Cymru* (the Welsh Nationalist Party), in favour of the Parliament for Wales and in favour of the individuals who support those movements'. He went on to say: 'It is my conviction that in the news and broadcasting from Wales . . . there is evidence of a misuse of power tantamount to a corruption of power . . . by

suppression, selection and distortion the strength of Welsh nationalism is exaggerated day in and day out.' His demand for an independent committee of inquiry into Welsh broadcasting was supported by other Welsh members. Such a committee was established under the chairmanship of Sir Godfrey Ince and reported its findings in December (Cmnd. 39). It reported that the B.B.C.'s Welsh staff were conscious of their obligations and that they carried out their duties in an impartial manner. It found no evidence to support the grave charge of bias through corrupt and deliberate distortion, suppression, and selection of news. It did, however, find that there had been errors of judgement and lack of balance, caused by considerations peculiar to Wales and not by any deliberate intention on the part of the staff, and recommended that there should be an adjustment of staffing to guard against such lapses in the future.

Levels of employment and production remained high throughout the year. But the credit-squeeze and a slight trade recession had rather worse effects in Wales than in Britain as a whole. The percentage of unemployment in Wales varied from 1·4 per cent. in July 1955 to 2·0 per cent. in March 1956, while in Great Britain during the same period it varied from 0·9 per cent. to 1·3 per cent. However, the monthly average of 17,074 unemployed in Wales was still considerably lower than in previous years.

Final figures confirmed that as a result of the splendid harvest of 1955 farmers were able to replenish stocks of winter fodder, which had become dangerously depleted. The number of livestock showed a remarkable recovery after the very bad season of 1954-55. A long spell of wet weather in July and August of 1956 created further difficulties for farmers; but more favourable weather in September and October seemed to have prevented serious disasters. The Forestry Commission by now had 94 State Forests occupying over 308,000 acres of land. Of this, 185,500 acres were under plantation, and the Commission, having only 55,000 acres of plantable land in hand, would be obliged to limit planting to about 13,000 acres a year.

Coal production in South Wales during the year ending 30 June 1956 fell by over half a million tons to 23 million tons. This was caused partly by a fall in manpower and partly by a higher loss of tonnage through disputes. On the other hand overall productivity per manshift showed a slight increase on the previous year, probably as a result of the increasing introduction of power loading into the pits. In North Wales, where marked advances had been made in reconstruction and mechanization, production increased by 105,100 tons. Though the number of Welsh miners in 1956 was slightly higher than at the end of 1955, it continued to be inadequate for the needs of the industry.

During 1956 Wales became the leading steel producing area of Great Britain. Production of crude steel and steel sheet was running at record levels until the end of April, but a prolonged ban on overtime working by the maintenance men which then began caused a substantial reduction in the output from the Welsh continuous mills. Demand

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for tinplate continued to be very great, and in order to maintain output at the hand mills more Italian workers had to be brought in. Extensions to existing plant were undertaken at Port Talbot, Ebbw Vale, Shotton, and Trostre; and production began on a small scale at the large new tinplate mill at Velindre, Swansea, in July. The Steel Company of Wales also announced major new developments, estimated to cost £48 million, at the vast Abbey Works, Port Talbot.

Increasing industrial production led to an increase of 70 per cent. in the demand for electricity since 1948. Total available capacity, which was already twice as great as it was in 1948, was expected to be three times as great by 1960. The demand for water by industrial users also continued to expand greatly. During the year 1956 a good deal of attention was focused on Welsh water resources. This was caused mainly by the proposals of Liverpool Corporation that the city's need for more water should be met by new reservoirs in North Wales. The original scheme for flooding the Dolanog Valley met with such opposition that it was dropped in favour of a scheme for the Tryweryn Valley, but this, too, met with much opposition.

Traffic at the Welsh ports during the first six months of 1956 showed a total loss of about three-quarters of a million tons over the corresponding period of 1955, itself a poor year. The decline in the traffic in oil and spirits which chiefly accounted for this was made more acute by the Suez crisis. The uncertainties over the Suez Canal led to suggestions for making Milford Haven into an oil port at which the biggest tankers would be able to berth. Two leading petroleum companies announced that they had acquired land for future development at the Haven.

Most of the information relating to economic activity in Wales came as usual from the Report on Government Action (Cmd. 9887) and its accompanying statistical digest. A statistical analysis undertaken as a result of private initiative but based largely on public statistics which aroused much interest was *The Social Accounts of the Welsh Economy 1948-52*, produced by a research team from the University College, Aberystwyth, and published by the University Press.

A secondary school at which Welsh was the language of instruction, the first of its kind, was opened at Rhyl by the Flintshire Education Committee.

A number of eminent Welshmen died during 1956. They included the bishops of St. David's and Bangor, Sir Rhys Hopkin Morris, one of the best-known figures in Welsh public life, Robert Parry Williams, the most famous of living Welsh poets, and the Archdruid of Wales (Rev. Dyfnallt Owen).

Northern Ireland. The general prosperity of the province was shown by a slight fall in the number of persons registered as unemployed over the year. But this trend was reversed in the later months and in December the number of unemployed was higher than it had been in December 1955, and represented almost 7 per cent. of the insured population.

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The Northern Ireland Development Council, set up by the Government at the end of 1955 (see A.R. 1955, p. 71) came into operation during the year and supplemented the work of the Ministry of Commerce in its attempt to reduce unemployment by attracting new industries to the province. In August the British Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that in order to assist industrial development in Northern Ireland he had promised his consent to capital issues for investment there, despite the current restrictions in Great Britain. As a result of these efforts several new factories were opened or projected, including two American undertakings, one at Coleraine for the manufacture of synthetic fibre, the other at Londonderry for the manufacture of synthetic rubber.

Of the established industries of the province both shipbuilding and linen suffered some set-backs during the year. Dismissals of shipyard workers at Belfast in August, due to redundancy, led to a trade union ban on overtime, which lasted three weeks; and this was followed by a dispute over piece-work rates. The dislocation and delay thus caused were partly responsible for a decline in the gross tonnage of shipping launched at Belfast from over 120,000 tons in 1955 to 103,000 tons in 1956. Before the end of the year, however, the volume of work in hand had increased considerably: in September a contract for three 20,000 ton vessels was placed by the Royal Mail Lines, and events in the Middle East led to a demand for large-sized tankers.

The linen export trade was adversely affected by the virtual closure of the important Argentine market, by the difficulty of trade with Brazil, and by restrictions on imports into Australia; but the export of linen piece-goods showed a slight increase, both in quantity and in value, over that for 1955. Spinners were hampered by the fluctuations in the European flax-market, on which they continued to depend for the greater part of their supply; and this dependence was increased by the further decline in the acreage under flax in Northern Ireland, together with the poor quality of the 1956 crop. Even the re-emergence of Russia as a major exporter of flax, for the first time since 1939, did not materially improve the position.

Apart from flax all other crops showed an increase in production, and the total area under tillage rose by almost 18,000 acres, though the value of this increase was to some extent off-set by bad harvests. There were increases also in the numbers of cattle, sheep, and fowls; and the total value of eggs exported was estimated at almost £16¾ million, making Northern Ireland the third largest exporter of eggs in the world. The maintenance of beef-production was threatened by a fall in prices during the summer, but the situation was favourably altered by a guarantee given in the autumn by the British Minister of Agriculture that Northern Ireland producers would receive special treatment in the new scheme for deficiency payments. The pig-rearing industry, despite some decline in numbers, remained prosperous until the autumn; but an outbreak of swine-fever in September (the first since 1952) and the reversion of the British bacon import trade to private hands in October presented a double threat.

The internal political life of the province was marked by two controversial Government measures. The Housing (Amendment) Bill, which empowered landlords to increase rents on certain classes of houses, was strongly criticized by many Unionist members, including the Attorney-General (Mr. Edmond Warnock), who consequently resigned his post at the request of the Prime Minister. The Government had to make substantial concessions, restricting the amount of increase and exempting a large class of tenants, before the Bill passed into law. In the Family Allowance and National Insurance Bill, which was based on similar legislation passed at Westminster, the Government at first proposed to modify the British scheme by paying increased allowances on the second and third instead of on the third and subsequent children; but in face of strong criticism from all quarters this proposal was abandoned and the British scheme adopted. A less controversial measure, the Road Traffic Act, came into operation in October. This provided, for the first time in Northern Ireland, that applicants for driving licences should be subject to a test, and also imposed a speed-limit of 30 m.p.h. in built-up areas.

Several Cabinet changes resulted from the resignations of Mr. Warnock and of Mr. G. B. Hanna, Minister of Finance since April and formerly Minister of Home Affairs, who accepted a county court judgeship in September. Mr. Brian Maginess, formerly Minister of Finance, became Attorney-General, Captain Terence O'Neill became Minister of Finance, and Colonel W. B. Topping, formerly Government Chief Whip, became Minister of Home Affairs.

Two by-elections for the Northern Ireland Parliament occurred during the year, and both seats were retained by the Unionist party. In the Mid-Ulster constituency there was a further by-election for the Imperial Parliament (see A.R. 1955, p. 72): on this occasion, the *Sinn Fein* candidate, who had previously been twice successful, was defeated by an unofficial Unionist, owing to the intervention of a Nationalist.

In January a provisional organization was established to work out a scheme for re-uniting the Irish trade union movement, split since 1945 (see A.R. 1945, pp. 113-14), and in other respects also relations with Eire remained friendly during the greater part of the year. But in November and December a series of terrorist attacks, based on Eire, were directed against the Ulster border counties: army and police property, customs posts, the B.B.C. station at Londonderry, and other public buildings were destroyed or damaged. The Government at once took protective measures, and in December issued an order under the Special Powers Act, providing for the arrest and detention of suspected persons (see A.R. 1954, p. 71). The British Government made representations in Dublin concerning the use of Eire territory as a base for the attacks; but Mr. Costello, dependent on a precarious majority in the *Dail*, was unwilling to risk strong measures, and Northern Unionists remained suspicious of his intentions.

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PART II

THE COMMONWEALTH

INTRODUCTION

THE early months of 1956 little suggested its stormy close. The independence of the Sudan, recognized by the United Kingdom and Egypt on 1 January, completed the process of self-determination as projected in the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of February 1953. Letters conveying formal recognition of Sudanese independence were read to a joint sitting of the Sudanese Parliament and the Prime Minister thanked the nations, particularly the United Kingdom and Egypt, which had helped the Sudan to become independent. An orderly advance towards full self-government also continued in West Africa, in the West Indies, and in more chequered course in South East Asia.

On 7 February a conference on the establishment of a British Caribbean Federation was opened in London by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, who suggested that while full self-government for the British Caribbean territories on a unit basis was impracticable, it was implicit in the idea of federation. The Conference concluded on 23 February with 'the unanimous agreement of those of us who have the honour to represent the British Caribbean colonies on this historic occasion that our countries should be bound together in federation'. Elections to the first federal legislature were planned for early 1958 and to mark the memorable character of the decisions taken at the Conference it was agreed that the Governments of the territories represented at it should be asked to fix an annual holiday on 23 February, to be known as Federation Day.

The report of the Constitutional Conference on Malaya published on 8 February embodied proposals for the early establishment of a fully self-governing and independent Federation of Malaya within the British Commonwealth and recorded agreement that, if possible, a constitution setting up such a Federation should be enacted in sufficient time to allow of a declaration of independence in August 1957. It was not contemplated that Singapore should be included within such a federation. On the contrary the island, under Mr. Marshall's volatile leadership, pressed for early independence as a unit and negotiations on the various compromises suggested to ensure especially the maintenance of law and order broke down in May. Later conversations with Mr. Marshall's successor as Chief Minister took place in December.

Meanwhile the Gold Coast, the pioneer among African States on the road to fullsel f-government, advanced further towards this goal. Elections to the Legislative Assembly in July resulted in a victory for the Convention People's Party which won all 44 seats in the Colony area, and a total of 71 out of 104. On 3 August the Prime Minister,

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Dr. Nkrumah, introduced a motion in the Legislative Assembly that 'this Assembly do authorize the Government of the Gold Coast to request her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, as soon as practicable this year, to procure the enactment by the United Kingdom Parliament of an Act to provide for the independence of the Gold Coast as a sovereign and independent state within the Commonwealth under the name of Ghana'. The motion was approved by 72 votes in favour and none against, the opposition members absenting themselves from the Assembly. In a dispatch to the Governor dated 15 September the Secretary of State for the Colonies said that the Government of the United Kingdom would introduce legislation for this purpose and in December Parliament approved the grant of independence as from 6 March 1957. In Ashanti and in the Northern Territories there was continuing opposition to the idea of a unitary constitution.

After protracted delay and one major constitutional crisis the Pakistan Constitution Bill was passed without a division on 29 February. The Governor-General, Major-General Iskander Mirza, was elected Provisional President by the Constituent Assembly on 5 March and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan was formally proclaimed on 23 March. In accord with the earlier agreement of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers (4 February 1955) and a resolution of the Constituent Assembly of 2 March the Republic continued a member of the Commonwealth. In Ceylon a General Election in April resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the United National Party with the result that a new coalition government was formed under the leadership of Mr. S. W. Bandaranaike. The new Prime Minister announced the intention of his Government to establish a republic in Ceylon and to ask for the termination of the 1947 defence agreement with the United Kingdom under which British forces were stationed in Ceylon. On 6 July after discussions with Mr. Bandaranaike in London a joint statement was issued recording the expressed wish of the Government of Ceylon to take over the naval base at Trincomalee and the Royal Air Force station at Katanayake and the willingness of the United Kingdom Government, recognizing the right of Ceylon to do so, to make suitable arrangements. These were duly made and agreement also reached about facilities to be made available to the United Kingdom in Ceylon for communication, movements, and storage.

A meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was held in London from 27 June to 6 July. It was presided over by Sir Anthony Eden and was attended by the Prime Ministers of all the members of the Commonwealth and of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In respect of Commonwealth membership it was agreed that the Prime Minister of the Federation should in future participate at such meetings not by special invitation but as of right and that on becoming a republic Ceylon should, at her own wish, continue her membership of the Commonwealth. There was a general review of international affairs with particular reference to developments in Soviet policy assessed in the light of recent visits by Soviet leaders to Britain and to India. The situation in the Middle East was also considered and the Prime Ministers

'reaffirmed their interest in the peace and stability of this area'. They also welcomed the unceasing efforts of the Government of the United Kingdom to find a solution 'acceptable to all concerned' in Cyprus. They noted with satisfaction the admission of Ceylon and of other countries to the United Nations and recognized the important part members of the Commonwealth had played in securing this. Attention was also directed once again to economic problems likely to be accentuated with the decline in the reserves of the sterling area. The Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the United Kingdom's determination to maintain and improve its capacity to serve as a source of capital for development in Commonwealth countries. The development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes was felt to offer a valuable new sphere for co-operation.

Within a few weeks of the ending of the Prime Ministers' Conference Egypt precipitated an international crisis, which bore directly upon most members of the Commonwealth, by nationalizing the Suez Canal on 26 July. 'The industrial life of Western Europe', said Sir Anthony Eden in the House of Commons on 2 August 'literally depends upon the continuing free navigation of the Canal as one of the great international waterways of the world. . . . Nor does this traffic affect the West alone. Australia, India, Ceylon and a large part of South East Asia transport the major proportion of their trade . . . through the Canal.' The United Kingdom Government announced certain precautionary measures in the eastern Mediterranean. Australia, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan, and the United Kingdom were among the 22 countries attending the first London Conference which opened on 16 August. Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, and the United Kingdom were among the 18 Governments which joined in requesting a Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Menzies, the Prime Minister of Australia, to discuss the agreed 'five-nation proposal' with President Nasser in Cairo. The discussions proved fruitless. On 29 August it was announced that the United Kingdom Government had agreed that a contingent of French troops should be temporarily stationed in Cyprus. A second Suez Conference took place in London from 19-21 September and agreed upon the establishment of a Suez Canal Users' Association. Throughout there was evidence of considerable difference of view as between India and Ceylon on the one hand and the United Kingdom on the other on the nature and form of the international control to which Egypt might reasonably be expected to agree.

These differences were merged in greater differences following upon the Anglo-French ultimatum to Egypt and to Israel of 30 October. Commonwealth Governments were neither informed nor consulted about it in advance. The failure to do so whether due to lack of time or deliberate lack of candour on the part of the United Kingdom did not contribute to a favourable initial reaction in the Commonwealth overseas. In Australia where opinion, as in the United Kingdom, was deeply divided Mr. Menzies said on 1 November that he regarded the Anglo-French action as 'a police action taken in a state of great emergency'. Mr. Holland in New Zealand said that while several

features in the situation were 'disturbing' he had full confidence in the intentions of the United Kingdom Government. In the voting at the United Nations these two Governments out of loyalty or conviction generally supported the United Kingdom and France in their lonely isolation. Elsewhere in the Commonwealth no such support was forthcoming. The Canadian Government in the words of Mr. St. Laurent 'could not but regret that at a time when the Security Council was seized of the matter the United Kingdom and France felt it necessary to intervene with force on their own responsibility'. Commonwealth ties, he said, had as a consequence been weakened. His Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Lester Pearson, mindful especially of the violent reactions in Asia, said later that the Commonwealth had in fact been brought 'to the verge of dissolution'. The Pakistan Prime Minister 'unreservedly condemned' the Anglo-French action and there were demonstrations in some of its principal cities, Mr. Nehru denounced the 'flagrant violation' of the United Nations Charter and found Sir Anthony Eden's explanation of the Anglo-French intervention totally 'unconvincing and unsatisfactory'. His forthright criticisms coupled with his delayed condemnation of Russia's brutal suppression of the Hungarian people added to the strain to which Anglo-Indian relations were subjected. The decision to withdraw the Anglo-French forces from the Canal softened these intra-Commonwealth asperities and in Asia the thoughts of secession were firmly repudiated. Pakistan, rebuffed by Egypt, in particular adjusted her views more sympathetically to the United Kingdom. None the less it was felt by many that the Commonwealth had been sensibly weakened not least by the widespread conviction that the Government of the United Kingdom no longer regarded it a principal determinant in the making of policy. Violence and repression in Cyprus followed by new constitutional proposals and further evidence of the resolve of the South African Government to crush all opposition to its racial policies brought to a close a year of some achievement and much discomfiture in Commonwealth relations.

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CHAPTER I

CANADA

THE year 1956 brought continuing and rapid economic growth, new problems and responsibilities in international affairs, and some important political developments as the parties squared off for the national elections which were expected to take place in June 1957.

In Parliament the Liberal Government, headed by Prime Minister Louis S. St. Laurent, continued to enjoy a comfortable majority. The main Opposition party, the Progressive Conservatives, suffered a severe blow when its Leader, Mr. George Drew, was compelled to resign in September owing to ill health. Although his leadership had failed

to avert disastrous defeat at the polls in 1949 and 1953, he had a nation-wide reputation, and might ultimately have led his party to victory. A convention held in Ottawa in December selected as his successor Mr. John G. Diefenbaker, veteran M.P. for Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. Although he was overwhelmingly endorsed on the first ballot, there were widespread doubts as to the wisdom of choosing a man of 61 (who had also alienated sentiment in the Province of Quebec) to undertake the long-range task of rebuilding a national party.

The C.C.F. (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation) Party also held a national convention in Winnipeg in August, when it abandoned its 1933 Regina Manifesto in favour of a more moderate Declaration of Principles which supported a mixed socialist and capitalist economy. The Social Credit Party demonstrated by its conduct of affairs in the two western provinces where it held power that it was not disposed to take too seriously its monetary theories. Both these parties remained sectional parties. And the Progressive Conservatives gave no indication that they were as yet a serious challenge to the Liberals. Yet the latter, too, were approaching a leadership crisis. Mr. St. Laurent, who was in his 74th year, was not expected to lead the party longer than through the next election, and there was no obvious successor either as party leader or as the chief representative from Quebec. But the Liberal position at Ottawa appeared unshaken after 21 years in office. At the end of the year the party standing was Liberals 167, Progressive Conservatives 50, C.C.F. 22, Social Credit 15, Independent 4, and 7 seats were vacant.

In the provincial arena six electoral contests brought no surprises, save in Nova Scotia where the Progressive Conservatives put an end to 23 years of Liberal rule. Although at the end of the year the Liberals controlled only Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and Manitoba, while the Progressive Conservatives held Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, the C.C.F. held Saskatchewan, the Social Credit held Alberta and British Columbia, and Premier Duplessis's *Union Nationale* held Quebec, this indicated the tendency of Canadians to vote for provincial governments of a different stripe from that holding office in Ottawa, rather than a threat to the Liberal position on the national level.

The third session of the 22nd Parliament opened on 10 January and sat for 152 days—just three short of the record set in 1903. The Throne Speech forecast an even more modest programme of legislation than usual, but the session proved to be one of the stormiest in Canada's political history. Bitter controversy was provoked by the Government's measures for giving succour to hard-pressed prairie farmers who were unable to dispose of their crops. Questions of defence also engendered some heat as members took up the opinions expressed by two recently retired senior officers (one of them the former Chief of the Army General Staff) that Canadian defences were inadequate. Rather less controversy than usual was evoked by the Budget, introduced by the Minister of Finance, Mr. W. E. Harris, on 20 March. Mr. Harris reported that recovery from the recession of 1954 had been continuous

and rapid throughout 1955, with the result that revenues for the fiscal year amounted to $4,437 million, and the deficit to only $52 million, about one-third the amount forecast. He predicted that the boom would continue throughout 1956, and estimated that the gross national product (total value of all goods and services) would increase from $26·5 billion to nearly $28 billion. As the existing tax structure would produce revenues of $4,775 million, and expenditures were estimated at $4,650 million, he did not recommend any substantial changes in tax policy. Apart from criticizing a proposal to levy a special excise tax of 20 per cent. on the advertising revenues of Canadian editions of American magazines, the Progressive Conservatives attacked the Budget as 'empty, negative, and partisan', and the C.C.F. charged that it favoured the privileged interests. The Progressive Conservatives also objected to the new tax proposals which had been worked out in a series of dominion-provincial conferences, although Mr. Drew admitted that they were an improvement on the tax rental agreements of 1947 and 1952.

The most bitter battle of the session was precipitated by the Government's proposal for financing the natural gas pipeline from Alberta to Ontario, a vast project which had been repeatedly delayed by financing difficulties. The Government proposed to advance 90 per cent. of the cost of constructing the prairie section to Trans Canada Pipelines Limited, a corporation more than four-fifths owned in the United States which had both an option on the requisite amount of scarce 34-inch pipe and agreements with eastern customers for the sale of gas; and to constitute a Crown corporation to build, in co-operation with the Province of Ontario, the uneconomic section from the Manitoba border to Kasuscasing. The latter scheme met with little objection; but the Progressive Conservatives and the C.C.F. made clear their determination to combat the deal with Trans Canada with every parliamentary weapon. In turn Mr. C. D. Howe, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, threatened to resort to the rarely used device of closure to secure its approval by 7 June. This precipitated weeks of turmoil, in which the high-handed action of the Government and the curious behaviour of the Speaker, Mr. René Beaudoin, obscured the issue of the pipeline. Opposition objections were overruled by the Government's docile majority, and Mr. Howe's deadline was met but only after a protracted procedure debate in which closure was used in an unprecedented way and to an unprecedented extent, and the C.C.F. had challenged and put to a vote 24 rulings by the Speaker. Tempers ran high and there were many disorderly scenes. The Opposition belief that the Speaker had violated his traditional impartial role was fanned into white hot anger when at a critical moment he reversed a previous ruling under, so the Opposition alleged, Government pressure. On 8 June a motion of censure was introduced and defeated, but following the publication of an indiscreet letter to a Montreal newspaper Mr. Beaudoin tendered his resignation. This he later withdrew when, as the Prime Minister explained, he had been persuaded that his duty was to remain in office; and with their eye on the 1957 election the Opposition

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was not prepared to take further steps against a French-Canadian who was already being represented in Quebec as a victim of Anglo-Saxon persecution. The Government emerged from the crisis with its prestige badly shaken, and its action was sharply criticized even by staunchly Liberal newspapers.

The grave situation which followed the Anglo-French intervention at Port Said led the Government to summon a special autumn session of Parliament. The Middle East was an area in which Canada had traditionally avoided commitments, although a Canadian, Major-General E. L. M. Burns, had been serving as chief of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine. Mr. L. B. Pearson, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, described the nationalization of the Suez Canal as an arbitrary move and endorsed the principle of placing it under international control. The Anglo-French military action placed the Canadian Government in a serious dilemma. It recognized the threat of a Moscow-backed Nasser régime to the integrity of Israel and the security of the Middle East, and it appreciated Anglo-French exasperation at United States policy. But it also felt a deep repugnance at the resort to military measures and at the flouting of the United Nations, and it feared a serious rupture between the United Kingdom and the United States; it feared, too, that the North Atlantic Alliance might be disrupted, and that the 'new' Commonwealth might disintegrate through the secession of its Asian members. Canada thus attempted to avoid outright condemnation of Anglo-French action and to emphasize the need to move towards a permanent settlement of outstanding issues. To this end Mr. Pearson advocated a U.N. Special Police Force for the Middle East. This proposal was approved by the U.N. General Assembly, and General Burns was named to command it. A Canadian contribution of up to 2,500 men was authorized, and by the third week in November several hundred administrative and technical troops and an R.C.A.F. squadron were serving in Egypt.

When the Fourth (Special) Session of the 22nd Parliament assembled on 26 November the Progressive Conservatives attacked the Government for its critical attitude towards the Anglo-French action, and, while supporting the proposal for a special force, charged that President Nasser had been allowed to dictate its composition by his refusal to accept the infantry battalion which had been air-lifted from Calgary to Halifax in readiness for transfer to Egypt. But the Government insisted that it had merely done everything possible to meet its obligations to the United Nations and to repair the damage done to the Commonwealth and to relations between Britain, France, and the United States. After four days of intense and often heated debate it secured endorsement of its request for authorization to finance the special force out of existing appropriations. On 29 December the H.M.C.S. *Magnificent* sailed with a further 500 administrative troops, bringing Canada's contribution to over 1,000 army and air force personnel.

The Special Session also voted $1 million for relief for Hungarian refugees whom the Government announced it was prepared to accept in unlimited numbers. It also undertook to provide free passages to Canada; it arranged emergency sea and air transportation; it co-ordinated private and provincial agencies dealing with care and reception; and the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Mr. J. W. Pickersgill, flew to Vienna to supervise the arrangements.

For the rest Canadian external relations followed the traditional pattern with, as Mr. Pearson put it, 'Canadian-American relations . . . the most important single item' apart from the transcendent issues of peace and war. Fears that the increasing capital inflow from the United States threatened excessive domination of Canada's national economy and would perhaps ultimately imperil its political independence were given some point by the publication of a report by the Bureau of Statistics which showed that American capital controlled 44 per cent. of Canada's manufacturing plant, 70 per cent. of its oil industry, and 55 per cent. of its mining activities. This and other aspects of Canadian-American relations were discussed by Prime Minister St. Laurent and President Eisenhower at White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, but the good will which emerged was probably undone by a speech by the retiring U.S. Ambassador in which he described a warning by Mr. Drew as an 'emotional appeal'. There was also concern at the large part being played by the United States in the construction and manning of the radar warning screens across northern Canada, and at some U.S. trade policies. Alarm was also expressed at some of Mr. Dulles' tactics—the reaction to the 'brink of war' interview was vigorous. The two countries also continued to differ over Communist China, the Canadian Government maintaining that there were important problems which could only be settled with the participation of the Government controlling mainland China.

Canada continued to play an active part in the Commonwealth and in NATO. The contribution to the Colombo Plan was increased by one-third to $34·4 million. Mr. St. Laurent attended the Prime Ministers' Conference in London in June-July. Despite the new Soviet tactics, Canada continued to stress the importance of NATO which, early in the year, Mr. Pearson had described as 'at the crossroads'. As one of the 'Three Wise Men' named in May to study the question of extending NATO's activities into the non-military field, he stressed the importance of political consultation, and this theme figured largely in the report presented to the Council at its December meeting.

Estimated defence expenditure for 1956-57 was set at $1,804 million, compared with $1,790·7 million in 1955-56. Emphasis during the year was primarily on the defence of North America. Part of the Mid-Canada radar line, being built by Canada along the 55th Parallel at a cost of $200 million, was scheduled to be in operation by 1 January 1957. Manned by 1,200 R.C.A.F. personnel it was to constitute Canada's most northerly defence until the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line came into operation on 1 July 1957. Plans were also announced for additional stations on the more southerly Pine Tree Line. The number

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of interceptor squadrons for home defence was increased from 9 to 12, and to spur recruiting for air-crews higher rates of flying pay were introduced. At 30 June total active forces numbered 115,924, of which 18,859 were in the navy, 47,381 in the army, and 47,684 in the air force.

During the year the Canadian economy was running at the fastest rate in its history, as the momentum of the upsurge in 1955 continued into 1956 with renewed force. By December it was clear that the gross national product would climb to about $29·5 billion, an increase of 11 per cent. over the figure for 1955, and substantially above the budgetary estimate of $28 billion. The labour force increased to nearly 6 million, wages and salaries were nearly 8 per cent. higher, and prairie farm income was at the highest since the peak of 1951. The most striking aspect of the economic picture was an $8 billion capital expansion programme. Unlike 1955, when there was an upswing from a moderate recession with an appreciable margin of unemployed labour and productive resources to draw upon, the expansion in 1956 was bumping against capacity, and threatened to outstrip both the supply of manpower and materials. The Minister of Finance thus felt called upon to issue repeated warnings that inflation might jeopardize the whole economy. To meet this threat he attempted to persuade Canadians to defer or stretch out expansion projects, and implemented fiscal measures to tighten credit and so to bring credit expansion into better relationship with the growth of production. His efforts achieved some degree of success. Although the cost of living rose to a record figure of 119·8 by October, and prices showed the strongest upward tendency since 1951 and for the year as a whole were estimated at 4 per cent. higher than in 1955, by autumn Canadian business was faced with an extremely tight money position.

Nevertheless capital expansion continued at a rate only a little lower than forecast. Despite the credit curbs house-building was at a record level, but restrictions on mortgage lending contributed towards reducing the number started for completion in 1957 by about 15 per cent., and there was also a slowing down in the construction of schools, hospitals, and municipal public works. The gain, in consequence, was largely in industrial, engineering, and business construction. The St. Lawrence Seaway was at about the half-way mark, as excavation and design work gave place to the construction of locks, power houses, bridges, and electrical equipment. Work on the natural gas pipeline from Alberta to Winnipeg was delayed by slower pipe deliveries as a result of the U.S. steel strike, and less than 300 miles of the prairie section were in the ground. The 688 mile pipeline to link Vancouver and the American north-west with the gas resources of the Peace River area of British Columbia and Alberta was more than one-third completed. Highway construction projects amounting to $500 million were under way, Canada's first atomic power plant at Des Joachims on the Ottawa River was under construction, new railway mileage was laid in British Columbia and eastern mining areas, there were many

new hydro-electric as well as other resource and industrial developments, and the extensive radar construction projects.

Mining activities showed a notable expansion, as the official output index for the first nine months climbed 14 per cent. above that for 1955. In the Maritimes production of copper, lead, zinc, coal, and iron was larger than in 1955. Extraction from the Quebec-Labrador iron fields increased by one-half to pass the 12 million ton mark, pushing Canada's total ore output to over 21 million tons. Quebec also saw expanding copper production at Gaspé and in the Chibougamau area, and new aluminium smelting facilities were opened at Arvida. In Ontario nickel-copper production continued at peak in Sudbury, iron ore development was going ahead in several areas, work was proceeding on the copper zinc development north of Lake Superior, and one firm was already in production in the Blind River uranium development. On the prairies uranium production was being expanded at Beaverlodge, Saskatchewan, to increase Canada's output to double the 1955 value. Output of crude oil continued to rise at a rate of more than 30 per cent. annually, that of natural gas at over 15 per cent. In British Columbia three new aluminium potlines came into operation at Kitimat. Across the country production of pulp and paper was up by about 6 per cent.; output of lumber was only a shade below the record set in 1955; and the demand for new machinery and equipment caused backlogs of orders and shortages of skilled workers in Canada's heavy industry. In consumer industries, on the other hand, productive capacity matched demand, while coal and gold mining and agricultural implement industries experienced chronic difficulties.

In 1956 agriculture, which for the past five years had been the major sector at variance with the general prosperity, also assumed a more promising pattern. An important factor was higher sales of wheat, although these fell short of the 1955 harvest, and the carry-over at 31 July of 528 million bushels was 28 million higher than a year earlier. The 1956 harvest was estimated at just under 500 million bushels, slightly larger than in 1955. Both sales and production of coarse grains were also larger, meat production increased by 10 per cent. (although the gain here was largely offset by lower prices), and while surpluses of butter and cheese remained, the trend had changed from accumulation to modest depletion of stocks.

Canada's exports increased by over 12 per cent. over 1955 to reach $4,027 million in the first ten months of the year. As always when Canada is prosperous, however, there was a spectacular rise in imports, mainly to help supply the needs of the expanding economy. Imports in the first ten months of 1956 amounted to $4,788 million, 23 per cent. above the equivalent figure for 1955. This gave an overall deficit of about $760 million. The deficit with the United States appeared even higher. Exports amounted to $2,400 million, compared with $2,097 million in the first ten months of 1955. But imports were 22 per cent. higher than in 1955, reaching a total of $3,497·5 million. The trade deficit with the United States was thus over $1,000 million, more than one-third above the $716 million figure for the first ten months of 1955.

Shipments to the United Kingdom advanced moderately from $647·5 million in the first ten months of 1955 to $659·5 million in the same period in 1956; imports registered a similar gain, from $332·1 million to $408·2 million. But the favourable trade balance with the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth and foreign countries was insufficient to make more than a modest dent in the deficit with the United States, and Canada's trading account continued to be balanced by the remarkable inflow of capital. The strength of the Canadian dollar was illustrated by the fact that it stood at a premium of more than four cents over the U.S. dollar by November, and official reserves of gold and U.S. dollars remained steady at a little under U.S. $1,900 million.

CHAPTER II

AUSTRALIA—NEW ZEALAND

AUSTRALIA

In the Federal Parliament the coalition Government under Prime Minister Menzies, supported by the Liberal and the Country Parties, continued to hold office. In the States regular General Elections were held by New South Wales and South Australia (3 March), Western Australia (7 April), and Queensland (19 May). In Tasmania defection to the Liberals of a Minister from the Cosgrove Labour Government led to the defeat of the Government, which then procured a dissolution; a General Election was held on 13 October. The Labour Party remained in power in New South Wales, with a reduced majority, in Western Australia, with an increased majority, and in Queensland, with the same majority. The Liberal Party remained in power in South Australia (with the same majority). In Tasmania the Labour and Liberal Parties each gained 15 seats, but the Labour Party obtained a majority of first preference votes, and pursuant to the constitutional amendment of 1955 it formed a Government. The divisions within the Labour Party (see A.R. 1955, p. 85) extended into New South Wales. In June the Federal Executive of the party dismissed the N.S.W. State Executive and formed a new one; this was accepted by all the State parliamentary members of the party, but some dissident officials and members of the extra-parliamentary organization left the party in September and formed the 'Democratic Labour Party', which intended to contest both State and Federal elections.

In January Mr. Menzies reorganized his Ministry, and for the first time in Australian practice excluded Junior Ministers from the Cabinet, on the model of the United Kingdom system; however, meetings of the full Ministry were also held occasionally to decide major issues. In February the Federal Government held a conference of economic and business experts, and in consequence on 14 March the Treasurer brought down a supplementary Budget which imposed

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increased taxation; at the same time overdraft rates were raised, and the Central Bank reduced its market support for Commonwealth bonds. These steps were taken for three main reasons: firstly, a general fear of renewed inflationary pressure; secondly, persistent adverse international trade balances which had resulted in overseas reserves falling to a dangerously low level; thirdly, in 1956-57 over A£250 million in foreign loans would fall due for redemption, and the Treasurer feared that in the existing capital market conditions much of this might have to be repaid in cash. These measures were criticized by the Labour Party Opposition and by some business interests; the dissatisfaction was a main cause for the success of the Labour Party in the Western Australian and Queensland State elections. The decline in overseas reserves continued, though more slowly, and on 28 June the Federal Government imposed additional import restrictions. The regular Federal Budget in August increased postal and similar charges, and reduced the migration programme (thought to be a short-term inflationary influence) from 125,000 to 115,000 souls a year.

From July on, the cumulative effect of these measures began to produce a favourable trade balance and this continued until the end of the year. The price level for main Australian exports also improved. At wool sales from August onwards the average price per pound rose by more than 20 per cent. over values for 1955-56, and the clip was larger. In November the Ottawa Agreement of 1932 was revised so as to reduce United Kingdom tariff preferences in Australia, thereby increasing Australia's ability to negotiate favourable trade agreements with other countries; the U.K. also undertook to purchase more Australian wheat. The loan-raising position also improved; over A£90 million in cash loans was raised without difficulty on the Australian market, over $80 million was borrowed in the U.S.A., and an American loan falling due was converted. Pressure on the labour market eased; registered unemployment reached 10,000, and signs of depression in Western Australia were sufficiently marked to justify a special federal grant for increased public works. However general prosperity remained high.

But inflationary pressure continued. The cost of living index rose during the year by about 5 per cent. This caused difficulties in industrial relations and in State Government Budgets. Industrial trouble arose because pursuant to a decision of the Federal Court of Conciliation and Arbitration in 1953, wages regulated by federal awards were no longer automatically adjusted to price changes; the grievance was exacerbated by the fact that in four States workers under State industrial awards continued to enjoy the automatic adjustment system, and in five States the State Governments continued to pay automatically adjusted wages to their own employees even if working under federal awards, so that federally-governed rates fell behind State-governed rates. In February the Australasian Council of Trade Unions and affiliated unions applied to the Federal Arbitration Court for restoration of automatic adjustments; the application was refused, but the Court increased the federal basic wage and so lessened the gap

between it and the adjusted State wages; another application to the Court had been heard in part by the end of the year.

The Federal Government supported the policy of the Federal Court and tried throughout the year to persuade the State Governments concerned to abolish automatic adjustments within their sphere; in September Victoria did so, but at the year's end New South Wales, Queensland, Western Australia, and Tasmania continued the adjustment system. The State Labour Governments, and the Labour Party generally, strongly contested the view of the Federal Government and Arbitration Court that wage rises were an important factor in inflationary pressure, directed attention to the profit levels of industry, and urged that direct controls be imposed on prices, profits, and capital issues, a policy which the non-Labour parties for the most part opposed. The State Budgets presented in August-September showed losses on nationalized undertakings exceeding A£20 million and several States increased their taxes.

During the year two protracted strikes occurred which were not related to the automatic adjustment problem. Waterside workers struck at all ports from 22 January to 15 February, and sporadic strikes again occurred on the waterfront in July. In June the Federal Parliament amended the system by which waterfront labour is controlled by a federal authority; the amendments were intended to increase the disciplinary powers of employers and to facilitate expansion of the labour force. In August the Government undertook that the more controversial features of the new control system would not be introduced until 1957. The other important dispute was in sheep shearing; this began in all States in March, was settled in the States other than Queensland in June, and dragged on in Queensland until October. But the general record of the year in industrial relations was good. In June the federal arbitration system was altered by setting up a 'Conciliation and Arbitration Commission', concerned solely with making and amending awards, and an Industrial Court, concerned solely with interpretation and policing; this was to overcome constitutional objections which the High Court of Australia had raised to the previous system by which the one tribunal discharged both functions.

When Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal in July the Prime Minister was in England, and the Minister for External Affairs, Mr. R. G. Casey, in Australia. The latter immediately issued a statement condemning the Egyptian action, but the terms of his statement (29 July) did not suggest a confirmed view that Egypt had broken international law nor that the situation called for anything more than diplomatic action. Mr. Casey was guided by departmental advice which took account of probable Asian reactions, the uncertain attitude of the U.S.A., and the complexity of the legal issues. Mr. Menzies in London had no such doubts; he gave the fullest support to the successive actions and proposals of the United Kingdom Government. Mr. Menzies carried on with his intended visit to the U.S.A., where he put his own and Sir

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Anthony Eden's view to President Eisenhower forcibly, though with no result on American policy. When the 22-nation conference was called he returned to London; the part he played in subsequent world events is told elsewhere in this volume. But such differences in emphasis as might initially have existed between Mr. Menzies and his Cabinet at home disappeared after the Menzies mission to Egypt. The Government gave full support to the formation of the Suez Canal Users' Association.

The Government gave similarly unqualified and unhesitating support to the Anglo-French action against Egypt which followed the Israel attack in October. Mr. Menzies acknowledged that he had not been consulted on Anglo-French plans—nor had Mr. Casey, who was in London at the relevant time—but he did not feel aggrieved at this. Subsequently the Federal Cabinet and Mr. Menzies in particular frequently criticized the policy of the U.S.A. and the steps taken by the U.N. to bring an end to the Anglo-French action. A special Cabinet meeting on 5 December resolved that the U.N. should give first priority to the clearing of the canal and to a settlement of the canal issue, and criticized the tendency of the U.N. action to leave President Nasser in triumphant possession of a nationalized canal. On 12 November, Mr. Menzies described as 'mere bedlam' the exclusion of British and French forces from the U.N. Force in the Middle East.

The Australian Labour Party strongly opposed the Eden-Menzies policy throughout. The differences between the Government and the Opposition were stated in a debate in the Federal Parliament initiated by Mr. Menzies on 25 September. The Prime Minister said that the nationalization of the canal was a gross breach of international law and a serious threat to fundamental interests of the United Kingdom, of the Commonwealth, and of the non-Communist world; the United Nations Charter did not prohibit direct action to redress wrongs of such magnitude; even military force, while open only as a last resort, could not be ruled out in advance, since vigorous and self-respecting nations must be prepared to fight for their vital interests; short of that, intensive economic measures should be used against Egypt to compel her to accept an international régime for the canal, and such measures ought to be sufficient. Dr. H. V. Evatt, Leader of the Labour Party, said that the Egyptian nationalization decree was a legitimate exercise of national sovereignty against a purely private concern, and not a breach of international law; in any event it was a breach of the United Nations Charter to use force, save in defence against direct military aggression or under authority of the United Nations; so far as the United Kingdom and France had grievances in relation to the canal; or fears that Egypt would not observe the 1888 Convention on free navigation, these matters should be referred to the United Nations. After the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt, Labour attitudes hardened and condemnation of Anglo-French actions came even more quickly than from the British Labour Party.

Public and private debate on the Suez case ranged over the same grounds of principle and of expediency as were canvassed elsewhere.

But possibly more important than the rational arguments were attitudes and emotions. Mr. Menzies and those who agreed with him spoke with feelings of patriotic fervour, with a suggestion of 'our mother country right or wrong'. Dislike for Egyptians was widespread among the returned servicemen of two wars who had served in the Middle East. On the other side international idealism, sympathy for 'under dog' nations struggling for their place in the sun, and for socialist programmes, and suspicion of 'oil politics' had a powerful influence. In July and August public opinion was evenly divided, with a small majority inclined to favour the Eden-Menzies policy. After the Anglo-French invasion, informed opinion was still much divided, mainly because of doubts whether such an operation could be successful without united Commonwealth and American backing. But public opinion polls suggested that support for the Eden-Menzies policy steadily increased, partly because of dislike of Russia and Egypt, and partly because of a feeling that America had become the bully and the United Kingdom the 'under dog'. But public opinion also strongly supported the intervention by the United Nations and to that extent disagreed with the Menzies Government's reactions. Another important factor was the Soviet action in Hungary. This was condemned by all parties, but attempts by Labour spokesmen to link the Suez operation with Russian actions, and to evaluate each 'aggression' as equally blameworthy, were not popular and caused some revulsion of feeling against Labour views on the Eden-Menzies Suez policy.

In spite of these international excitements and hatreds, the Olympic Games held in Melbourne from 22 November to 8 December were a great sporting and social success and passed off with fewer untoward incidents than any Games since the second world war. The U.S.S.R. for the first time gained first place on the unofficial points system, with the U.S.A. second and Australia third, the Australian performance being easily the best in proportion to population. Successful athletes were greeted with equal enthusiasm by the Melbourne crowds, irrespective of their national origin.

Australia's first television services were begun in Sydney and Melbourne in time for the Olympics. It was on balance another year of abounding and well-distributed prosperity, and of rapid growth in population and productive capacity.

NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand's thinking about external affairs in the latter half of 1956 was dominated by the Suez crisis—by the grave apprehensions arising from President Nasser's nationalization of the old Canal Company, and by the anxiety, not to say consternation, caused by the outbreak of war, by Anglo-French intervention, and by the breach with the U.S.A. on a major issue.

The canal itself was of economic importance to the Dominion mainly indirectly, through its place in the economy of fellow-members

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of the Commonwealth. New Zealand was, however, very aware of the canal's strategic importance, and a sizeable proportion of her manpower served in Egypt in two world wars. New Zealand's appreciation of this area's importance was in no way weakened by the transference of her major defence commitment from the Middle East to South East Asia (see A.R. 1955, p. 92). This transference, however, underlined the fact that New Zealand was strategically within the Pacific area which, in old-fashioned terms, was an American sphere of influence. The Suez crisis, by demonstrating the strength of her political association with Europe, accordingly showed most uncomfortably the unsolved dualism in her overseas relations. Since 1940, when it became clear that she must look to the United States for her physical security, it has been the nightmare of New Zealand statesmanship that British and American policy might seriously diverge. In November 1956 a divergence spectacularly developed and was displayed in the forum of the United Nations, which it had been hoped would steadily represent the essentials of Anglo-American agreement.

New Zealand's attitude towards Anglo-French intervention was formulated by the Prime Minister, Mr. S. G. Holland, on 1 November. 'While several features of the present position are disturbing', he said, 'I have full confidence in Britain's intentions in moving forces into the Suez Canal zone. The British Government has given an undertaking that its operations are designed solely to protect the Suez Canal and to halt fighting between Israeli and Egyptian forces, and that this emergency police action is intended to be of limited duration.' He expressed the hope that in due course there would be wider understanding of the considerations which Sir Anthony Eden had explained as motivating Britain, and added 'It is nevertheless a matter of grave concern that a situation should have arisen in which there are serious differences of viewpoint between the United Kingdom and one of her principal allies, the United States.' New Zealand, it was made clear, had not been consulted before the ultimatum was addressed to Egypt and Israel, but no question had arisen of military assistance being requested from New Zealand. Mr. Holland warmly welcomed the Canadian suggestion of an international police force to preserve peace in the Middle East, and promised New Zealand's co-operation in providing it. In his view the incident proved the need for the United Nations to have the machinery to enforce its decisions.

There was, then, a certain reserve in New Zealand's initial reaction to Anglo-French military action in Egypt, a reserve echoed a few days later when the Prime Minister welcomed the decision for an immediate withdrawal—'New Zealand had never wavered in its support of Britain because it had never wavered in its belief in the sincerity of Britain's motives.' This caution was, however, swept aside in the warmth of loyal words, notably during the brief visit of the Duke of Edinburgh, when the Prime Minister took his stand on the felicitous phrase with which New Zealand entered the Second World War: 'Where she [Britain] goes, we go, where she stands, we stand.' And for the outside world there was no doubt more importance in New Zealand's support

in the United Nations of Britain, France, and Israel than in the reservations that may have been privately and domestically expressed.

The Labour Party, for its part, issued a somewhat belated condemnation of Anglo-French action, embedded in a general condemnation of aggression from whatever direction it might arise, and general praise of Britain's past record in promoting peace and democratic government. 'We regret, however', said the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. W. Nash, 'the action of the United Kingdom, in co-operation with France, without consulting the other members of the Commonwealth and without reference to the United Nations, in taking aggressive action in Egypt. Equally do we regret the action of Israel, Egypt, and Jordan in launching attacks on one another.' This statement was not greatly stressed by Labour Party spokesmen or by the press. A few journals, however, emphasized the element of reserve in the Prime Minister's original statement and expressed regret that New Zealand had not, like Canada and South Africa, abstained from voting in the General Assembly. Public opinion was unanimous in approving the prompt offer to provide troops for the international police force, and in wishing that United Nations action should be quick and effective.

Anglo-French action in Egypt, in fact, caused grave if comparatively short-lived disturbance to many New Zealanders. None challenged the Prime Minister's expression of confidence in British motives, and only a minority voiced uneasiness at New Zealand's policy in the United Nations. Yet at the time there was little positive approval, and some sharp dissent. As the crisis developed, press comment insisted increasingly that Anglo-French action had somehow stopped a major war. It stressed that a breach between Britain and the United States was deplorable and must be healed. It tended to insist that the problems of the Middle East did not originate in 1956 and that American as well as British and French policy bore a solid responsibility for their development. By Christmas time the conclusion of most people seemed to be that the British Government must have sound reasons for their action even if those reasons could not be fully expounded, and the Commonwealth's moral and strategic crisis in the Middle East—and even the tragedy in Hungary—had subsided somewhat from the focus of public attention. The economic consequences remained, indeed, a matter for somewhat rueful calculation. Anything which weakens British economy reacts sharply on New Zealand, and signs of strain in England were noted with sympathy for kinsmen, and some apprehension for the common fate.

In the latter part of 1956 New Zealand was host to two important but unspectacular international conferences. In November and December there met in Wellington the Eighth Conference of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee, a quiet reminder both of the problems of underdeveloped Asia and of constructive work in hand. There was little publicity and the gathering was technical and administrative rather than policy-forming. Published statements emphasized the good will that was present, and the fact that senior officials and politicians were brought fruitfully together. They gave the public

little clue, however, of the degree to which Asian needs were being met under the plan or otherwise, or of whether the more fortunate countries were in fact making the full contribution that moral and political considerations would show to be called for. So far as New Zealand was concerned, it appeared that she was making a contribution that was substantial in relation to her resources: some £3 million actually spent, training courses provided for 315 Colombo plan students, and 58 New Zealand experts provided for service in Asian countries. The Minister of External Affairs, Mr. T. L. Macdonald, correctly emphasized the New Zealander's warm support for the plan, and though the occasion was little exploited, it was an expression of New Zealanders' growing interest in Asian affairs, and, no doubt, of their willingness, if called upon, effectively to help.

New Zealand's second international conference also met in November: the Seventh International Grasslands Congress. Grass is the Dominion's most important crop, and the foundation of her prosperity. She has a proud record in pasture improvement, reflected in the increased productivity of her soil over recent years. There is need for even greater progress to match her rapid growth in population and the problem is to feed the third million, while providing enough export supplies to maintain living standards. Among the 300 grassland scientists, the New Zealanders were learners as well as expounders. In general terms the congress was one of many small signs of increased though still inadequate public realization of the importance of research and technology in the Dominion's future. Another such sign was the attention being given to New Zealand's future needs in technical education by responsible men in the University and Education department. Incidentally, the possibilities of new techniques was shown in an appropriately spectacular way by 'the world's first agricultural air show' at Palmerston North in November. New Zealand has indeed been the pioneer in the major agricultural technique of aerial topdressing. In the 1955-56 season, one-third of the fertilizer used in the country was applied in this way, and nearly four million acres treated—an increase of eighty-fold since 1950. Aerial topdressing has marked a revolution in land usage, particularly in hill country, and increased both the volume and flexibility of production.

The consequences of the Suez crisis apart, there were few notable changes during the year in New Zealand's economy. It was, as in 1955, marked by prosperity, mild inflation, and an undercurrent of slight uneasiness as to the foundation of it all. The 'credit squeeze' continued and produced a fall in bank advances and imports, partially offset, however, by increases in government imports and indebtedness to the banking system. As a further stimulus towards restraint the 1956 Budget slightly increased taxation, breaking a sequence of tax reductions in recent years. Nevertheless the cost of living rose somewhat faster than in 1955, mainly owing to the fantastic price of potatoes and other vegetables, and in October the Arbitration Court, in response to an application by the Federation of Labour, issued a general order increasing minimum award rates by 5 per cent., with a maximum

weekly gain of 15*s*. 7*d*. for men and 11*s*. 9*d*. for women. In the recent past the labour situation had been such that these increases had been passed on to most workers, whether or not they were already receiving substantially more than the new minimum. In this instance more restraint had been shown. On the other hand, whether by accident or design, the charges for various public utilities—railways, post office services, and shipping freights—were moderately increased at the same time that wages rose.

The year closed with a quick and welcome visit by the Duke of Edinburgh, who gave pleasure by his assiduous and well-informed interest in New Zealand's primary industries.

CHAPTER III

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
THE FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

In the story of the constitutional development of South Africa, 1956 will be remembered as the year in which the Nationalist Party Government at last won victory in its prolonged struggle to break the bonds of the Act of Union. This was achieved when the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court ruled that Parliament had legally enacted the laws necessary to place the Cape Coloured voters on a separate roll.

Parliament met on 13 January with the new enlarged Senate (see A.R. 1955, p. 96) which, with its 77 Nationalists as opposed to 8 United Party members, gave the Government an assured two-thirds majority in any joint sitting of the two Houses. There had been little doubt about the purpose of the new Senate when it was constituted the previous year and the fears of the Opposition were confirmed when the Speech from the Throne stated that the Government intended to introduce 'a Bill relating to the separate representation of voters and the competence of the law courts to pass judgment on the validity of Acts passed by Parliament'. The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. J. G. N. Strauss, had announced that the matter would not be allowed to rest with the outcome of any joint session of the two Houses, but would be tested in the courts in any case. The joint session opened on 13 February and resulted in a series of acrimonious debates which never reached a high standard. This was not surprising since the issue had been before Parliament, off and on, for six years and the whole ground had been covered many times, so that there was little new that any member could contribute. Mr. Speaker was forced to introduce a new rule against interjections, although he was able to relax his prohibition later when the first enthusiasm of members had waned. On 27 February the joint sitting at last passed the South Africa Act Amendment Bill which had the effect of abrogating the Entrenched

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Clause safeguarding the rights of the Cape Coloured voters. The other Entrenched Clause in the South Africa Act, guaranteeing the equal status of the Afrikaans and English languages, remained. It was generally realized, however, that if the validity of the new amendment Act were upheld by the courts, then this Clause also was no longer effectively safeguarded. The voting was 174 in favour of the Amendment Bill and 68 against. As the total number of members of both Houses was 248, the Bill passed its vital third reading with 8 votes more than the necessary two-thirds majority. Mr. Speaker asked that his name should be recorded with the majority vote. The Labour Party took no part whatever in the debate itself. The other 'splinter' Opposition party, the Conservatives, voted three for the Government and three against. After the division the Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, received a great ovation from his party and stood at his desk while members filed past to shake him by the hand. The same night a celebration was held at the Prime Minister's residence, Groote Schuur (originally the home of Cecil Rhodes), where republican songs and anthems were sung. In the country generally, however, the result of the division was heard with comparative indifference. The issue of the Coloured vote and the 'sovereignty' of Parliament had been debated over too many years for there to be much interest in what was regarded as a purely formal outcome of the Government's long-declared intention to force the matter through sooner or later.

On 24 April the Cape Provincial Division of the Supreme Court began the hearing of an application by two Coloured voters for an order declaring the Senate Act 1955, and the South Africa Act Amendment Act 1956, invalid, and restraining the Minister of the Interior from having their names removed from the common voters' roll. Counsel for the applicants (whose case was initiated and financed by the Opposition United Party) argued that the new enlarged Senate was not a 'House of Parliament' within the meaning of the Constitution and that the enlargement of the Senate destroyed the effective guarantee of the Entrenched Clauses. For the respondents it was argued that there was nothing in the Constitution as embodied in the original South Africa Act to prevent the two Houses, sitting separately, from enlarging the Senate or from using the enlarged Senate for a joint sitting to amend the South Africa Act. A full bench of three judges found unanimously that the Senate Act and the South Africa Act Amendment Act were valid and rejected the application on 18 May. On 15 October the case went to the Appellate Division at Bloemfontein and was heard by the new enlarged court of 11 judges which had been established the previous year to deal with matters involving the validity of any Acts of Parliament. Argument followed the same lines as in the lower court and judgment was delivered on 9 November. Dismissing the appeal, the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Centlivres, said that the legislative scheme which had been adopted by the Government was not open to attack in law. In effect, he said that neither step (the enlargement of the Senate or the amendment of the South Africa Act after that enlargement) taken by itself was *ultra vires*, so that the two, even

taken together, did not constitute a breach of the Constitution. In a dissenting judgment Mr. Justice Schreiner said that the court had to consider whether an *ad hoc* Senate, established for the express purpose of creating a two-thirds majority with the intention of removing the Coloured voters from the common roll, was a valid House of Parliament. He concluded that it was not. Thus, by ten votes to one the new special bench of the Appellate Division ended a legal struggle which had been prolonged far beyond the patience of the ordinary South African voter. Every South African however, realized the significance of the Bloemfontein judgment. It was the formal ending of the chapter during which the country had been governed in accordance with the pact of Union arrived at in 1910. From then on South Africa was presented with a 'Constitution' potentially as fluid as that of the United Kingdom. There were no widespread demonstrations of protest, nor much discussion of the matter at such a late stage. The 'Black Sash' movement, consisting of women pledged to 'defence of the Constitution', organized 'vigils' of protest in most of the larger towns, but in general it could be said that a turning point in the constitutional history of the Union had been passed with the public treating it as an anti-climax.

In the field of Native affairs also 1956 was an important year since it was marked by the virtual abandonment of the policy of total territorial 'apartheid' (or segregation) between Black and White. At the very beginning of the session, during the customary debate on a motion of 'no confidence', the Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, said that total territorial 'apartheid' was only an ideal to be aimed at. He said, 'We as a Government and we as a Parliament must be realistic and practical, and can only preach and try to apply, in the course of time as things develop and unfold, a policy which is practicable and which, therefore, will be accepted by the country and the majority of the voters to the extent that they understand all the implications and are prepared to give it support'. What the Government were doing, he added, was so to direct affairs and lay foundations that, if it were desired in the future, White and non-White could be divided territorially, so that in their area the Europeans would not run the danger of being overwhelmed by numbers, but would be able to maintain their supremacy. This retreat from the position of 'absolute apartheid' was to be confirmed later in connexion with the Tomlinson Report.

On 27 March the monumental Tomlinson Commission Report was tabled in the House of Assembly. The Commission was set up in 1948 under Professor F. R. Tomlinson, of the Faculty of Agricultural Economics at Pretoria University, to investigate the socio-economic development of the Native peoples in the Bantu areas. The report, running to more than a million words, was published in a summarized version and immediately became the centre of lively controversy. Briefly the Commission came to the conclusion that there could be no middle way between complete integration of Black and White and complete separation, and a clear-cut choice was now inevitable between

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the two alternatives. Rejecting integration, the Commission proposed the creation of seven 'national homes' for the Bantu. Three of these would be based on the present High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland, and the others would be in the Transkei, Natal, and the Northern Transvaal. In these 'national homes' the Bantu people would be encouraged to develop to the utmost of their ability along their own lines. It was proposed to set up a Development Corporation which would assist the Bantu to establish their own urban communities, with ancillary services, their own educational institutions and agricultural colleges. The Commission envisaged that within 25 or 30 years these Bantu areas would carry a population of ten million, of whom two million would earn their living outside. The cost for the first ten years of the programme was estimated at about £104 million. The Commission pointed out that, if present conditions were allowed to continue, White South Africa would have a Black population of 17 million by the end of the century, and urged speedy action since 'the position is deteriorating and the eventual task is made more difficult by delay'. In an explanatory interview after the publication of the report Professor Tomlinson said that the use of force to contain the Bantu people in their 'homes' was out of the question; the areas would have to be sufficiently attractive to retain their populations naturally.

On 24 April the Government surprised the country and dismayed many of its own supporters by tabling a White Paper virtually rejecting all the recommendations of the Tomlinson Report except its ideology. The White Paper stated that, while it was in the interests of the country to make considerable amounts of money available for the development of the Bantu areas, the figure of about £100 million indicated in the report was unacceptable. The Government rejected the idea that the rate of development of the Bantu areas could be determined, and did not bind itself to any specific programme of development. The Government also rejected the proposal made by the Tomlinson Commission that White capital should be made available for the development of industries in the Bantu areas. The White Paper stated, however, that the Government welcomed the report in that it provided 'unequivocal rejection of the policy of integration and of any theories of a possible middle course, as well as the justification by the Commission of the policy of "apartheid".' In the subsequent debate on the Tomlinson Report in the House of Assembly on 15 and 16 May Government members were clearly on the defensive. The Government maintained its rejection of the proposal for White investment in Bantu areas and insisted that development must take place through Bantu enterprise alone, with only a minimum of State support; instead of the Commission's ten-year plan the Government would vote money for development on a year-to-year basis. United Party (Opposition) speakers said that the party was prepared to co-operate with the Government in the rehabilitation of the Native Reserves on the lines of the Tomlinson recommendations, but insisted that there was still time for the operation of a 'middle course' policy. The

Leader of the Opposition, Mr. J. G. N. Strauss, said that the party stood for the development of a common fatherland for all South Africans, White and Black, in one economy. An outstanding speech was made by Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer (Kimberley) who said that industrial development of the Native Reserves was impossible without economic integration and that the cost of such development on a scale necessary to give the areas economic independence had been grossly underestimated. As a result of this debate and the White Paper the country realized that the Tomlinson Report had been killed, so to speak, by its own parents and that the whole policy of 'apartheid' was once more in the melting pot. It had been generally assumed that the Tomlinson Commission was intended as the Nationalist Party's answer to the previous Fagan Commission (see A.R. 1948, p. 112) appointed in 1948 by General Smuts to examine much the same problems, and that the Government would stand by the findings of its own Commission. But it was now clear that the Nationalist Party leaders had no intention of allowing their hands to be tied by any specific programme, whether directed towards integration or segregation. Many Opposition supporters assumed that this retreat would be a political blow to the Nationalist Party, but they were disillusioned by the result of a by-election held at the end of May at Worcester (Cape Province) where the Government candidate was returned by exactly the same majority as in the previous election.

During the year the Government pressed ahead with the implementation of various items of 'apartheid' legislation, including the population register and the issue of identity books. A new regulation requiring couples to produce their registration numbers to the marriage officer caused much confusion and the rule had to be relaxed by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Dönges. A number of inquiries were held, chiefly in the Transvaal, in terms of the Group Areas Act which was passed in its original form in 1950 with the intention of introducing territorial segregation in urban areas. Some progress was made towards the eventual removal of all Indians from their trading stands in the towns to 'locations' on the outskirts. A start was made with plans for racial zoning in Johannesburg and Cape Town. Many protests were made against the hardship which these plans would entail in the case of Indians with long-established trading rights.

At dawn on 5 December police and members of the Special Branch of the C.I.D. began a series of arrests in connexion with allegations of treason. The police took action throughout the country and on the first day 140 persons—Europeans, Asians, and Natives—were detained. Subsequent arrests brought the number to more than 150, all of whom were brought to Johannesburg for a preliminary hearing on 19 December. Military planes were used to fly many of the prisoners to the Rand from coastal towns. The Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, in an official statement, explained that the police raids were the result of investigations made the previous year into the activities of a number of organizations. After studying the information acquired he had laid

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the evidence before the Attorney-General, who had decided to take proceedings. A senior police officer said that the search warrants empowered the seizure of documents in connexion with 48 organizations, including account books, minute books, recording discs, letters, diaries, and other material. Among the arrested were a barrister, a clergyman, several trade union officials, and two solicitors. Mr. L. B. Lee-Warden, M.P., Natives' Representative for the Cape Western area, was also arrested. A special court was established at Defence Headquarters (known as the Drill Hall) in the centre of Johannesburg. On 19 December, the first day of the hearing, which was conducted by a special magistrate from Bloemfontein, there was utter confusion. Thousands of Natives swarmed round the building and there was difficulty in bringing the prisoners, who had been under detention at the Fort (the main Johannesburg prison) into the court. Many barristers, reporters, and officials were forced to climb over railings and force their way through the crowd. When the hearing was opened it was found that the proceedings were inaudible to those in the dock and the magistrate adjourned until the following day to allow a loudspeaker system to be installed. The following day the crowds were even greater and the police were forced to make several baton charges. When some Natives in the crowd started throwing stones the police opened fire. A number of Natives and two European bystanders were wounded. Later, large police enforcements arrived with Sten guns and tear gas, and control was established. On the third day the streets were cordoned off for two blocks round the Drill Hall and there were no disturbances. The incident resulted in a demand from a section of the Johannesburg City Council that the inquiry should be moved from Johannesburg, or at least from the centre of the town, but the Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, protested against this proposal on the grounds that it would greatly increase the costs of the defence. The Bishop had become the trustee of a public fund raised to assist in the defence of the accused and had taken a personal interest in the proceedings from the beginning. At the request of the police he addressed the crowd and attempted to pacify them at the time of the shooting. When the actual hearing began on 20 December Crown Counsel said that the case arose out of the activities of certain associations commonly called the National Liberation Movement, which included such bodies as the African National Congress, the Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats, the South African Coloured Peoples' Association, the South African Congress of Mothers, and many others. Counsel alleged that steps had been taken by such organizations to convene a 'conference of the people'. In general Counsel indicated that there would be evidence of a conspiracy to set up some form of extra-parliamentary government and that assistance in this had been sought from outside the country. More specific charges had not been brought before the court when the hearing was adjourned to 9 January 1957. A week before Christmas the prisoners were released on bail and allowed to go home. Bail was fixed at £250 for Europeans, £100 for Indians and £50 for Natives and Cape Coloureds.

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On 21 November a special national congress of the United Party met at Bloemfontein and elected Sir de Villiers Graaff as a new leader in the place of Mr. J. G. N. Strauss, who had been ill for some months and was absent in Europe on a recuperative tour at the time of the congress. For some time there had been complaints within the party about the leadership and it had been known that an influential group of members was decided on finding a new man to head the Opposition. The prolonged illness of Mr. Strauss brought the matter to a head, and the Bloemfontein congress, attended by about 600 delegates, decided to make a change. The new leader, a son of the first baronet, who was a Cabinet Minister under General Botha in the first Union Government, was welcomed as a young man with charm and a flair for politics. With a good war record, a double blue at Oxford and a reputation for moderate but compelling speeches in the House of Assembly as member for Hottentots Holland (Cape), he was expected to infuse new life into the divided and rather dispirited United Party.

During the year South Africa maintained peaceful relations with all foreign governments and the only sign of friction was her 'token' withdrawal from the United Nations over the question of her 'apartheid' policy, the treatment of Indians, and the status of South-West Africa. These matters had been raised several times before and the public in South Africa regarded the debates in the U.N. Assembly as merely a repetition of previous arguments. The Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Eric Louw, representing the Union in the United Nations Assembly, withdrew his delegation, but promised that South Africa would remain a member of the United Nations and continue to pay dues. In the Middle East crisis the Government preserved a strictly neutral attitude and the official view was that the Suez Canal dispute was not a matter of South African concern. South African harbours, however, were severely strained by the diversion of shipping from Suez to the Cape route, and the Government took emergency measures to reinforce the port services. The Prime Minister, accompanied by Mr. Louw, attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London in June, but made no statement of political importance on his return. The only comment arising from his visit was concerned with a speech which he made at a dinner given in his honour by the South Africa Club in London. Opposition newspapers complained that he had suggested that all Afrikaans-speaking South Africans were in favour of a republic. This statement was followed by a great deal of propaganda in the press for and against a republic.

Economically South Africa continued to prosper, although there was a slight recession from the boom conditions of the previous year. Gold shares continued to be disappointing and the stock market was chiefly sustained by industrial and colliery shares. The Budget was favourable to the upper middle classes with a raising of the lower limit for supertax from £1,775 to £2,300. There were also concessions in the undistributed profits tax. In spite of this, there was an estimated revenue surplus

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of £12 million. Generally, the Budget pleased all classes and all parties.

South Africans came to the end of 1956 with few economic problems, but with many preoccupations over the matter of race relations, and with a Christmas overshadowed by the police 'round-up' of persons held on treason charges.

THE FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

Outstanding events in the Federation in 1956 were the resignation of Viscount Malvern as Federal Prime Minister and his replacement by Sir Roy Welensky, the formation of a new Opposition Party under the title of the Dominion Party, widely voiced demands both inside and outside the Federal Parliament for improved constitutional status for the Federation following upon the U.K. decision to grant independence to Ghana, revised railway tariff arrangements permitting importers and exporters in Northern Rhodesia to make full use of the railway link with the Angolan port of Lobito, and the offer by the copper mining companies of a loan to the Federal Government amounting to £20 million to assist federal development.

Economic progress continued at an unabated pace. In his Budget statement on 28 June the Federal Finance Minister, Mr. Donald McIntyre, confined his taxation changes to minor adjustments in the customs tariff and in income tax rebates. Expenditure on loan votes (i.e. expenditure on capital development projects mainly met by borrowing) in the fiscal year ending 30 June 1957 was estimated to amount to some £27¾ million as compared with £19½ million in the previous year, whilst the estimate of expenditure on revenue votes was £45½ million as compared with the previous year's figure of £39½ million. Pointing out that much of the buoyancy of the revenue was due to the high price of copper, which early in the year had risen to a record of over £430 per ton, Mr. McIntyre announced that he was transferring £10 million from revenue to loan account as compared with £3¾ million in the fiscal year ending 30 June 1956. He believed that this step, which was roughly equivalent to transferring to loan account all the revenue accruing to the Federal Exchequer as a result of the price of copper being in excess of £240 per ton, together with a further £3¼ million, would provide a cushion which would obviate the need for drastic budgetary alterations should there be a substantial fall in the price of copper.

Earlier in the year the Northern Rhodesian Copper Companies offered a loan of £20 million to the Federal Government towards federal development, a step which the Minister of Finance described as being 'probably without parallel in the history of any country's development'. One of the Copper Groups—Rhodesia Selection Trust—also offered a further £2 million to the Government of Northern Rhodesia and £1 million to the Government of Nyasaland for rural development and general African welfare.

Of the budgets subsequently introduced into the Territorial Legislatures that of Southern Rhodesia was notable for the fact that it halved death duties. Estates of up to £10,000 were freed from duty altogether and the maximum rate, which would not be reached until estates amounted to more than £40,000, was lowered to 2*s.* in the £1.

During the first ten months of 1956 imports into the Federation amounted to over £132 million as compared with some £112 million in the same period of 1955, and exports increased to £160 million as compared with £150 million in the corresponding period of the previous year. Both copper and tobacco production reached record levels.

It became increasingly apparent during the year that Rhodesia Railways, despite record levels of performance, were unable to keep pace with the rapidly growing economic activity in the Federation. As a result there was public agitation for the Government to facilitate the use of the railway link with the port of Lobito in Angola for traffic to and from Northern Rhodesia, and this culminated in a motion moved in the Federal Assembly on 17 July. (This link has been in existence since 1931 but Rhodesia Railways, which were committed to large scale development projects and were apprehensive as to the amount of revenue they might lose if any considerable use were made of the route, had succeeded in keeping traffic to a minimum by imposing penal tariffs.) A conference was accordingly held in November between representatives of the three railways concerned—Rhodesia Railways, the Chemin de Fer du Bas-Congo au Katanga and the Benguela Railway Company—as a result of which it was agreed that as from the 1 January 1957 railway freight rates from Lobito to Ndola in the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt should be equated with those from Ndola to the port of Beira in Portuguese East Africa.

On 5 December the Minister of Commerce announced in the Federal Assembly that arrangements had been reached with the contracting parties to G.A.T.T. whereby, despite the provisions of the Congo Basin Treaties (relating to Nyasaland and the north eastern part of Northern Rhodesia), one single preferential tariff would be applied to the whole Federation.

Progress with the Kariba hydro-electric scheme went ahead rapidly during the year. On 22 June the World Bank approved a loan amounting to £28½ million towards the project. It was announced the following month that the main contracts for the undertaking had been awarded to Italian firms. The failure to accept British tenders was the subject of some criticism, but it was pointed out by the Government that the lowest British tender was some £6 million above the Italian figure.

European immigration during the year amounted to some 26,000, giving a net increase over emigration of some 19,000. The Federal Government made it clear that owing to difficulties of absorption they did not propose to allow the rate of immigration for the time being to rise above this level. The Federation's first census was held on 8 May and covered the non-African population and the African population in employment; Africans not in employment were not

included. Preliminary results announced on 7 June showed the following figures:

	European	*Asian*	*Coloured*	*Africans in Employment*	*Total*
Southern Rhodesia	175,800	5,030	8,000	601,000	789,830
Northern Rhodesia	64,800	5,410	1,550	258,300	330,060
Nyasaland	6,700	8,510	1,200	162,300	178,710
Federation	247,300	18,950	10,750	1,021,600	1,298,600

The total African population of the Federation in 1955 was estimated at 6,800,000.

The main development in the political field was the resignation on 31 October 1956 of Lord Malvern (Sir Godfrey Huggins) after a record period of 23 years' continuous tenure of office, first as Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and subsequently as Prime Minister of the Federation, on the grounds that he wished his successor to establish himself in office before the next general election which would have to take place by 1958. The Acting Governor-General thereupon extended an invitation to Sir Roy Welensky to form a government, which the latter accepted. Mr. Eastwood joined the Cabinet as Minister of Transport, and in addition two Parliamentary Secretaries were appointed, one to the Ministry of Home Affairs and one to the Ministry of Transport and Works. Otherwise the members of Lord Malvern's administration remained unchanged, though there was a limited re-arrangement of the subjects for which particular Ministers were responsible.

Political debate during the year centred round the demand for improved constitutional status for the Federation.

It was announced in London on 12 July at the conclusion of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference that the position of the Federation had been considered and that the assembled Prime Ministers 'would welcome the continued participation of the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers'.

On 20 August the Federal Parliament on a motion moved by Lord Malvern resolved by 22 votes to 9 'That this House fully endorses the steps taken by the Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister to obtain increased status for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and resolves that it will await the proposals of the Government of the United Kingdom. Pending arrival of these proposals the House desires to make it clear that it fully supports the Government in its endeavours to obtain independent status within the Commonwealth'. In the course of his speech the Prime Minister outlined the proposals he had made to the United Kingdom Government in the following terms: 'The proposals were simply this, that the United Kingdom Government should confer on the Federal Government and Parliament complete independence in their own sphere only; that the Constitution should be amended

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accordingly but only to the extent necessary to achieve this; and that simultaneously the Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the Government of the United Kingdom should enter into a treaty embodying all those safeguards which at present reside within the Federal Constitution. Those provided by the Territorial Constitutions would not be affected.' Lord Malvern added that ever since he accepted Federation he had permanently dropped the idea of amalgamation and stated that there was no intention in his proposals of 'moving one inch in that direction'. He went on to say that the Imperial Government had been unwilling to accept these proposals but had agreed to submit counter-proposals which he was still awaiting. He concluded by observing 'The United Kingdom seems to want the power to inhibit us in many spheres whilst not really being responsible for what might happen afterwards; in fact they really want the prerogative of power without responsibility and I hope they realise that'.

Subsequent speeches by Sir Roy Welensky after he succeeded Lord Malvern left no doubt of the importance which the Federal Government attached to some concession on the United Kingdom's part.

In February a new Opposition Party was founded in the Federation under the title of the Dominion Party which subsequently absorbed the previous Right Wing opposition groups. At the end of the year it was represented in the Federal Parliament by only two members, Mr. Van Eeden and Mr. Williamson, but the Party appeared to be gaining considerable electoral support for its demand for immediate Dominion status for the Federation.

The major Federal legislative measure of the year was an Education Act designed to put European education throughout the Federation on a common basis. In the course of the second reading the Minister of Education stated that there were some 60,000 European children in the Federation being educated at 277 schools. Of these 57 schools with some 9,000 pupils were private, the remainder being Government schools. Grants would be made to private schools on the basis of £10 per annum per European child on the roll in junior schools and £20 per annum per European child in senior schools.

The opening date for Rhodes University College, Salisbury, was fixed for 4 March 1957. The qualification for admission was fixed as being the possession of a U.K. Higher School Certificate or the equivalent (the Federation has not seen fit to adopt the General Certificate of Education and pupils in consequence continue to sit for Overseas School and Higher School Certificate Examinations set by Cambridge University). Fees at the university would be £100 per year.

In Nyasaland revised constitutional arrangements providing that the Territorial Legislature should consist of 12 officials, 6 elected members to be chosen by a common roll of Europeans and Asians, and 5 Africans to be chosen by African Provincial Councils, came into force early in the year, and the Territory's first general election was held on 15 March. The main feature of the results was the overwhelming defeat of moderate African candidates by Africans

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holding strongly nationalistic and, in some cases, anti-European views.

On 11 September the Government of Northern Rhodesia proclaimed a state of emergency in the Copperbelt. This followed a series of strikes by the African Mineworkers' Union against the recognition by the Copper Companies of the African Salaried Staff Association, a body formed to represent the interests of Africans promoted to positions of responsibility in the mines. A commission, appointed by the Territorial Government under the chairmanship of Sir Patrick Branigan to enquire into the reasons for the unrest, reported that the trouble was wholly due to irresponsibility on the part of the leaders of the African Mineworkers' Union, and made a variety of recommendations for improving the Union's organization.

An interesting development in Northern Rhodesia during the year was the passing of an ordinance setting up an advisory conciliation commission to which cases of racial discrimination in shops and other public places in the Territory could be referred.

Two notable decisions were taken during the year by the Government of Southern Rhodesia. The first was the setting up of a Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Robert Trodgold to make recommendations on the Territorial franchise, whilst the second was an announcement in October that the Government had decided to denationalize the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Industry which would be taken over by a consortium of British and South African firms.

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CHAPTER IV

INDIA—PAKISTAN—CEYLON

INDIA

During 1956 India was deeply concerned with both home and foreign affairs. At home after some dissension, the reorganization of the Indian States became effective with 14 instead of 27 States, and a start was made with the second Five-year Plan. Abroad India continued to play an ever increasing part in world affairs, notably in the Middle East crisis which dominated the latter half of the year. Distinguished foreign visitors to India included the Shah of Persia and Queen Soraya, the Emperor of Ethiopia, and Mr. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of China, while both Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President, toured widely abroad, Mr. Nehru's programmoe including a visit to President Eisenhower.

Foreign Affairs. India reacted strongly to the resolution urging a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir problem passed at Pakistan's suggestion by the South East Asia Treaty Organization Council during its session in Karachi early in March. The Government of India

protested to all the Governments concerned against the 'impropriety' of the resolution, and Mr. John Foster Dulles, the American Secretary of State, was bombarded with questions on this subject and on his earlier statement on Goa (see A.R. 1955, p. 109) when he visited Delhi at the close of the S.E.A.T.O. meeting. Mr. Nehru also saw M. Pineau, the French Foreign Minister, after the S.E.A.T.O. session; later, on 22 May, Mr. Nehru put forward a five-point plan to solve the Algerian dispute involving France's recognition of the national entity of Algeria on the basis of freedom and the equity of all people in Algeria irrespective of race.

In June and July Mr. Nehru took advantage of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London to visit Ireland and Germany. In a statement after talks in Bonn, he and Dr. Adenauer expressed their desire to work for a general disarmament agreement, and Mr. Nehru recorded his sympathy with German reunification aims. He gratefully accepted the German Government's offer to establish, in co-operation with the Indian Government, a technological institute in India, and to award technical scholarships for Indian students in Germany. After a brief halt in Paris Mr. Nehru flew to Brioni for joint talks with President Tito and President Nasser, which reaffirmed the principles governing international relations adopted at the Bandung Conference. Mr. Nehru again conferred with President Nasser when he stopped at Cairo before returning to India via Beirut on 22 July. In September he paid a four-day State visit to Saudi Arabia.

Following Egypt's seizure of the Suez Canal, Mr. Nehru announced that his Government strongly upheld Egypt's judicial right to nationalize the waterway and objected to any form of international control which infringed Egyptian sovereignty. He sharply criticized Anglo-French military moves, but his Government decided to attend the 22 nation conference called in London after receiving from the British Government assurances that acceptance did not imply any commitments. At the conference on 20 August the Indian delegate, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, put forward his Government's proposals, which included recognition of Egypt's sovereign rights over the canal and the formation of a consultative body of user interests charged with advisory, consultative, and liaison functions. The conference, he said, could not take decisions in the absence of Egypt and any plan adopted should be submitted to a wider gathering. Only Russia, Ceylon, and Indonesia supported the Indian resolution. During subsequent negotiations India, which did not join the majority group, kept in close touch through Mr. Krishna Menon with President Nasser and the British Government with the object of helping negotiations. On 24 October the Indian Government circulated a five-point plan, unofficially acceptable to Egypt, which vested control in Egyptian hands but provided for joint meetings with user countries to discuss tolls, the condition of the canal and other matters, with a reference to the Hague Court or arbitration in the event of disagreement, and the appointment of a U.N. representative to each of the three main divisions of the Egyptian Canal Authority.

The Israeli attack on Egypt and the British and French ultimata were described by Delhi as a flagrant violation of the U.N. Charter, and Mr. Nehru denounced subsequent Anglo-French armed intervention as 'clear and naked aggression'. The Indian Government declared themselves profoundly shocked by the British and French veto in the Security Council, and in the special session of the U.N. General Assembly the Indian delegates strongly supported every move calling for the immediate withdrawal of the British, French, and Israeli forces from Egyptian territory. Nevertheless Indian reaction to a letter from M. Bulganin to Mr. Nehru suggesting joint military action against Britain, France, and Israel was swift and unequivocal; Mr. Nehru replied that any step which might lead to world war would be a 'crime against humanity'. Delhi accepted the U.N. invitation to contribute to the international force and on 12 December the first Indian contingent relieved Danish troops on the El Cap position. While welcoming the Anglo-French and Israeli agreement to withdraw their forces, Mr. Nehru described the 18-Power proposals for the future management of the canal 'as dead as cold mutton'.

The Indian Government's attitude towards Russian intervention in Hungary was not as forthright as their condemnation of Anglo-French action in Egypt. At first Mr. Nehru appeared to justify Russian policy, basing his conclusions on a letter from M. Bulganin, and in the U.N. General Assembly on 10 November India alone among non-Communist countries voted with the Soviet block against a resolution calling for free elections in Hungary under U.N. supervision. There was a good deal of criticism of Mr. Nehru's stand in both the Indian press and Parliament, and this may have been partly responsible for a marked change of tone shown by the Prime Minister when next he addressed the legislature. The fact was, he said, that the great majority of the Hungarian people wanted a change of government, had revolted, and had been suppressed by Soviet forces, which should be withdrawn. India, Ceylon, and Indonesia sponsored a resolution in the U.N. General Assembly calling on the Hungarian Government to admit U.N. observers to study conditions without prejudice to Hungarian sovereignty. True, India did not support all U.N. resolutions on Hungary, but Mr. Nehru was able to supply the world with the information, based on inquiries by Indian envoys in Budapest, that up to the middle of December about 25,000 Hungarians and 7,000 Russians had been killed, and that the movement was a national one in which the great majority of the industrial workers and students took part.

Mr. Nehru's visit to the U.S.A., which was postponed owing to President Eisenhower's illness, took place in December. It was generally agreed that the time was most appropriate since the two countries were better able to understand one another after their common policy in the United Nations towards Anglo-French and Israeli action in Egypt. Mr. Nehru spent six days in the U.S.A., 14 hours of which were devoted to private talks with the President at his farm near Gettysburg. A joint official statement issued after the talks said they had confirmed the broad area of agreement between the two countries

and had led to greater understanding of their respective policies. Mr. Nehru at a press conference expressed his conviction that American policy was not as rigid as he had thought, but was flexible, and was governed by appreciation of a changing world. Before his return to India Mr. Nehru visited Ottawa, London, and Düsseldorf.

India's relations with Nepal remained cordial. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the Indian Vice-President, attended the coronation of King Mahendra on 2 May. Communist China and Nepal signed a treaty of friendship and trade, with particular reference to Tibet, on 20 September, thereby replacing Nepal's 1856 treaty with Tibet. India's special interest in Nepal was, however, firmly emphasized by President Rajendra Prasad when he visited Katmandu in October : in a banquet speech he declared that any threat to the peace and security of Nepal was as much a threat to the peace and security of India. Early in the year King Mahendra ended the direct rule which he assumed on his accession by inviting Mr. Tanka Prasad to form a ministry.

On 3 April, India signed a trade agreement with Poland, on 6 April a shipping agreement with Russia, and on 14 May established diplomatic relations with Spain. Agitation against the Portuguese possessions in India continued, and in December Delhi warned the Portuguese Government that preventive action would be taken to stop violations of Indian air space by aircraft serving Diu, Daman (Damao), and Goa.

Home Affairs. Early in the year the Government of India published their conclusions on the States Reorganization Commission's report (see A.R. 1955, pp. 110-11). Generally the Government approved the Commission's findings, with the important amendment that the State of Bombay be divided into Maharashtra, including the proposed State of Vidharbha, and Gujarat, with Bombay City as a centrally administered area. Reactions in Bombay City were severe. Maharashtrians, indignant at the separation of the city from the proposed Maharashtra State, indulged in a week of rioting in which 75 people were killed, over 500 injured and much damage was done to property. State boundary disputes also gave rise to rioting in Orissa, and to mass demonstrations in Bihar and West Bengal. To avoid friction the Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Bihar proposed a merger of the two States, but although the plan had the blessing of the Centre it was dropped owing to local opposition. At first the Government refused to countenance any changes in their proposals, which were circulated as a draft Bill to the States in March. Maharashtra opposition persisted ; fresh outbreaks of rioting occurred in Bombay City, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Finance Minister of the Government of India, resigned in protest, and Maharashtrian demonstrations took place outside Parliament House in Delhi. These outbreaks of popular feeling at last had their effect. In August the Government of India announced their decision to form a composite bilingual State of Bombay. While this solution placated the Maharashtrians, it inflamed the Gujaratis. A week of disorders, accompanied by loss of life, occurred in Ahmadabad, which was to have been the capital of Gujarat State,

and Mr. Morarji Desai, Chief Minister of Bombay, fasted for eight days because of the refusal of the Ahmadabad people to listen to him. The Act came into force on 1 November, when the following 14 States were inaugurated: Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal. In addition there were constituted six centrally administered territories, namely, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Laccadive and Amindive Islands, Manipur, and Tripura.

During the year the second Five-year Plan came into operation. It envisaged an outlay of £3,600 million in the public sector and £1,800 million in the private sector. Its development was expected to increase the national income by about 25 per cent. as a result of rapid industrialization. Industrial targets included an increase in steel production from 1,300,000 tons to 4,300,000 tons, and of coal production from 37 million tons to 60 million tons. It was aimed to raise the average income per head by 18 per cent. compared with an increase of 10 per cent. in the first Plan. In January the Government of India announced their decision to take over the management of all life insurance business, Indian as well as foreign, as part of a general scheme to secure more effective mobilization of the people's savings, compensation being paid to the shareholders. Following a report by Russian experts of indications of large oil reserves in different parts of the country the Indian Government decided to spend £22 million in research, to take an active part in developing the country's oil industry, and to stiffen its terms to private oil companies. Outlining the Government's revised industrial policy in April, Mr. Nehru said the State would progressively assume a predominant and direct responsibility for setting up new industrial undertakings and for developing transport facilities. It would also undertake trading on an increasing scale.

Agreement was reached between the Government and a British steel consortium on the construction of a million ton steel plant costing £80 million at Durgapur in West Bengal. The Government assumed full responsibility for the construction of the Rourkela steel plant which was originally to have been built jointly by Indian and German private capital, thus bringing the German project into line with the British and Russian assisted schemes. India's first steel tube plant, a joint Indo-British enterprise, was formally opened in March; her first atomic reactor at Trombay, near Bombay, went into operation in August. By an agreement signed in Delhi India was authorized to operate for the first time two scheduled air services to the U.S.A.

The agitation by Naga tribesmen for a separate Naga State took a serious turn for the worse when the Naga leader, Zapu Phizo, decided to embark on a campaign of violence. Combined military and police forces began a concerted drive against the rebels in August; by the end of the year the revolt was fizzling out after nearly 700 rebels had been killed. In November the Kashmir and Jammu Constituent Assembly adopted a new Constitution due to take effect on 26 January 1957, reaffirming its accession to the Indian Union. A month later Asia's

longest tunnel linking India with Srinagar in Kashmir through the Pir Panjal range was opened, thereby making transport independent of the Banihal pass which was closed in winter.

India had its usual toll of storms. In June the Kosi river caused heavy flood damage near Dharbanga. Later floods in Bihar inundated more than 1,000 square miles, while torrential rains submerged large areas in Saurashtra and Gujarat. Even more serious was the October flooding in the U.P., Bihar, Punjab, and West Bengal. Delhi had the worst floods in living memory; in West Bengal over a million persons were rendered homeless. An earthquake in Kutch killed over 100 people and destroyed or damaged 2,000 houses.

The Indian people extended a cordial welcome to the Shah of Persia and Queen Soraya, who spent three weeks in the country early in the year, to the Emperor of Ethiopia, who also stayed three weeks, and to Mr. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of China, who visited India twice, the first time from 28 November to 10 December and the second time late in December when he returned from Burma to see Mr. Nehru after the Indian Premier's visit to President Eisenhower. Mr. Chou En-lai addressed both Houses of the Indian Parliament, stressing the friendship between the two countries despite their dissimilar political systems. He received a warm welcome in the principal Indian cities, notably in Calcutta, where vast crowds lined the route on his arrival. Other distinguished visitors included the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama of Tibet, who arrived in November to participate in the celebration of the 2,500th anniversary of Buddha's *Mahaparinirvana* or great emancipation. Over 80 distinguished scholars from 23 countries took part.

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Union Minister of Railways, resigned after a railway accident near Trichinopoly in which 144 people were killed. The death occurred during the year of Dr. Meghnad Saha, the scientist, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Governor of West Bengal, and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the scheduled castes leader. At the Olympic Games in Melbourne India for the sixth consecutive time won the hockey championship.

The Commonwealth. India's relations with Pakistan continued unsatisfactory. Early in the year a series of border incidents took place; firing occurred between patrols in a grazing area in the Rann of Kutch, on the Assam-East Pakistan frontier, on the Punjab border near Amritsar, and at the Hussainiwala headworks in the Ferozepur district, where three Indian army personnel were killed. After five frontier incidents in 12 days the Indian Government agreed to a Pakistan suggestion that the boundary should be clearly marked as soon as possible to avoid more trouble. Further friction developed over Kashmir. Mr. Nehru announced in March that it was largely correct to say he was no longer in favour of holding a plebiscite in Kashmir since the U.S.A. military aid to Pakistan and Pakistan's membership of military pacts had destroyed the foundations of the plebiscite plan. He suggested a settlement on the basis of the cease

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fire line. Later Mr. Nehru laid claim to Indian sovereignty over Chitral, which had been administered by Pakistan since partition, on the grounds that the Maharaja of Kashmir had exercised suzerain rights over Chitral and that Kashmir's accession to India included territories within the Maharaja's suzerainty. These statements and claims provoked bitter reactions in Pakistan, and in condemning the Pakistan Prime Minister for his criticisms of India Mr. Nehru said in the Indian Parliament on 3 December that Pakistan's leaders suffered from unfortunate obsessions which made it difficult for them to consider any problem in a straightforward manner. Referring to Pakistan's fears, he repeated his five-year-old declaration that India would not attack Pakistan unless she was first attacked. As a result of the continued exodus of Hindus from East Pakistan into West Bengal, representatives of the two countries met at Dacca in May and agreed to take steps to eliminate as far as possible factors which caused the exodus. In the same month substantial agreement was reached at a conference of Indian and Pakistan Government officials to discuss outstanding financial questions.

India's relations with South Africa remained acute owing to the 'apartheid' policy. The Indian Government proposed the inclusion in the U.N. General Assembly's agenda of an item on the 'race conflict' caused thereby, and the President of the Indian National Congress sent a message to the South African Indian Congress urging its members not to surrender to 'racial tyranny' and to resist it by non-violent means.

India's cordial relations with Britain were severely tested by the British Government's armed intervention in the Middle East. Earlier, India had extended a welcome to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the British Foreign Secretary, and to Admiral Lord Mountbatten of Burma, the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, while 11 Indian holders of the Victoria Cross attended celebrations in London to mark the centenary of the institution of the award. Mr. Nehru took a prominent part in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, especially in discussions on the Middle East. Along with Mr. S. G. Holland, Prime Minister of New Zealand, he was the recipient of the freedom of the City of London at a ceremony in the Guildhall, and in his reply he referred to the Commonwealth as a 'fraternity of free association'. After the Anglo-French action in Egypt there were loud demands from the Communist Party and other bodies in India that India should leave the Commonwealth as a mark of protest. Mr. Nehru stoutly refused to do so. In a speech in the Indian Parliament on 6 December he said it was absurd to suppose that all countries of the world could be brought to adopt identical policies; the idea should be that countries pursued different policies and still co-operated with one another. India's membership of the Commonwealth, he asserted, was in the interest of world peace. Mr. Nehru had talks with Sir Anthony Eden both before and after his visit to President Eisenhower. During his stay in Ottawa prior to his return from America Mr. Nehru was full of praise for Canada which, he said, was in some ways a bridge between the growing countries of Asia and the Western world.

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PAKISTAN

After eight and a half years of bitter and incessant wrangling which had had a devitalizing effect on the country as a whole and which on occasions had brought it close to the abrogation of parliamentary rule, the Bill to provide a Constitution for the Islamic Republic of Pakistan was passed in the Constituent Assembly on the last day of February. The Bill had been introduced early in the previous month by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohamad Ali, and was sponsored by the Government Coalition consisting of the Muslim League, whose members derived almost exclusively from West Pakistan, and the United Front Party of East Bengal headed by Mr. Fazul-ul-Huq, then Central Minister of the Interior. Shortly after the passing of the Bill Mr. Fazul-ul-Huq was appointed Governor of East Pakistan, the name of the province having been changed under the new Constitution from East Bengal.

Pakistan became a Republic on 23 March with Major-General Iskander Mirza, until that date Governor-General, as the first provisional President. In terms of a previous resolution moved by Mr. Mohamad Ali in the Assembly, Pakistan remained a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. The provisions of the new Constitution did not receive universal approbation ; indeed before the final passing of the Bill, out of a total of 80 members, 21, including 12 Awami Leaguers led by Mr. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, walked out of the Chamber to mark their open disapproval. The main contentious issues were the Islamic texture of the Constitution, the limited measure of autonomy granted to the two Provinces, and whether the franchise should be based on separate (i.e. communal) electorates or on joint electorates. A decision on this latter issue, one over which the country was sharply divided on ideological grounds, was postponed by the device of a constitutional provision which required the views of the two Provisional Assemblies to be ascertained before proceeding further. The result of that reference, however, only served to underline the cleavage in opinion between the two wings, the Lahore Assembly recommending separate electorates and the Dacca Assembly joint electorates. Eventually a compromise Bill to provide for separate electorates in West Pakistan and joint electorates in East Pakistan was carried in the National Parliament during the September session in Dacca, thus at last clearing the way for the introduction of a Representation of the People Bill.

In January indirect elections to the first combined Assembly of the newly integrated province of West Pakistan were held. Despite the fact that these elections, by agreement, had been contested on a non-party basis with Dr. Khan Sahib as Chief Minister-designate of the Province heading a Coalition Ministry, subsequently the Muslim League leaders, Mian Mumtaz Daultana and Sardar Bahadur Khan, claimed the right to form an exclusive League Ministry and called upon the League representatives in the Provincial Cabinet to resign. Dr. Khan Sahib countered by forming a new political organization

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called the Republican Party, to which many of the big western land-owning interests defected from the League, and Dr. Khan Sahib was able to maintain himself and his adherents in office by a working majority.

Throughout the greater part of the year a continuing migratory movement of Hindus from East Pakistan across the border to West Bengal, and a serious short-fall in food production, gave rise to unsettled conditions in the eastern wing. Although parliamentary rule had been restored in East Pakistan almost a twelve-month previously, a meeting of the Provisional Assembly did not take place until 22 May, the Chief Minister, Mr. Abu Hussain Sarkar, with good reason as events subsequently proved, being reluctant to test his eroded United Front Party's strength on the floor of the House. The Assembly proceedings terminated in the utmost confusion on the very first day. The House was adjourned *sine die* and President's rule proclaimed on 26 May for a brief period with the object of authorizing expenditure from the provincial revenues for a further three months; as a by-product the Sarkar Ministry continued in its precarious tenure of office. Shortly afterwards the rapidly deteriorating food position and the ineptitude with which it was handled by the provincial Administration led to the Army taking over responsibility for the distribution and supply of foodgrains throughout the province.

The Provincial Assembly was summoned once again to meet on 13 August but by this time it was apparent the Sarkar Government had forfeited much of the public's confidence and the Governor, Mr. Fazul-ul-Huq, took the extraordinary step of proroguing the Assembly a few hours before it was due to meet. President's rule was again imposed with the proviso that Mr. Sarkar was to summon the Assembly by 31 August failing which the Governor was ordered to take immediate action to form an alternative Ministry. At the last moment Mr. Sarkar threw his hand in and Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, Vice-President of the Awami League, was invited to form a new Government which he proceeded to do with the co-operation of members of the Hindu Congress Group, the Hindu United Progressive Party, and the *Ganatantri Dal*, a combination which gave him a sizeable majority in the House.

Almost simultaneously a crisis was reached at the Centre where a Muslim League-United Front Coalition Ministry was in power. Ever since the passing of the Constitution there had been an intensification of internal party strife in the Muslim League, which was brought to a climax by the illness of the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohamad Ali, and the cancellation of his visit to Peking. The Prime Minister left for the London Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in June. On his return his differences with the Muslim League became even more pronounced and finally he felt himself compelled to resign in August both from the Prime Ministership and the League after having faced humiliating public demonstrations at the Independence Day public meetings in Karachi. Early in September a new Coalition Central Government consisting of the Awami League and the new Republican

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Party was formed with Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy as Prime Minister, to whom Dr. Khan Sahib promised unconditional support. Malik Firoz Khan Noon, of the Republican Party, took over the Foreign Affairs portfolio, and the Muslim League, headed by Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, went into opposition at the Centre for the first time in its history.

In the sphere of international relations the swift march of events during the year served to underline more heavily Pakistan's engagements both in Asia, the Middle East, and elsewhere through the South East Asia Treaty Organization and the Baghdad Pact as well as the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement and other extensive aid agreements with the U.S.A. In March Pakistan played host for the first time to a top ranking international conference when Karachi was visited by the Foreign Ministers of the seven other signatory nations to the South East Asia Treaty Organization. Two of the conference resolutions which concerned Afghanistan and Kashmir were hung directly on statements made by M. Khrushchev and M. Bulganin in Kabul and Srinagar during their January tour. In the final communiqué the assembled Powers particularly deplored statements and interventions by Soviet leaders in recent months designed to increase tension and promote division in the Asian communities and among other nations of the free world. Where those statements referred to Pakhtoonistan it was affirmed that the treaty area included the territory up to the Durand Line, the international boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistan. In so far as these statements concerned Kashmir the Council affirmed the need for an early settlement of the Kashmir question through the United Nations or by direct negotiations. Although the reference to Kashmir was comparatively innocuous as it was in accordance with various U.N. resolutions on the subject, India professed to be deeply affronted by it.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Mohamad Ali, attended the Baghdad Pact Council meeting held in Teheran late in April, when the U.S.A. became a member of the Counter-subversion Committee of the Pact, having been until then only in permanent political and military liaison with the Council. On his accession to the Prime Ministership, Mr. Suhrawardy allayed doubts as to Pakistan's future foreign policy by an unequivocal announcement of his support of the doctrine of continuity and his acceptance of preceding Governments' commitments. An influential section of opinion among Mr. Suhrawardy's supporters in the Awami League in East Pakistan had never been enamoured of Pakistan's involvement with the Western Powers, and the subsequent flare-up in the Suez Canal area which culminated in the Anglo-French intervention placed a heavy strain on the Baghdad Pact, the South East Asia Treaty Organization, and Pakistan's membership of the Commonwealth. Pakistan played an active part in the London Conference on Suez in August, but opposed the establishment of the Canal Users' Association in September. Immediately after his return from China at the end of October Mr. Suhrawardy denounced Israel as the aggressor and roundly condemned Britain's action as being a threat

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to the entire Muslim world. In the ensuing weeks both the President, Major-General Iskander Mirza, and the Prime Minister assiduously toured the Middle East, first to Teheran and then to Baghdad, Riyadh, and Beirut. On their return a firmer line was apparent and the cold and abrupt rejection by President Nasser of the suggestion that Mr. Suhrawardy should visit Cairo greatly reduced the high emotional feelings which had been aroused in Pakistan on behalf of Egypt. In his statement on arrival Mr. Suhrawardy referred to a deliberate attempt to create chaos, confusion, and subversion in countries in the Middle East, describing it as a fiendish policy and programme to destroy all international relationships. By implication he maintained that the United Kingdom should not be ousted from the Baghdad Pact (a demand which had been voiced by various shades of opinion up and down the country) and suggested that Egypt's action in blocking the Suez Canal extensively with sunk ships had no conceivable military objective. By this time the possibility of a crisis being precipitated in the country over foreign policy had considerably receded and the situation was further eased by the acceptance by the United Kingdom of the U.N. directive to withdraw from Egypt.

In the Budget for 1956-57, passed by the National Assembly on 29 March, the new Finance Minister, Syed Amjad Ali, followed the conservative principles laid down in past years by his predecessor, Mr. Mohamad Ali. There were no changes in the rates of income tax and super tax. The rapid pace of industrialization had placed an increasingly heavy strain on the country's economy and, on the other hand, agricultural development had not received its due measure of attention: the new financial policy sought to remedy both those defects. The emphasis in the industrial sector was now to be laid on the consolidation of gains made, already threatened by shortage of foreign exchange, and on an accelerated short-term policy designed to increase the production of foodgrains and of cash crops. The revenue receipts for 1956-57 were put at Rs. 130·45 crores and expenditure at Rs. 130·44 crores, as against revised estimates for the previous year of receipts at Rs. 127·68 crores and expenditure at Rs. 127·62 crores. The provision under the capital section of the Budget also reflected the more cautious approach. Year by year in the past there had been a steep upward curve in allocations running from Rs. 15 crores in 1950-51 up to Rs. 124 crores in 1955-56. For 1956-57 the process was arrested by the provision of Rs. 127 crores which, from one angle, was a decrease owing to the increased cost, through the devaluation of the rupee, of foreign purchases of equipment.

The allocations under defence continued to impose a crippling burden on the country's economy. Under the revenue head the gross estimate of expenditure for defence for 1956-57 was Rs. 86 crores and under the capital head Rs. 22 crores, staggering figures when related to the over-all financial picture. Those figures, furthermore, did not include the cost of equipment supplied under the U.S. Military Aid Programme.

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Pakistan's first Five-year Plan covering the period 1955-60 was released for public criticism and discussion in May. The Plan as published was, in essence, one year of the period having already passed, a projection of the country's continuing efforts, integrated, co-ordinated, and designed to provide by the end of 1960 a broad firm plinth capable of standing up to strains and stresses and on which subsequent planning of a more venturesome kind could be imposed. The Planning Board fixed its sights on an increase at the end of the period of 20 per cent. in the national income and the provision of employment for an additional two million workers. The total cost of the Plan was estimated to be Rs. 1,160 crores, made up of Rs. 80 crores in the public sector and Rs. 360 crores in the private sector. The public developments schemes envisaged an eventual expenditure of Rs. 925 crores but it was anticipated, justifiably in the light of past experience, that there would be a short-fall in fulfilment within the period amounting to Rs. 123 crores. The resources to be tapped to provide the necessary finance fell under the three main heads of Public Savings, Rs. 150 crores; Private Savings, Rs 590 crores; and External Finance, including foreign aid, Rs. 420 crores. The main point of divergence in the Pakistan Plan from other plans of a similar nature was the heavy emphasis on and open support for private enterprise and individual effort. There was, further, a linked declaration to the fact that regimentation was repugnant to the country's ideology.

Foreign aid continued to play an important part in the development programme of the country. As at the end of September total foreign aid on offer from all countries amounted to approximately $675 million, of which $402 million had been utilized. A major role in assisting the country in tiding over difficulties arising out of the short-fall in foreign exchange earnings was sustained by Commodity Assistance supplied almost entirely by the U.S.A. Under this scheme the aid for current purposes was absorbed mainly in the import of raw materials for industries. By the end of September the total allocation of aid by the U.S.A. under the head of Commodity Assistance amounted to $208 million, of which $194 million had already been earmarked for specific purposes, and $91 million actually utilized.

CEYLON

The emphasis on communal divisions during the previous year had far-reaching and persistent effects. Rumours that the Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala, had been converted to the principle of having Sinhalese as the single official language were proved correct when at their party conference on 16-18 February the United National Party jettisoned their policy of parity between Sinhalese and Tamil, refused a discussion on fundamental rights and adopted what had proved the Opposition's most popular platform, 'Sinhalese only'. Furthermore, the Prime Minister asked for, and obtained, a tactical and premature dissolution. In the ensuing General Election with all the main

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non-communal parties (save the Communists and Dr. Perera's N.L.S.S.P.) riding the wave of this Buddhist Sinhalese xenophobia, the language question played a comparatively small part: the U.N.P. urged 'for Sinhalese as the state language vote for the elephant'; while the Opposition People's United Front (*Mahajana Eksath Peramuna*, or M.E.P.) consisting of Mr. Bandaranaike's *Sri Lanka* Freedom Party (S.L.F.P.), Mr. Gunawardena's *Viplavakari Lanka Sama Samaja* (V.L.S.S.P.) and the *Sinhala Bhasa Peramuna* asserted that 'to protect Sinhalese, vote for the red hand'. The Opposition therefore concentrated their criticisms on unemployment, the rice and sugar prices, entrenched privilege and nepotism, the alleged subservience of Sir John Kotelawala to the West, and his isolation of Ceylon's foreign policy from Asian neutralism. Moreover, in the main the opposition groups adhered to their election truce and the anti-Government vote was much less dispersed than ever before. Earlier there had been riots in some districts against the Tamils but the election itself passed off in a quiet and orderly manner: in consideration of the great political revolution which resulted, this was a notable tribute to the mature working of parliamentary democracy. The M.E.P. won 57 seats instead of the 6 they had in the outgoing House of Representatives, the U.N.P. won 8 instead of 68, the N.L.S.S.P. won 14, the Communist Party 3, and the Tamil Federalists 13. Yet while the M.E.P. polled some one million votes, about three-quarters of that figure still voted for the U.N.P. and about one-quarter voted for the N.L.S.S.P. The shift in allegiance was not therefore so great as the number of seats indicated. Moreover, it marked a revolt against the somewhat over-confident Sir John Kotelawala rather than a vote of confidence in Mr. Bandaranaike; but the latter had as a result a sufficiently large majority to enable him to form a Cabinet from his own Freedom Party and the independents, and freed him from dependence upon the Trotskyists and Communists of the extreme Left. He was thus enabled to develop his own policy with cautious and balanced judgment.

Apart from the Prime Minister and Mr. R. G. Senanayake, now an independent elected for two constituencies, who joined the Cabinet in his old office as Minister of Commerce, the new Administration named on 12 April consisted of new men. The new Government was pledged to move towards the goal of a neutralist republic—'democratic, Buddhist, socialistic'—with greater efficiency in administration, improved services, and higher standards of living. Ceylon must be the bridge between East and West, the 'Switzerland of Asia'. This would not mean any repudiation of Commonwealth membership—only that Ceylon's friendly association must not be taken for granted. Friendship with all and no strings attached was the watchword: non-aggression pacts with Asian and other countries, trade missions and new diplomatic relations with Soviet and Communist countries. Foreign broadcasts to South East Asia from stations in Ceylon would be scaled down and censored. The end of the Cominform, the cease-fire in Algeria, and (as it appeared to him then) the moderating influence of the United Kingdom on the United States and the Soviet

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Union were all welcomed by the new Prime Minister. The Speech from the Throne on 20 April affirmed the aim of 'non-alignment' and promised electoral and local government reforms, further nationalization, the reduction of prices, and better labour laws and conditions. Mr. S. de Zoysa's Budget on 24 July was popular and realistic. It showed that the Government's cautious approach to nationalization was calculated to encourage foreign investment and to avoid capital expenditure in large compensation. Additional taxes were placed on oils and on companies and estates, but the duties were lowered on some imported foods, on toys, and on smaller cars.

Unemployment and inefficiency in the Administration survived the new brooms. The U.N.P. had been overwhelmed, but not annihilated: they could claim that their record had hardly been considered impartially in the General Election; they had left their successors a cash balance of Rs. 195 million; and had reduced loans to about a third during recent years. They proved a vigilant, if acrobatic, opposition. Mr. Jayawardene criticized Mr. Bandaranaike for being a pinchbeck Nehru; Sir John Kotelawala pilloried the new ministry for its want of common purpose and collective responsibility, and for its encouragement of hooligan extremists. In December the M.E.P. were themselves routed in the municipal elections. Dr. Perera, the Leader of the Opposition and a strong critic of the Government's linguistic and foreign policy, was defeated in Colombo; and the U.N.P. were clearly gaining ground once more with 51 successful candidates out of 88, while the M.E.P., contesting twice as many seats, had 65 successes only. The minority groups would seem to have had greater trust in the U.N.P. than in the Government.

The most important legislation of the new Parliament was the fulfilment of the promise about Sinhalese as the only official language after 1960. Ten days before the Bill was passed on 15 June the Tamil Federalists held a silent demonstration (*satyagraha*) at Galle Face and were attacked by a Sinhalese mob. There had been riots in Gal Oya and Trincomalee too; but concessions which the Government had been ready to make—the use of other languages in examinations for a further ten years and the power of local bodies to permit other languages in their deliberations by votes of simple majorities—were withdrawn due to pressure from Government supporters. The Bill was passed on the third reading by 66 to 29 in the House of Representatives. Mr. Bandaranaike declared himself ready to discuss with the communities concerned the steps in its implementation, but the Tamil Federalists threatened to take the matter to the courts as being against the Constitution.

The Tamils had on 4 May put down an amendment in the debate on the British bases requiring that the express consent of Tamil members would be needed before any change was made which affected Trincomalee. The matter of the British naval base there and of the air base at Katunayake was under discussion throughout the year. The new Government had proclaimed the need to evict the British from these bases. In June it was announced that no evidence of any

specific grant or lease existed in the Defence Agreement of 1947 or elsewhere, and that the facilities of communication, movement, and storage were free for the Ceylon Government to hand over to countries even hostile to the United Kingdom. To relieve the much congested harbour of Colombo it was probable that Trincomalee would become in part a commercial port. Substantial agreement on the question of handing over the bases to Ceylon was recorded at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in July: Britain might be allowed to continue to use the facilities as a friendly country in exchange for British help with the development of Ceylon's own forces. There was no anti-British feeling in this assertion of independence and there was a danger of a military vacuum when Britain withdrew. Discussion continued in September and early October when the U.K. Government pledged itself not to use the facilities for fuelling or troop carrying in military operations during time of war. It was denied that the United Kingdom had asked for perpetual and exclusive facilities. When in November there was concern whether these bases had made any contribution to British action in Suez, Mr. Bandaranaike expressed himself satisfied that Ceylon's neutrality had not been impaired.

Both Government and Opposition in Ceylon denounced Anglo-French intervention against Egypt in strong terms. The Colombo Powers meeting in Delhi on 12 November took a firm unequivocal line against this 'new colonialism' and they approved a restricted and temporary use of the United Nations force, but Mr. Bandaranaike took a lead in condemning Russian action in Hungary with almost equal force. He was opposed to the drastic and premature action of leaving the Commonwealth in protest at Britain's action and in his tour via Delhi, London, and Ottawa to the United Nations in New York and back he probably did as much as was possible to keep some of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in touch at a bitter moment of crisis. Ceylon's trade was considerably affected by the whole question of the Suez Canal. She had not accepted the Egyptian invitation to a conference and had produced a plan of her own for a committee of users who would negotiate direct with Egypt and with the United Nations as a mediator between the two parties. But British action did much to destroy growing irritation with President Nasser and revived anti-imperialist anger in the island.

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CHAPTER V

THE COLONIAL EMPIRE

Colonial Development Corporation. For the first time since it began operations in 1948 the Colonial Development Corporation (C.D.C.) showed a net profit, £409,000, on its activities for the year (1955), after paying interest due to the Colonial Office. Sixty-three projects in 20 colonies were in operation at the beginning of 1956, and nearly £55

million had been allotted by the Corporation for their development. Nearly £38 million had actually been taken up and deployed.* The future of the Corporation was several times discussed in Parliament during debates upon Ghana (the Gold Coast), as the coming independence of the new State would exclude it from the Corporation's operations. In the House of Commons, on 30 November, members pressed for a new organization which should extend the work of the C.D.C. On 11 December Lord John Hope, the Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, gave two assurances; that C.D.C. projects already begun in the Gold Coast should be continued after independence, and that the other Commonwealth members would be consulted about the proposals made in Parliament on 30 November.

Malta. The referendum on 11-12 February on the proposal to seek integration with the United Kingdom was preceded by intense political activity in the island. The Prime Minister, Mr. Mintoff, conducted a vigorous campaign in its favour; the Labour Opposition leader, Dr. Borg Olivier, advised his supporters to boycott the referendum, and Miss Mabel Strickland, leader of the Progressive Constitutionals, challenged the legality of the referendum by bringing court action against the Governor, which she later withdrew. Assurances given by the Colonial Secretary that it was not the British Government's intention to take any action which would violate the position of the Catholic Church on the island were rejected by the Archbishop as unsatisfactory. He asked for the postponement of the referendum and for written guarantees to ensure in perpetuity the position of the Roman Catholic Church no matter what changes might be proposed by either the Maltese or British Parliaments. Mr. Mintoff could not accede to this request, whereupon the Archbishop made it clear in a broadcast that his dislike of the scheme had increased.

The results of the referendum hardly constituted the 'clear and unmistakable sign' of the population's wishes which had been hoped for as there were large abstentions. The votes cast were 67,607 in favour, 20,177 against. Thus Mr. Mintoff's integration project secured the support of about 74 per cent. of those who voted, of about 57 per cent. of those who usually vote at Maltese elections, and of about 45 per cent. of the total electorate. Mr. Mintoff pressed for the British Government's support and on 28 March Sir Anthony Eden stated in the House of Commons that the Government had decided to introduce a Bill to carry out the recommendations of the Round Table Conference on Malta (see A.R. 1955, p. 123), but that the representation of Malta at Westminster would be brought into operation only if and when the Maltese people had shown their desire for it in a general election after dissolution of the Legislative Assembly.

Talks in London on the financial aspects of the integration plan ran into difficulties over Mr. Mintoff's insistence that the British Government's intention to provide £5 million a year was not enough. In August he said that unless the British Government declared what

* C.D.C. Report and Accounts for 1955. H. of C. Paper No. 260.

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its future policy was to be the integration plan would be dropped in order to 'fight for independence'. He appealed to Sir Anthony Eden, drawing attention to the deteriorating state of affairs—both in economic conditions on the island and in relations between the two Governments—and asking for urgent high-level political discussions. An economic commission consisting of Sir George Schuster and Sir William Scott was appointed to examine the Maltese Government's budgetary proposals for the 18 months beginning 1 April. Pending its report the British Government undertook to make an interim advance up to £1 million to the Maltese Government and issued £750,000 of it for its immediate expenditure. In November the Colonial Secretary announced that the Government had accepted the proposed Maltese budget for 1956-57 and would make available funds to meet the deficit of approximately £3½ million.

Another case of friction occurred in August over the landing of flying boats that were evacuating wives and children from the Suez Canal area. Warning notices were put out, by the civil aviation authorities, over the British-owned Rediffusion Company, that fishing boats and other craft should give clearance in certain bays in which the flying boats were to land. The Prime Minister protested that the Maltese Government should first have been consulted, and tried to get the Rediffusion Company to put out a cancelling statement, which, on the Governor's order, it refused to do. Thereupon Mr. Mintoff ordered that the transmitter of the Rediffusion Company should be put out of order. Later the same day a meeting between the Governor and Mr. Mintoff led to settlement and the announcement of full co-operation about arrangements for flying boat landings.

Cyprus. Discussions of terms of a possible settlement of the Cyprus situation continued during January and February. The Governor, Field-Marshal Sir John Harding, held a series of meetings with Archbishop Makarios, and the Colonial Secretary visited Cyprus at a critical stage of the negotiations to join in the talks and also to meet representatives of the Turkish community. The Constitution offered to the Archbishop by the British Government provided a wide measure of self-government and promised that when sufficient progress had been made to safeguard the rights of the various communities elected representatives would discuss with her Majesty's Government a final solution compatible with Cypriot wishes. Meanwhile the Archbishop was asked to use his influence to end violence and lawlessness.

Negotiations foundered at the beginning of March on three issues. The first was internal security, which the British Government intended should be reserved to the Governor, along with foreign affairs and defence. Disagreement arose secondly over the composition of the elected majority in the Legislative Assembly. The Archbishop wanted an assurance that the Greeks who form four-fifths of the island's population would be allowed whatever majority their numbers justified. The Colonial Secretary replied that a decision must wait on the report

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of a Constitutional Committee. Finally there was disagreement on the terms of a political amnesty for those accused of terrorist crimes.

The Archbishop blamed British intransigence for the breakdown of the talks and said he would appeal for the restoration of law and order only when agreement was reached on the island's future. The Colonial Secretary on the other hand said there could be no hope of a resumption of constitutional talks on Cyprus without a denunciation of violence. The correspondence on the constitutional proposals exchanged between the Governor of Cyprus, Field-Marshal Sir John Harding, and Archbishop Makarios was published in London on 5 March. A few days later on the 9 March the Archbishop, together with the Bishop of Kyrenia and two other priests, were arrested and deported to the Seychelles. This step was taken as a result of growing evidence of the Archbishop's complicity in the terrorist campaign. According to the official statement 'The Governor reached his decision to order the Archbishop's deportation in the light not only of his overt seditious activities, but also of a large volume of evidence indicating that the Archbishop has himself been deeply implicated in the campaign of terrorism launched by the organization known as EOKA'. Much of this evidence was taken from the captured diaries of the EOKA leader, Colonel George Grivas, of which a selection was published later in the year. The terrorist campaign continued throughout the year and was opposed with ever more intensive measures by the security forces. On 5 March the Governor ordered the jamming of Athens radio, since it was responsible for constant incitement to violence, a decision that was widely criticized in Britain. On 21 March there was an attempt on Sir John Harding's life when an unexploded time-bomb was found in his bed. The main EOKA targets were isolated British soldiers, places easily sabotaged, and moderate-minded Cypriots who disagreed with terrorist methods or were suspected of being British informants. The strong punitive measures which were taken included curfews and evictions, the confiscation of property and collective fines, as at Famagusta where a fine of £40,000 was imposed on the Greek Cypriot population on 1 June. Eight executions of terrorists took place within four months. Communal trouble flared up in May when a Turkish policeman was murdered in the village of Polis and the Turkish community made a reprisal attack in various towns, particularly in Larnaka.

A brief truce in the hostilities occurred in August when the EOKA leader ordered the cessation of fighting in order as he said to test the British Government's good faith. The Governor, however, laid down surrender terms which the terrorists refused to accept and armed incidents continued. The murder rate rose after the Suez landings. More British troops and civilians as well as Cypriots were killed in the first two weeks of November than in the whole of any previous month. The emergency regulations were strengthened and the death penalty extended to a wide range of offences including carrying arms. The Governor took power to suspend any publications which should prejudice the success of the emergency measures. On 12 July the Prime Minister announced the appointment of Lord Radcliffe as

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Constitutional Commissioner to draw up the terms of a constitution granting self-government.

The Radcliffe Proposals (Cmnd. 42) were published on 19 December and were debated on that day in the House of Commons. On the same day it was announced that the Greek Government had rejected them on the familiar grounds that they did not specifically provide for self-determination. On the other hand the proposals were more favourably received in the United States; it was reported in *The Times*, 28 December, that the State Department felt that the Radcliffe Plan 'could be a first step toward an eventual peaceful and generally acceptable final solution'. The proposals did not include a draft for a constitution but suggested the lines on which it might be drawn, with a system of dyarchy not unlike the Constitution of Malta. Defence, external affairs, and internal security would be kept entirely in the hands of the Governor who would be empowered to legislate on these subjects by ordinance. All other functions of government would be relegated to a Chief Minister and to a Cabinet composed of members of the legislature appointed to office on his recommendation. The Assembly would consist of 36 members, 24 elected by the Greek community, 6 elected by the Turkish community, and 6 nominated by the Governor, of whom 2 would represent the smaller communities in the island. While admitting in the House of Commons that this scheme was a change for the better, the Opposition were critical of a suggestion made by Mr. Lennox-Boyd that, when the day eventually came for self-determination in Cyprus, partition between Greeks and Turks would be 'among the eventual options'. The mention of partition attracted favourable attention in Turkey.

Aden. British armed units were again in action during the first half of 1956 against discontented tribesmen in the Protectorate who had received arms from Saudi Arabia and encouragement to revolt against British rule. At the beginning of April the Governor conferred with the Protectorate rulers and again told them that the British Government would favour some form of closer association between the States of the Protectorate. The rulers welcomed this policy but the reaction of the Yemen was to claim the Aden Protectorate as Yemen territory, and to announce their intention of foiling the federation plan. To this end the Yemen was included, on 21 April, in the military pact between Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

In March and April a wave of strikes spread through the colony affecting the docks, power station, airport, and oil refinery. Demands for self-government continued to be pressed and when Lord Lloyd, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, visited Aden in May he met with hostile demonstrations. The British Government's attitude was defined by him in a speech to the Legislative Council, when he said that, because of the economic and strategic value of Aden to the Commonwealth, the Government were not prepared to relax their responsibility for the colony. There could be no question of any further radical change in the Constitution.

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British Somaliland. The cession of the Haud District of Somaliland to Ethiopia in November 1954 gave cause for much disquiet and a deputation of Somalis appealed to the Colonial Secretary in January. Attempts were also made to lay the Somali case before the United Nations and the International Tribunal. British prestige was reported to be steadily declining and some of the deputation let it be known that their desire was to be amalgamated with the Italian Trust Territory of Somalia, which would become independent in 1960. Neither a visit to Ethiopia by the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Dodds-Parker, in April, nor a visit to Somaliland in May by Lord Lloyd allayed the discontent of the Somalis, and continual reports—perhaps exaggerated—of ill-treatment of British Somalis by Ethiopians came in during the year. Lord Lloyd, the Colonial Under-Secretary, broadcast on 29 May at the end of his visit. He assured the Somalis that H.M. Government would press on with the development of education and economic development in British Somaliland, with a view to promoting self-government He did not rule out the possibility of an eventual union with Somalia ; but he had no comfort to offer over the frontier dispute with Ethiopia.

Malaya and Singapore. Both Malaya and Singapore sent delegations to London early in 1956 to discuss their demands for further constitutional change. The Malayan Constitutional Conference took place from 18 January to 8 February and the visiting delegation was led by Chief Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman. Agreement was reached that every effort should be made both by the British Government and the Federal Government to achieve the introduction of a constitution providing for full self-government and independence by August 1957. In the meantime the Malayan Government would have control of finance and of internal defence and security, including the prosecution of the war against the Communists. On 9 March it was announced that a Constitutional Commission with a United Kingdom Chairman, Lord Reid, one other U.K. member, Sir Ivor Jennings, and one member each from Australia, India, and Pakistan had been set up to make recommendations for a federal form of constitution for the whole country. The Commission was expected to report early in 1957.

Singapore was less successful in her plans for rapidly attaining self-government. In April Mr. David Marshall, then Chief Minister, was leader of the all-party Singapore delegation to a conference in London, which broke down after three weeks of negotiations. The British Government could not accept the Singapore delegation's demand that the United Kingdom should retain no powers in Singapore, short of the ultimate sanction of suspending the constitution, if it was to implement its continuing responsibilities. In the view of the British Government there had been no appreciable period of stable democratic government in Singapore; no one political party held a commanding majority; and strong subversive forces were at work with effects on internal political development that were incalculable. Mr. Marshall had threatened to resign if he failed in his mission to London and this

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he did, being succeeded as Chief Minister by Mr. Lim Yew Hock who re-formed the Coalition Government with the Labour Front as its backbone. Twice in the year Mr. Lim Yew Hock visited London and had informal meetings with the Colonial Secretary; it was announced on 21 December that discussions on a self-government constitution would be re-opened on 11 March 1957.

After winning a vote of confidence in September Mr. Lim Yew Hock set about the task of rooting out Communist disorder in Singapore. He banished alien Chinese known to be Communist organizers, proscribed Communist-front organizations, and cancelled the licence originally granted to the Chinese Middle Schools Union. This had proved to be a Communist-dominated students' union and had persistently flouted the condition that it should not engage in political activities. Expulsion orders for some 140 pupils and a few arrests followed, and numbers of Chinese schoolchildren retaliated by occupying and staging a sit-down strike at two of the largest schools. After a fortnight the schools were cleared and rioting which broke out was put down by police and British troops. A curfew and large-scale arrests including leaders of Left-wing trade unions and secret societies were among the measures used by the Government in restoring order. Operations against the Communist terrorists in Malaya continued throughout the year without bringing the emergency to a successful conclusion. The Government regarded the terrorists as a beaten force but could discover no method of forcing them to surrender. It was known that the headquarters of the Communist force was operating near the Thai border and discussions on security were held with the Thai authorities. The entire terrorist strength was estimated at about 2,700 compared with 8,000 in 1951.

Discussions were held between the British and Federation Governments to work out a treaty of defence and mutual assistance between the two countries, to be ratified when Malaya attained independence. The Chief Minister stated that he would invite Britain to keep the present 15 battalions of British and Commonwealth troops in the country to operate only in 'certain defined geographical areas'.

The Caribbean. Many years of discussion and study of the possibilities of bringing the British West Indies under one federal government reached a culmination in the Conference on British Caribbean Federation which was held in London from 7-23 February 1956. The Conference reached decisions on the main outstanding matters including the method to be adopted initially for securing federal revenue and the setting up of a Federal Supreme Court. It accepted the principle of one integrated trade policy and agreed that a customs union should be introduced. The Federal legislature was to be elected and to begin work early in 1958. On the question of a site for the capital it was decided to set up a fact-finding Commission to make recommendations on the three most suitable sites. The report of the Conference was published in April (Cmd. 9733) and the British Caribbean Federation Bill received the Royal Assent on 2 August. British Guiana and

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British Honduras had not decided to join the Federation, although they sent observers to the London Conference. An interesting political development later in the year was the foundation of the Caribbean Federal Labour Party, the first political party to be launched on a federal scale. It was announced in *The Times*, 3 September, that the British Labour Party had contributed £5,000 to the new party.

In April the Secretary of State in a statement in the House of Commons on British Guiana said that the time had come when some progress could safely be made in the direction of a return to democratic institutions. It was intended to take steps to re-introduce an elected element into the legislature and the executive. Later a conference of all the colony's political parties denounced the new proposals as unacceptable.

In Trinidad a new Constitution came into operation and at the general election held on 24 September the Left-wing People's National Movement, led by Dr. Eric Williams, gained a majority of one over all the other parties. Mr. Gomes, the leader of government business, lost his seat. The outstanding economic event of the year was the purchase in August by the Texas Company of the whole undertaking of the Trinidad Oil Company, which provides in royalties and income tax about 19 per cent. of the Trinidad Government's total revenue. The Texas Company agreed to various safeguards of Trinidad interests, for example that the refinery would be operated at full economic capacity and that the existing agreement with the trade union would be honoured. The transference of this important undertaking to an American company was the subject of anxious discussion in the London press, and in the House of Commons.

A Bill to dissolve the Leeward Islands federation received the Royal Assent in March. In the same month a ministerial system was introduced in the Windward Islands.

East Africa. The most remarkable event of the previous year had been the publication of the report of the Royal Commission on Land and Population (see A.R. 1955, p. 126). In July 1956 the comments made upon it by the East African Government were published. The main proposals were warmly welcomed, with two provisos. In some cases finance limited what could be done, in others the proposed reforms had already been put in hand.

The publication of the Coutts Report on the best method of electing African members to the Kenya Legislative Council was a landmark in the development of the multi-racial State. Mr. W. F. Coutts had been appointed to examine this question after the promulgation of the multi-racial 'Lyttelton' Constitution in 1954. His report was issued on 10 January and was substantially embodied in legislation, with modifications made by the Legislative Council. In principle, the Report rejected all forms of indirect election, and proposed instead a system of direct voting by secret ballot, with a franchise limited to African adults of either sex who were qualified by residence, by education, by public service, by the possession of property, or by certain combinations of these advantages. In their final form the regulations

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for the franchise made provision for screening members of the tribes exposed to Mau Mau influence so as to restrict the suffrage to loyalists, a measure that was adversely criticized in the press on the grounds that it gave the administration direct control over the electorate. Elections in the African constituencies were announced for March 1957. In the European and Asian constituencies elections were held in September and October. Mr. Blundell's United Country Party, which supported the 'Lyttelton' constitution, lost ground to an independent group which favoured a 'non-racial' rather than a multi-racial policy. The Federal Party, which stood for a form of 'apartheid', won no seats. A few days after the elections the Government announced that it had undertaken, by agreement with the political parties, to appoint two African Ministers instead of one, and to add four new members, two of them elected Africans, to the Legislative Council.

Meanwhile the Mau Mau rising was at last brought under control during the year. In October the 'commander-in-chief' Dedan Kimathi was captured and in November the military authorities were able to hand over responsibility for law and order to the police. It was estimated that the cost of the Mau Mau Emergency to the colony had been about £30 million. After the failure of a loan on the London market in February, which may, however, have been due to British balance of payments difficulties rather than local conditions in Kenya, Mr. Vasey the Kenya Finance Minister expressed concern about future sources of colonial finance.

Mr. Coutts also made proposals for reforming the legislature at Zanzibar where the nominated Arab members had decided to boycott the Legislative Council. As in Kenya his plans were adopted with some modifications. Six of the 12 unofficial members were to be elected, in future, by voters on a common roll. A regular system of Cabinet government, under the Sultan, was also introduced in Zanzibar during the year.

In an address to the Legislative Council of Tanganyika on 25 April the Governor indicated that constitutional progress in this Territory was likely to take the same course as in Kenya, and that some elections to the Council might take place in 1958. Meanwhile rapid development was taking place in other directions. Municipal councils had been set up in six towns and advisory provincial councils in several provinces. He was not satisfied that a uniform pattern of local government for rural areas could yet be imposed upon a country with such great variety. The limiting factor for social development was money, and it was gratifying to notice that in spite of the shortage of money the number of school children had doubled since 1951.

In Uganda also the composition of the Legislative Council was much discussed during the year and, within the Protectorate, the special position of Buganda continued to cause friction. Here, too, the Governor addressed the Legislative Council on 24 April stressing the importance of aligning social and technical advancement with the progress of self-government. He spoke of the intention to introduce elections on a common roll by 1961 and of the necessity of studying the problems during the intervening period. In Buganda direct

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elections to the Lukiko (the National Council) were to be introduced at once, upon a wide but selective franchise. Economically, hydro-electric development had been the focus of interest. The Owen Falls power station was not yet working to full capacity, but rapid expansion and the construction of a second dam near Jinja were planned. The copper and cobalt mine at Kilembe, in the foothills of the legendary Mountains of the Moon, was another important enterprise. On 23 November a 200-mile railway extension from Kampala to Kasese was officially opened enabling ore from the mine to be transported by rail to the recently opened smelter at Jinja.

Princess Margaret's visit to East Africa and Mauritius in October was the occasion of general enjoyment and satisfaction.

Nigeria. Nigeria was honoured by a visit from the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh from 28 January to 15 February. They made an extensive tour of the country visiting the capitals of all three Regions as well as other towns. In Lagos the Queen was presented with a loyal address in the Federal House of Representatives and formally inaugurated the new Federal Supreme Court. During the period of the Royal visit a cessation of political controversy was declared.

The constitutional conference which was to have been held in London in September was postponed until 1957. The basis of representation at the conference was agreed—the Regional delegations to be determined by the respective Regional Governments. In accordance with the undertaking given by the British Government in 1953 that Regional self-government would be granted to those Regions which desired it, the Western Regional Legislature adopted a resolution asking for immediate self-government for the West. Meanwhile the Colonial Secretary set up a Commission to inquire into a dispute which had arisen in the Eastern Region of Nigeria about the relationship between the Premier, Dr. Azikiwe, and the African Continental Bank. Mr. Lennox-Boyd told the Commons on 24 July that this bank was founded by Dr. Azikiwe, who on assuming office informed the Governor that he had resigned his directorship, but he and enterprises with which he had been associated were still shown as large shareholders in it. Large sums were apparently invested in the bank out of funds made available from Marketing Board reserves to the Finance Corporation, which the Eastern Region Government had established. The tribunal of inquiry ended its hearing in mid-November but had not yet made its report to the Colonial Secretary at the end of the year.

Elections were held in both the Western and Northern Regions in 1956. In the Western Region they resulted in the return to power of the Action Group and the formation of a new ministry under Chief Awolowo. The Action Group's majority over the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons was reduced and they now held 48 seats to the N.C.N.C.'s 32. In the Northern Region the traditional ruling party, the Northern People's Congress, won an overwhelming majority.

Mr. Awolowo, Prime Minister of the Western Region, led an economic mission on a world tour in March to seek funds for capital

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investment in the Government's five-year development plan. Besides Great Britain, the mission visited the U.S.A. and Canada, Japan, Germany, and Italy. The largest single Colonial Development and Welfare allocation yet approved was made to Northern Nigeria when a grant of £3½ million was made towards a £7 million scheme for road development.

Gold Coast and Togoland. At the end of 1955 the Bourne Report (see A.R. 1955, p. 130) had recommended the solution of the regional problem in the Gold Coast by devolving municipal powers upon local assemblies. Spokesmen of the National Liberation Movement (N.L.M.) especially in Ashanti, expressed their dissatisfaction with these proposals and when the Prime Minister, Dr. Nkrumah, called a conference at Achimota they declined to attend. Nevertheless it was agreed at the Achimota Conference (17 February to 16 March) to press on with plans for independence within the Commonwealth, and to adopt a modified version of the Bourne recommendations. Constitutional liberties for minorities would be guaranteed, it was asserted, by the parliamentary conventions which would be carried over from the practice of the United Kingdom.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd announced in the House of Commons on 11 May that his efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the parties had failed, but 'I have told Dr. Nkrumah', he said, 'that if a general election is held, the United Kingdom Government will be ready to accept a motion calling for independence within the Commonwealth, passed by a reasonable majority in a newly-elected legislature'. Elections, held in July, resulted in victory for Dr. Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (C.P.P.) with 71 out of 104 seats in the new Assembly. In addition to winning all 44 seats in the 'Colony', that is, the coastal province, he won 8 out of 21 seats in Ashanti, the province where the influence of the N.L.M. was strongest. In Ashanti 43 per cent. of the votes, and in the whole country 57 per cent., were cast for the C.P.P. On 3 August Mr. Nkrumah proposed in the new Assembly that the Governor should request the United Kingdom Government to provide for the independence of the Gold Coast within the Commonwealth 'as soon as possible', and under the new name of Ghana. Mr. Lennox-Boyd sent a dispatch to the effect that a Bill would be introduced into Parliament providing for the independence of Ghana on 6 March 1957.

After their electoral defeat the N.L.M. Party in the Gold Coast continued their efforts to prevent the enactment of a constitution which, in their view, offered insufficient safeguards for regional and other liberties. Dr. K. S. Busia, their leader, came to England where he made several appeals to the Colonial Office, to Members of Parliament, and to the press. His efforts were not without their influence when the Ghana Independence Bill was debated in the House of Commons on 11 December; fears were expressed that the Ashanti might resist the new Government by force. The Secretary of State expressed his confidence in the future of the State of Ghana. The Bill did not set forth a constitution but enabled the Crown to bring a new constitution into operation by order-in-council.

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The Gold Coast Development Programme made steady progress in spite of a fall in the world price of cocoa, the staple export crop. From an average of £395 a ton in 1954 it dropped to a little over £200 in 1956, a fall which for the first time put the resources of the Cocoa Marketing Board to severe strain. Their ample reserves, however, proved sufficient and the peasant-producers, largely Ashantis and supporters of N.L.M., were now able to judge the utility of the Marketing Board which, previously, they had tended to regard as a device for withholding part of their earnings for the benefit of Government supporters on the coast. On the other hand the C.P.P. were discredited by persistent allegations that the Cocoa Purchasing Company, a subsidiary of the Marketing Board, gave the best prices to farmers who supported the Government. After strong opposition pressure an inquiry was held and the report of the Commission showed some justification for these charges.

The Preparatory Commission on the Volta River Project reported in the summer that the scheme was technically sound, but that its likely cost had risen from the £144 million forecast in the 1952 White Paper to a minimum of £230 million and a maximum of £309 million. Speed in its execution was therefore urgent. During the autumn a World Bank mission went to the Gold Coast, but had not reported by the end of the year.

British Togoland. Meanwhile in the adjoining Trust Territory of British Togoland a plebiscite had been held on 9 May, under the supervision of a mission from the United Nations. The whole adult population was invited to vote either for joining the Gold Coast or for remaining under trusteeship. The British administrators conducted the plebiscite which, according to the U.N. Commissioner, was held in an atmosphere of absolute freedom and impartiality. In the southern section the Ewe tribe, arbitrarily cut in two by the frontier between the French and British Territories, was disposed to favour trusteeship, which might afford an opportunity for tribal union. Accordingly there was in the south a small majority against integration but, taking both sections of Togoland together, 58 per cent. of a large poll voted for joining the Gold Coast. In his statement on 15 September Mr. Lennox-Boyd announced that the provision for the independence of Ghana would also cover the termination of the trusteeship and the incorporation of British Togoland. The U.N. Assembly, by 63 votes in favour, with no opposition, and 9 abstentions, approved the action of the British Government, ' the objectives of trusteeship having been attained '.

New Hebrides. In October the condominium exercised over the New Hebrides by the United Kingdom and France attained its 50th anniversary. The celebrations included a cruise from Vila, the administrative headquarters, to several outlying islands. Eminent guests were invited from neighbouring French and British colonies and from the South Pacific Commission.

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PART III

FOREIGN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE UNITED NATIONS—THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION—WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION—THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE—THE EUROPEAN COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY—THE ORGANIZATION FOR EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION—THE WARSAW TREATY—THE BAGHDAD PACT—THE SOUTH EAST ASIA TREATY ORGANIZATION—THE LONDON CONFERENCES ON THE SUEZ CANAL—OTHER INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

THE UNITED NATIONS

In 1956 members of the United Nations were faced with two major and almost simultaneous crises. Russian aggression in Hungary demonstrated once again the powerlessness of the organization to act against a determinedly defiant major State armed with nuclear weapons unless another major Power, prepared to risk a world war, took the initiative. Action seemed to be limited to condemnation through resolutions, though much was done on the margins in relief work both outside, and, more remarkably, inside Hungary.

International opinion was at first more shocked by the spectacle of Britain and France, two normally law-abiding nations, invading Egypt; and the Secretary-General, on hearing the news, hinted at his willingness to resign. Members expressed their warm support for Mr. Hammarskjöld, however, and he threw himself energetically behind attempts to send observers to Hungary and the plan for an international force to take over from Anglo-French troops in the Middle East. This plan, initiated by Canada's External Affairs Minister, Mr. Lester Pearson, undoubtedly played a large part in securing a cease-fire.

A special meeting of the General Assembly was called at the end of October to deal with the Hungarian and the Middle East questions; and both were transferred as matters of priority to the agenda of the 11th regular Assembly session which opened on 12 November, after the American Presidential elections had been completed. Very few of the regular agenda items had been dealt with when the Assembly went into a fortnight's recess on 21 December. Prince Wan Waithayakon of Thailand was unanimously elected President; three new members—the Sudan, Morocco, and Tunisia—were admitted to the organization at the opening of the session; and membership reached 80 when Japan was admitted by 77 votes to none. Despite Communist opposition, the traditionally East European seat on the Security Council was transferred from Yugoslavia (which had served one year

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of the two-year term) to the Philippines for the remaining year, in accordance with the unofficial compromise reached at the 10th Assembly (see A.R. 1955, p. 134). The Assembly agreed once again not to consider the question of Chinese Communist representation.

On 27 November the South African delegate announced that because of continued United Nations interference in what were regarded as his country's domestic affairs—the questions of 'apartheid' and the treatment of Indians and Pakistanis in the Union—it had been decided to maintain only token representation at the Assembly and headquarters. South Africa would, however, continue to pay her annual dues to the U.N. budget.

Israel and the Arab States. On 19 January the Security Council unanimously condemned Israel's attack on a Syrian army post the previous month (see A.R. 1955, p. 138). General Burns, the Commander-in-Chief of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization, visited Jerusalem and Damascus in January and February to try to settle outstanding Israel-Syrian disagreements, and succeeded in allocating Lake Tiberias fishing rights between the two sides. Proposals to reduce tension in the El Auja demilitarized zone, were agreed by Israel and Egypt in January.

Rising tension resulted from the dismissal of General Glubb, commander of the British-subsidized Arab Legion, and on 4 April the Security Council approved an American proposal that the Secretary-General should visit the Middle East with the aim of securing fuller compliance with the armistice agreements by both sides. In the first week of May Mr. Hammarskjöld reported that all five countries concerned—Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria—had given him assurances that they would properly observe the cease-fire undertakings. Syria's agreement was made conditional on Israel honouring the U.N. resolution ordering her to stop work on the diversion of the Jordan river for a hydro-electric scheme; but it was understood that Israel insisted on the right to resume work when she chose. Mr. Hammarskjöld added that all the countries reserved the right of self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter, but that he had made it clear to them that this reservation did not permit acts of retaliation which had repeatedly been condemned by the Council. To help carry out the agreement, extra observers were recruited to man the border observation posts and act as mobile patrols which could visit frontier zones periodically instead of having to wait to be called in after acts of violence had been committed. The Security Council asked the Secretary-General to continue his good offices, omitting from its resolution a reference to the need to create conditions conducive to peace 'on a mutually acceptable basis' after Arab protests that this might mean revoking earlier U.N. resolutions on the problem.

Mr. Hammarskjöld visited Israel, Jordan, and Egypt in July, but incidents continued between the three States throughout August and September during which at least 34 Israelis and 114 Arabs were killed, three U.N. observers were wounded and a U.N. radio operator killed.

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This figure included some 45 Arabs killed in the heaviest attack ever made on Jordan on 23 September. The Secretary-General, in notes addressed to the countries concerned, stressed the 'utter futility' of such acts of violence, and reiterated that Israeli retaliation could not, in his view, be justified as 'legitimate self-defence'.

Political

The Suez Canal. It was not until seven weeks (12 September) after President Nasser 'de-internationalized' the Suez Canal that the problem was officially brought to the notice of the United Nations. And it was not until 23 September, the day after the London conference held to set up the Suez Canal Users' Association ended, that the British and French Governments asked that a meeting of the Security Council should be called to consider 'the situation created by the unilateral action of the Egyptian Government in bringing to an end the system of international operations of the Suez Canal, which was confirmed . . . by the Suez Canal Convention of 1888'. The following day Egypt asked that the Council should discuss 'the actions against Egypt by some Powers, particularly France and the United Kingdom, which constitute a danger to international peace and security and are serious violations of the Charter of the United Nations'. The Council agreed that Egypt—a non-member—should take part in the discussions, which began on 5 October. Seven Foreign Ministers were present—the largest number which had ever attended a Council meeting.

After a series of closed sessions, six principles on which any Suez settlement should be based were agreed on 13 October. These were: (1) freedom of passage for all through the canal; (2) respect for Egypt's sovereignty; (3) the insulation of the canal from the politics of any country; (4) tolls and charges to be decided by agreement between Egypt and the canal users; (5) 'a fair proportion' of dues to be used for canal development; and (6) the settlement of 'unresolved affairs' between Egypt and the Canal Company by arbitration (see p. 458). These principles formed the first part of an Anglo-French resolution submitted to the Council. The Soviet Union vetoed the second part which, amongst other points, would have asked that Egypt should make known its proposals for a system meeting the six basic requirements and that Egypt and the Canal Users' Association should co-operate to ensure the satisfactory operation of the canal.

It was understood that consultations were to open between the British, French, and Egyptians in Paris. Instead, a fortnight later, on 29 October, Israel invaded Egypt, making a large-scale sweep through Sinai. The following day Britain and France presented an ultimatum to Israel and Egypt demanding that the former should stop ten miles east of the Suez Canal and that the latter should withdraw ten miles from it, and further demanding that Egypt should agree to accept the temporary occupation of Port Said, Ismailia, and Suez by Anglo-French forces (see p. 459). President Nasser rejected this ultimatum.

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The Security Council met the same day, and Britain and France vetoed an American resolution calling on Israel to withdraw behind her frontiers and on all U.N. members to refrain from using or threatening force in the area. This was the first time Britain had ever used the veto.

On 31 October Anglo-French aircraft bombed Egyptian airfields; and the General Assembly held an emergency meeting on 1 November under the 'uniting for peace' regulations to consider the British and French military action. On 2 November the Assembly passed a resolution demanding a cease-fire and the withdrawal of attacking forces. Britain and France replied on the following day that they were ready to cease military action as soon as (1) Egypt and Israel agreed to accept a U.N. force to keep the peace; (2) the U.N. decided to set up such a force; (3) both combatants agreed to accept limited detachments of Anglo-French troops to be stationed between them until a U.N. force was constituted. Early on 5 November allied paratroopers were dropped on Port Said. A few hours before, at 2 a.m., the General Assembly adopted a Canadian resolution asking the Secretary-General to draw up within 48 hours 'a plan for the setting-up, with the consent of the nations concerned, of an Emergency International United Nations Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities'. The proposal was supported by 57 countries; none opposed it, and 19 members abstained, including Britain, France, Israel, Egypt, and the Communist countries excluding Yugoslavia.

A time-limit of 12 hours for a reply to the previous cease-fire resolution was also set; and although further Anglo-French forces landed on 6 November, the British Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons that afternoon that a cease-fire had been ordered at midnight 'unless allied forces were attacked'. Two days later the Assembly reaffirmed its recommendation to Britain, France, and Israel to withdraw from Egyptian territory. Speaking in the House of Commons, Sir Anthony Eden had made it clear that the United Kingdom 'and her allies' did not intend to withdraw until there was a U.N. force there to take over from them; and in fact British and French troops remained in Egypt for almost seven weeks longer, until 22 December. Israeli forces had not withdrawn from Sinai and the Gaza strip by the end of the year, although on 9 November Mr. Ben Gurion, Israel's Prime Minister, had announced that they would leave Sinai when an international force entered the canal zone.

In the meantime, by 6 November the Secretary-General had presented two reports to the Assembly defining the powers and duties of a U.N. Emergency Force which would be subject to the Assembly, a body without power to enforce action but with power only to recommend it. In Mr. Hammarskjöld's view U.N.E.F. would be, in effect, a para-military holding force, more than an observer corps but less than an army, and without power to operate in any country without that country's permission. By decision of the Assembly it excluded all great Power units, though the United States had offered to contribute air and sea transport and supplies for the force. The

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Assembly accepted the Secretary-General's recommendations and appointed General E. L. M. Burns, the Commander-in-Chief of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization, as its commander. He in turn appointed a 'general staff' from the pool of observer corps officers set up by the Assembly in 1949; and by 17 November 23 countries had offered to contribute units to his force. On 12 November President Nasser agreed to accept the U.N. force in Egypt, and an advance guard of 12 officers arrived at Port Said the following day. By mid-December U.N.E.F. troops in Egypt numbered over 3,700, and a further 1,300 men were either awaiting transport or en route. The contingents were drawn from eight countries—Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, India, Norway, Sweden, and Yugoslavia.

On 29 November the Assembly voted $10 million for the initial costs of the Emergency Force; 59 members were in favour, 9 Communist countries voted against, and there were 13 abstentions. Before adjourning for the Christmas recess the Assembly accepted the recommendation of its budgetary committee that costs up to $10 million should be divided among member States proportionately to their contributions to the 1957 budget of the organization. A nine-member committee was set up to examine the question of apportioning expenses beyond the $10 million mark.

During Mr. Hammarskjöld's visit to Cairo on 16 and 17 November the Egyptian Government asked for United Nations help in clearing the canal of the 47 wrecks and obstructions which the Egyptians had sunk there during the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion. Accordingly the Secretary-General appointed General Wheeler, an American, as his representative in charge of the U.N. salvage operations, and a Danish-Dutch consortium was given responsibility for their general management, assisted by lifting craft and experts from Belgium, Germany, Italy, and Sweden. British salvage teams had been at work since hostilities ended; and negotiations began on 11 December about their future when the allied evacuation of the canal zone was complete. Agreement was reached on 21 December that 18 vessels, manned by volunteers and flying the U.N. flag, would remain behind temporarily to work with the international fleet. By the end of the year 23 U.N. salvage craft had started clearing operations; and General Wheeler estimated that the canal should be fully navigable by May 1957.

Hungary. An emergency session of the Security Council was called by the United States, Britain, and France on 28 October, a week after the Hungarian uprising, when it had become clear that the country was virtually united in its opposition to the presence of Russian troops in its midst. The Western Powers sought to indict the Soviet Union for 'violently repressing the rights of the Hungarian people' by military action, an accusation which was supported by all other Council members except Yugoslavia. The Hungarian representative, M. Kos, who was allowed to speak but not to vote, supported the Russian intervention and denied the Western charges. After an inconclusive debate the Council adjourned and, preoccupied and divided by the

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Suez crisis, did not meet again until 2 November, the day after the Hungarian Premier repudiated the Warsaw Treaty and appealed to the United Nations to place on the Assembly's agenda 'the question of Hungarian neutrality and its guarantee by the four great Powers'. While the Council was sitting a note was received from the Hungarian Government alleging that Russian troops were entering the country in strength. The Soviet representative, however, contended that Hungarian and Russian military commanders were conferring on the terms of a settlement; and in this he was supported by Dr. Szabo, who had replaced M. Kos on the latter's repudiation by the Government in Budapest. When the news of continued Russian military action was confirmed late on the night of 3 November the Council was hastily reconvened; and just before dawn on the following morning the Soviet Union used its 79th veto against an American resolution calling on Russia 'to cease the introduction of additional armed forces into Hungary and to withdraw all its forces without delay from Hungarian territory'.

Under the 'uniting for peace' machinery, the question was immediately transferred to the General Assembly; and on the evening of the same day (4 November) that body adopted a United States resolution calling on the Soviet Union to withdraw all its forces from Hungary immediately. Voting was 50 to 8 with 15 abstentions. The following day M. Nagy's Government was replaced by the puppet régime of M. Kádár, and Soviet troops sealed off Hungarian frontiers from the outside world. News of continued resistance began to leak through by 8 November, however, and the Assembly, which had been preoccupied for three days with setting up a U.N. Emergency Force for the Middle East, turned its attention once more to Hungary. The Secretary-General reported that, in accordance with the Assembly's directive of 4 November, he had asked the new Prime Minister whether he would agree to allow United Nations observers to visit Hungary; and on 9 November the Assembly reiterated its call to the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from the country without further delay, and urged that free elections should be held. India alone voted with the Communist block against this resolution. A second resolution was also passed urging all countries to give large-scale relief to Hungary, and asking that supplies should be allowed to enter the country unhindered.

On 16 November the Kádár Government suggested that their representatives might meet Mr. Hammarskjöld in Rome to discuss the questions of U.N. observers visiting Hungary and of U.N. relief for the Hungarian people. The Secretary-General rejected this suggestion, reiterating his wish to visit Budapest 'in view of the value of a broader personal contact' with the authorities there. The same day Budapest Radio announced that young Hungarians were being deported to Russia; and three days later the Assembly passed a Cuban-sponsored resolution protesting against the deportations and against continued Russian repression. Voting was 55 in favour, 10 (Communist) countries against, with 14 (mainly Arab-Asian countries) abstaining. A further

resolution, sponsored by Ceylon, India, and Indonesia, urging Hungary to allow the Secretary-General to visit the country and report to the Assembly, was passed by 57 votes.

On 3 December the Hungarian Government declared, in a telegram to the Secretary-General, that permission for U.N. observers to enter Hungary would violate Hungarian sovereignty, but expressed their willingness to receive the Secretary-General at an unspecified 'later date appropriate to both parties'. Mr. Hammarskjöld suggested 16 December as a suitable date; but another Assembly resolution backing up this suggestion and setting 7 December as the time limit for reply met with no response. On 10 December Mr. Hammarskjöld reported that, of the four neighbouring countries concerned, only Austria had agreed to accept observers; Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania had refused. After a somewhat half-hearted discussion on the sanctions which might be applied to the Russian and Hungarian Governments, the Assembly contented itself with passing yet another resolution condemning Russia for its violation of the U.N. Charter and asking the Secretary-General 'to take any initiative he deems helpful in relation to the Hungarian problem in conformity with the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the Assembly'. An even weaker resolution, sponsored by India, Ceylon, and Indonesia, was rejected.

In compliance with the Assembly resolution of 9 November the Secretary-General had set up two Hungarian relief funds—one to help people in the country through the International Red Cross, and the other, through the work of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees in Austria, to help Hungarian refugees who had escaped to that country. A number of small countries made contributions to the Secretary-General's funds, but many Governments, particularly in Western Europe, took action through other channels. Britain provided a fairly typical example of the various means by which help reached the Hungarians. Her Majesty's Government contributed £15,000 to each of the Secretary-General's funds, and a further £80,000 to the British Red Cross and other voluntary societies for aid to refugees; while the Lord Mayor of London's Fund contributed £150,000 and the British United Nations Association contributed £35,000 to the work of the Austrian office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. By far the largest contributor to U.N. work was the United States which made a gift of $5 million to the Secretary-General.

By 27 December 153,000 refugees—almost one and a half per cent. of the Hungarian population—had reached Austria. Offers of asylum had been made by 29 Governments, and 84,000 refugees had already been transported to 20 other countries by the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, a non-U.N. body which had taken over the transport side of the International Refugee Organization's work in Europe. Canada, France, Norway, and Britain had agreed to take an unlimited number of refugees, though the flow to Britain had been temporarily stopped early in December so that the 12,762 who had arrived could be properly established before more were taken.

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Just under 11,000 had been transported to Western Germany, and 10,300 to Switzerland; and the United States had received 17,500 of its original target of 21,500, and had begun to consider additional applications pending the meeting of Congress in the New Year. Almost a million dollars were subscribed to I.C.E.M.'s work for Hungarian refugees during November and December, two-fifths of it contributed by the United States.

Disarmament. The sub-committee of the Disarmament Commission, consisting of representatives of Britain, the U.S.A., France, Canada, and the Soviet Union, met in London for its third annual series of discussions from 19 March until 4 May. There appeared to be little genuine negotiation, and proposals were put forward by both sides on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. On the opening day Britain and France tabled a three-stage plan for a standstill agreement on nuclear weapons and for conventional disarmament. This was followed two days later by American working papers on a technical exchange mission between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union to study methods of control, inspection, and reporting; and on a demonstration test of control and inspection in limited areas of the two countries. On 27 March the Soviet Union suggested terms for an agreement on the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces and the scope of an international control organ; for a zone of limitation and inspection in both parts of Germany and 'adjacent States'; and for the immediate banning of nuclear tests, the prevention of the use of atomic weapons in German territory, and the reduction of military budgets by 'up to 15 per cent.'. On 3 April the United States put forward a working paper covering the first phase of atomic and conventional disarmament, differing in detail from the Anglo-French plan; and on 3 May Britain and France advanced a more detailed plan for the working of the proposed control organ.

The major differences still outstanding at the end of this third round of talks centred on the problems of supervising disarmament and on the proposed levels of armed forces. With regard to the first of these, the Western Powers continued to insist that disarmament should take place by stages and that the control organ should be in a position to enforce each stage before it was carried out. The Soviet Union had moved a very small step towards this position by agreeing that a control organ should be set up within two months of a disarmament treaty coming into force. The West also insisted on aerial inspection as a necessary part of control; and the Russians rather vaguely conceded that 'at a specified stage . . . of disarmament, when confidence among States had been strengthened, the countries concerned should consider the possibility of using aerial photography as one of the methods of control'. The West continued to demand that control inspectors should have full freedom of movement and should be able to stop infringements of a disarmament treaty without prior reference to the Security Council, where the veto could operate—both of which stipulations continued to be unacceptable to the Russians.

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With regard to the proposed levels of armed forces Russian and Western positions were completely reversed. As far back as 1951 the Western Powers had proposed the balanced reduction of armed forces to between a million and a million and a half men each for the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, and in 1954 the figure of 650,000 men each for Britain and France had been suggested. The Soviet Union finally accepted these force levels in 1955. But the 1956 Anglo-French proposals merely mentioned 'agreed reductions'; and the American 'first phase' plan of 3 April specified reductions to the much higher level of 2½ million men each for the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, and 750,000 each for Britain and France. The Western Powers maintained that reductions below these revised figures would depend on 'political settlements' such as the reunification of Germany.

Two weeks after the talks had ended, the Soviet Union announced that it would cut its troops by 1·2 million, thus probably bringing them down to the U.S. level of 2·8 million; and at the July meeting of the Disarmament Commission, M. Gromyko suggested that countries other than the 'big five' should reduce their forces to 200,000 men each. Soviet proposals at the sub-committee meetings had, somewhat curiously, dealt only with conventional disarmament; but in July M. Gromyko made the omission good by calling once more for the unconditional banning of nuclear weapons, for an agreement on the destruction of stocks, and for the immediate abandonment of test explosions. The British delegate, Mr. Anthony Nutting, affirmed the readiness of her Majesty's Government 'to operate without delay a partial disarmament agreement which could include a provision for the regulation and limitation of test explosions'. The Western Powers reaffirmed the declaration of six guiding principles which they had made at the end of the London meeting. These were: (1) that disarmament should proceed by stages, and that progress should depend on the satisfactory execution of each preceding stage and on 'the development of confidence through settlement of major political problems'; (2) that the programme should begin with reductions in arms and armed forces; (3) that at 'an appropriate stage' nuclear stockpiling should be stopped and further production used only for peaceful purposes; (4) that a control organ, with aerial reconnaissance units, should operate from the outset; (5) that pilot inspection projects would help to develop the control system; and (6) that the programme should be suspended if a major State failed to co-operate or a threat to the peace occurred. A Peruvian resolution asking the sub-committee to try to make further progress, taking into account, amongst other points, an Indian appeal for the suspension of nuclear tests and an armaments truce, was passed by ten votes, with Yugoslavia abstaining and the U.S.S.R. voting against.

On 17 November Marshal Bulganin wrote to President Eisenhower, suggesting a top level conference and offering to accept the latter's aerial inspection plan within a zone extending 500 miles on each side of the dividing line between the Atlantic Pact and the Warsaw Treaty countries—a somewhat vague demarcation. New American proposals

were unofficially communicated to the British Government in the middle of December. It was understood that they included suggestions for the acceptance of ground as well as air inspection, the halting of hydrogen bomb tests, and the limitation and control of long-range guided missile production.

Atomic Energy for Peace. The 11-nation committee set up by the tenth General Assembly met in Washington in February to draw up a draft statute for the International Atomic Energy Agency, and made public their proposals on 25 April. The most important of these proposals were: that the Agency should have a 23-nation Board of Governors, representing all the major producer countries and geographical regions of the world; that it should report to the Assembly and the Economic and Social Council; and that it should also report to the Security Council when appropriate 'as the organ bearing the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security'. The Agency was to be responsible for storing atomic materials and, if asked, should act as an intermediary for the supply of services or materials between its members; and it could send inspectors to any member State asking for help.

The draft was sent to members for study; and on 20 September representatives of 81 Governments met in New York to complete the statute. Invitations had been sent to all 87 members of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, but five (Finland, Ireland, Laos, Luxembourg, and the Sudan) declined, and no reply was received from Nepal. At the opening session the Soviet delegate, supported by 12 others, protested at the exclusion of the Chinese People's Republic from the conference. During the debate delegates of some of the smaller countries objected to the fact that, under the statute, control would in effect be limited to the smaller nations which needed help from the agency; and a Franco-Swiss amendment was approved which tried to meet this objection half way by providing that agency controls of the 'chemical processing of irradiated materials' should be applied 'solely to ensure that this processing would not lend itself to diversion of materials for military purposes'.

An amendment by the U.S.S.R. proposing that no limitation should be placed on membership of the agency was rejected by 45 votes to 19 with 16 abstentions. The statute was finally approved on 26 October, provision being made for its review five years after it came into force. A preparatory commission of 18 nations was appointed to set the new agency in motion.

Korea. At the end of May the U.N. Command in Korea asked for the withdrawal of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission's inspection teams from South Korea to the demilitarized zone between North and South, in protest against the restrictions imposed on the teams operating in North Korea and against the North Koreans' violation of the armistice by acquiring more tanks and jet aircraft. The N.N.S.C. suspended its supervisory inspection and control activities in June.

By the end of the year most of the shorter-term projects undertaken by the U.N. Korean Reconstruction Agency had been completed, though it was expected that long-range programmes (mainly in the field of industrial development) would, for the time being, continue to be carried out by the Agency. Two examples of such work still in progress were the installation of equipment for the coal mines, and a ten-year scheme to drain some 50 west coast 'polders' on the Netherlands model to create more rice-fields to help feed the country's growing population. On 1 February a retrospective arrangement was reached between the Agent General of U.N.K.R.A. and the Economic Co-ordinator of the U.N. Command in Korea, by which the latter was to be responsible for new activities undertaken after June 1955.

U.N.K.R.A. had received a total of $139,899,241 in cash and kind from Governments, voluntary organizations, and specialized agencies during its six years of existence. During the same period, funds used for emergency assistance for the civil population of Korea totalled $479,081,207, of which all but $52 million came from the United States Government.

Dependencies

British and French Togoland. About 194,000 people in the Trust Territory of British Togoland voted on 9 May to decide on the future of their territory after the Gold Coast, with which they were administered, became independent. The plebiscite was conducted by the British authorities at the request of the U.N. General Assembly which had appointed Señor Espinosa Prieto of Mexico as Plebiscite Commissioner. Votes cast for union with the Gold Coast numbered 93,365; votes cast for separation from the Gold Coast and continued trusteeship, at any rate for the time being, numbered 67,422. Those who voted for separation were mainly members of the Ewe tribe who lived in the two southern sections of the territory; many of them were in favour of a separate all-Togoland union including French Togoland. On 13 December the General Assembly agreed to the termination of the trusteeship agreement for British Togoland and its union with the Gold Coast on the day when the latter should attain independence. Voting was 63 to none, with 9 abstentions.

In August the Trusteeship Council rejected, by a tie vote of 7 to 7, the French Government's request that the U.N. should send observers to supervise a referendum which it proposed to hold in French Togoland in October. The French proposal was rejected on the ground that Council members had been given no clear idea what specific alternatives were to be offered to the Togolanders. 'Immediate self-government' or continued trusteeship were mentioned by the French delegate, but he did not elaborate what the first of these alternatives involved.

Tanganyika. On 2 April, despite the protests of the British delegate, the Trusteeship Council adopted a recommendation in favour of a series of target dates for political, economic, and educational

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advances in Tanganyika. France, Belgium, New Zealand, and Australia voted with Britain against the proposal; eight countries voted for it; and Italy abstained.

Nuclear Tests. On 29 March the Trusteeship Council rejected petitions from Marshall Islanders asking that the United States should stop its projected hydrogen bomb tests in the Pacific Trust Territory which it administered. The Council urged the United States authorities to take every possible precaution against danger to life and limb, and asked that compensation should be made to families which had to be moved during the tests.

Legal

Law of the Sea. In May the International Law Commission completed seven years of work codifying the rules governing the territorial and the high seas. This draft code was to be submitted to the 11th Assembly.

South West Africa. By a vote of 8 to 5 the International Court of Justice declared on 1 June that the U.N. Committee on South West Africa could grant oral hearings to petitioners on matters relating to the territory. (The tenth Assembly had asked for a ruling on this point.)

Portuguese Possessions in India. In February Portugal asked the International Court to consider India's alleged refusal to allow right of passage through her territory between Damao and two other small Portuguese enclaves north of Bombay.

Administration and Finance

Staffing. In January the Secretary-General stated that the additional work and services involved as a result of the admission of 16 new members to the organization the previous month would be absorbed as far as possible within the existing Budget and staff framework; and that no staff members would be dismissed merely in order 'to create vacancies for the purpose of improving geographical distribution' of posts.

Budget. A Budget of $48·25 million for United Nations operating expenses in 1957 was proposed by the Secretary-General in September. This was $315,650 less than the 1956 Budget which had, however, included a once-for-all item of $961,000 for the 'Atoms for Peace' conference at Geneva. Mr. Hammarskjöld said that there was no margin for further economy without a decrease in the organization's activities. The 1957 figure included a proposed increase of almost $1 million for new posts in overseas offices, mainly on the regional economic commissions and at the U.N. regional Information Centres.

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Economic and Social

Airways. The tenth Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization met at Caracas in Venezuela in June. Member States agreed to give special attention to standardizing regulations for world air traffic, the simplification of air travel, and the economic implications of introducing long-range jet aeroplanes into regular civil air transport. The Assembly approved a budget of $3·5 million (Canadian) for the following year's work. Cambodia, the German Federal Republic, and the Sudan joined the organization during the year, bringing its total membership to 69.

Some 71 aviation experts were at work in 20 countries in 1956. During the summer a new ground wave transmitting station was put into operation as part of the I.C.A.O. meteorological network servicing North Atlantic air routes.

In a report issued in October the organization published details of the help given to underdeveloped countries through its technical assistance programme. Between 1951, when the programme started, and 1956, I.C.A.O. had helped 35 countries in five continents establish or expand their air transport facilities. It had worked with Governments in setting up civil aviation departments, planning new or expanded airports, improving ground and air navigation services, and increasing air safety. About 1,700 technicians had been or were being trained by I.C.A.O. staff, and 285 fellowships and scholarships had been awarded for advanced training abroad. I.C.A.O.'s share of the total technical assistance Budget had risen from $100,000 for 1950-51 to $1·2 million for 1956.

Children. The Executive Director of the U.N. Children's Fund reported to the Executive Board in March that 32½ million mothers and children had been helped through the Fund's principal disease-control and nutrition programmes in 1955. This was 15 per cent. more than in 1954; and it was expected that the number of people helped in 1956 would rise by 18 per cent. of the 1955 figure to over 38 million. Financial support for the Fund, which had reached the new high figure of $17½ million in 1955, was expected to total between $18½ and $19 million in 1956. New allocations of $8·4 million for programmes in 47 countries were approved by the Board—the greatest help going to Asia and the Eastern Mediterranean; and the largest single allocations to Iran for malaria eradication, to India for the development of health services, and to Korea for emergency feeding programmes. Zanzibar, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, and French Guiana were given help for the first time. Particular progress was made in Asia during the year. A hundred thousand children were tested each day for tuberculosis, and 2½ million each month for yaws; and over 8,000 rural health centres were kept supplied with milk and drugs. Emergency relief given during 1956 included rice and skimmed milk powder for 116,000 mothers and children in East Pakistan, where near-famine conditions prevailed as a result of crop damage in the 1955 floods; $700,000 for

Hungarian refugee children in Austria; and $110,000 for 40,000 mothers and children evacuated from Port Said to emergency housing in other parts of Egypt.

Education and Science. The ninth general conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization met in New Delhi during November. It approved a programme for 1957-58 which placed major emphasis on three projects—the training of primary school teachers in Latin America, arid zone research, and the encouragement of mutual appreciation of eastern and western cultures. A Budget of $23,849,355 for the two years' work was approved. A Soviet resolution urging a reduction in the number of British, French, and Americans on the secretariat was rejected by the conference. Bulgaria, Rumania, and Finland joined Unesco during the year, bringing total membership to 77 plus four associate members.

By November eight countries had ratified the International Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the event of Armed Conflict, which came into force in August. By the end of the year 21 nations had ratified the Universal Copyright Convention, and 23 had joined the agreement exempting cultural and scientific materials from customs duties.

Ninety-seven Unesco technical assistance projects were under way in 46 countries, and 200 experts were at work in the field. Meetings of experts during the year included a conference of leaders of fundamental education programmes in 18 Latin-American, Asian, and African countries; a seminar on simplified reading material for the newly literate in Burma, Ceylon, India, and Pakistan; and a Latin-American conference on the cultural integration of immigrants.

Finance. At the end of June the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development announced that, in the decade since it started operations, it had made 149 loans totalling $2,645 million for post-war reconstruction and economic development in 37 countries and territories. Sixty loans, totalling $673·9 million, were made to countries in the western hemisphere; 43, totalling $979·3 million, to Europe; 27, totalling $386·2 million, to Asia; 15, totalling $347·2 million, to Africa; and 4, totalling $258·5 million, to Australia.

The Bank's eleventh annual report was made public during the meetings of the Boards of Governors of the Bank and the International Monetary Fund in Washington in mid-September. Its net income for the fiscal year ending June 1956 was a record, and loans during the period totalled $396 million. Twenty-six loans were made to 20 countries. Electric power loans to eight countries totalled $175 million, the largest being towards the construction of the Kariba dam in the Central African Federation. Loans for the development of roads, railways, and ports, mainly in Asia and South America, amounted to $127 million. India, Japan, and Pakistan received loans for industrial development, including $75 million for the Tata iron and steel works in India—the largest sum loaned for industry and to an Asian country.

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The report of the International Monetary Fund, released at the same time, stressed the need for the important industrial countries to lower their import barriers. Demands on the Fund's resources were small during the year, with one exception. On 10 December it was announced that Britain would be granted credit facilities of up to $1,300 million during the following 12 months, to help tide her over the economic crisis resulting from the blocking of the Suez canal and the cutting of the oil pipelines through Syria. Argentina and Viet Nam became members of the Fund and Bank during the year.

The Charter of the International Finance Corporation came into force on 21 July, when the 30th ratification was received and subscribed capital reached $75 million. Mr. Robert L. Garner of the United States was appointed president, and the 32-member Board of Governors held its inaugural meeting in September. The purpose of the I.F.C. was to encourage the growth of 'productive private enterprise' in developing the economies of the poorer countries, thus supplementing the loans to Governments made by the Bank for the same purpose.

A new 'staff college', the Economic Development Institute, to train administrators from underdeveloped areas in economic planning, was opened in Washington in January. It was set up by the Bank with financial help from the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations; and one senior official from each of 14 countries, including Colombia's national planning director, the financial adviser of Pakistan, and the economic director of Egypt's Finance Ministry, took part in the first six months course.

Food and Agriculture. A special session of the General Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization was held in Rome in September to elect a new Director-General to succeed Dr. P. V. Cardon of the United States who had retired the previous March on grounds of ill-health. Mr. Binay Ranjan Sen, the Indian Ambassador to Japan, who was elected to the post, said in his inaugural speech that he hoped there might be an improvement in staff morale, which had been very low.

F.A.O.'S annual report on 'The State of Food and Agriculture, 1955-56', which appeared in mid-September, recorded that production rose by 3 per cent. during the period, but that prices of agricultural products and farm incomes continued to decline in most countries. Production per capita rose in North America, the Far East, and Oceania, though in the Far East, Oceania, and Latin America it was still between 5 and 10 per cent. below pre-war levels. The volume of agricultural trade rose by about 5 per cent., but its value by only about 1 per cent.

The first positive achievements resulting from the organization's work on the question of disposing of agricultural surpluses—an international problem which had never been successfully tackled—were felt during the year. Agreement was reached in August between India on the one hand and the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and the Netherlands on the other, for the annual supply of 3,000 tons

of dried skim milk for Calcutta, together with equipment to the value of $500,000. By September, 47 members of F.A.O. had ratified the International Plant Protection Convention which required Governments to adopt uniform quarantine measures to prevent the spread of pests.

Two new international study groups—on rice and cocoa—met during the year. The numerous special meetings which took place included a session of the General Fisheries Council for the Mediterranean; a four-week technical training course on farm mechanization, attended by representatives from all over the Middle East; and the first two study tours, on forestry and irrigation, to be held in the U.S.S.R.

Health. The ninth World Health Assembly was held in Geneva in May. Morocco, Tunisia, and the Sudan were admitted to full membership of the organization; and the Gold Coast, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone became associate members, bringing total membership up to 84 plus four associates. Arrangements were made to reactivate the membership of the East European countries, which had taken no part in the work of W.H.O. since 1950. Technical discussions held during the session, under the chairmanship of the Chief Nursing Officer of the British Ministry of Health, dealt with nursing education and techniques. The Assembly recommended that work on heart diseases should be intensified; and approved a study and training programme on the medical aspects of atomic energy. A Budget of $10·7 million—$500,000 more than that for 1955-56—was approved.

During 1956 W.H.O. field workers, equipped with supplies from the U.N. Children's Fund, vaccinated a further 17 million people against tuberculosis, thus bringing the total number vaccinated under this joint programme since 1948 to about 75½ million. In addition about 1½ million families were protected with D.D.T. against malaria, bringing the total to about 10 million; and a further 2 million mothers and children treated for yaws, bringing the total to 12 million. Perhaps the most outstanding single achievement in the field of technical assistance during the year was the opening of the first Asian training centre for maternal and child health workers in Calcutta in January. The centre was organized jointly by the Indian Government, W.H.O., which provided staff, and the U.N. Children's Fund, which contributed a million dollars' worth of equipment.

A W.H.O. expert study group met in Geneva during August to consider the effects of atomic radiation on human heredity. The scientists agreed that, over a period of generations, the cumulative effect of small doses of radiation could do considerable damage.

Human Rights. The U.N. Commission on Human Rights, meeting in March, accepted by a vote of 13 to 4 (Australia, France, Turkey, and Britain) with Norway abstaining, a United States proposal that U.N. member countries should submit annual reports on progress in the observance of human rights. It also approved a second American proposal that special studies should be made on the observance of

specific human rights, and that the first study should deal with the right of freedom from ' arbitrary arrest, detention, and exile '. These studies were to be prepared by a committee consisting of four members of the commission. The proposal was approved by 11 votes to 3 (Poland, the Ukraine, and the U.S.S.R.) with 4 abstentions (Australia, Britain, France, and Mexico).

The text of a new Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, supplementing and bringing up-to-date the 1926 League of Nations convention, was approved on 4 September by a 51-nation conference meeting in Geneva. The convention was adopted by 40 votes to nil, with Argentina, Chile, and the United States abstaining. It reaffirmed the 1926 version and added clauses calling for ' the early abolition ' of tenant serfdom, forced marriages, the exploitation of so-called ' adopted' children, and other similar practices in South America, Africa, and the Near and Far East. A clause which would have provided for the right to search ships suspected of conveying slaves on the high seas in the area of the Indian Ocean was omitted ; and the colonial Powers were allowed to sign the convention without committing their dependent territories to abolition in the near future. Thirty-two countries had signed the convention by mid-September.

Labour. The International Labour Organization held its 39th general conference in Geneva in June. It was agreed unanimously that an international convention to outlaw forced labour, concentration camps, and the deportation of national minorities, should be drawn up and presented for approval to the 1957 conference. The conference also adopted a series of recommendations on the protection and integration of some 60 million indigenous peoples in independent countries ; and, after a lengthy debate on automation, a workers' resolution was passed asking that both the Director-General of the I.L.O. and governments, labour, and management in member countries should make a special study of the problems involved.

A two-day debate was also held on the problems inherent in the tripartite system of representation—governments, managements, and workers—which had arisen through the return of the Soviet Union and the admission of other East European countries to membership in 1954 (see A.R. 1954, p. 144, and 1955, p. 149). Many of the non-Communist workers' and employers' delegates had felt that freedom of association for workers and employers should be a pre-requisite of membership of the organization. At a meeting in November the Governing Body considered a report on this question presented by an independent committee of three headed by Lord McNair, a former president of the International Court. By 39 votes to none, with one abstention, members requested the Director-General to submit a report on establishing ' continuing machinery ' on freedom of association, and on improving the working of the annual I.L.O. conference. The Governing Body voted against a proposal of the employers' group to place on the 1957 agenda the question of amending the constitution ' so as to ensure that worker and employer representatives could only be

appointed by organizations of employers and workers which are free and independent of their Governments '.

In 1956 the I.L.O. had 165 technical assistance experts working in the field; 114 fellowships had been awarded for advanced study abroad, and a further 300 worker-trainees were also gaining experience in other countries. The I.L.O.'s share in the 1956 technical assistance funds was almost $3 million, or just under 10 per cent. of the whole.

The Preparatory Technical Maritime Conference—a body set up by the I.L.O. and composed of governmental representatives, shipowners, and seafarers—met in London in September. The conference agreed that the I.L.O. Governing Body should be asked to appoint a tripartite working party on wages, working hours, and the manning of ships. It also adopted two draft conventions, one calling on governments to issue identity documents to seamen who were their citizens or who served under their flag; and the second advising I.L.O. members to discourage seamen from serving on sub-standard foreign-flag vessels.

Maintenance Obligations. A U.N. Conference on Maintenance Obligations met in New York in June to adopt a new international convention intended to help families whose breadwinners had moved to another country and who had not been able to get assistance from them. Thirty-two Governments took part in the conference, and 15 signed this 'Convention of the Recovery Abroad of Maintenance', which became operative on 20 July.

Meteorology. On 2 May the Executive Committee of the World Meteorological Organization announced that it had set up a panel of experts—one each from Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the U.S.A.—to study the meteorological aspects of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and in particular the movement of radioactive waste products in the atmosphere. In June the organization issued a two-volume International Cloud Atlas—the first publication of its kind.

Refugees: Arab. The annual report of the Director of the U.N. Relief and Works Agency, covering the period to 30 June, was released at the end of the year. The Director, Mr. Labouisse, stated that expenditure on relief services had been $23·4 million and that governmental contributions had fallen short of this amount by $800,000. The number of refugees registered with the agency increased by 16,293 to a total of 922,279. It had been suggested that up to 250,000 of them were not bona fide refugees from the Israeli part of Palestine; but the unsettled state of the 'host countries', in particular Egypt and Jordan, and the dangerous mood of the refugees themselves had made it impossible to investigate this allegation during the year. Mr. Labouisse noted that the attitude of the Arab Governments concerned continued to be uncoöperative. Import duties were levied on relief supplies, and there was considerable interference in the agency's internal affairs, particularly as regards personnel. The refugees as a whole maintained their resistance to large-scale development schemes

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which appeared to them to involve permanent settlement outside Israel; and no progress was made with the two major projects for developing the Jordan valley and the Nile waters in western Sinai. The agency was, however, able to enlarge its seven minor agricultural undertakings in Jordan and Syria, and to expand its educational services. Elementary and secondary schooling for 169,555 children was provided; and about 750 young people were given vocational training or university scholarships.

Refugees: High Commissioner's Office. In his annual report, published in June, the High Commissioner, Dr. van Heuven Goedhart, expressed pessimism about the possibility of solving the European refugee problem by 1958 when his mandate expired. (About 300,000 'post-war' refugees still remained unsettled and unassimilated in Germany, Austria, Italy, and Greece; 65,000 of them were still living in camps, many for the eleventh year running.) The High Commissioner said that 'permanent solutions'—homes, jobs, technical training—had been found for about 50,000 refugees since the U.N. Refugee Fund began work, but added that less than three-quarters of the sum asked for in 1955 had been received, and that governmental contributions pledged towards the 1956 target of $4·4 million only totalled $1·5 million by May. At the time the report appeared relief and settlement schemes costing about $2·8 million were under way.

Dr. Goedhart died suddenly in July, and his deputy, Mr. James Reid of the United States, took over as Acting High Commissioner. The General Assembly, on the advice of the Secretary-General, appointed M. Auguste Lindt of Switzerland to succeed Dr. Goedhart in December, and renewed its appeal for more money for the fund.

Technical Assistance. In May the Technical Assistance Board, reporting on the first five and a half years of aid to underdeveloped countries, suggested future expansion either by 'a limited advance', increasing expenditure to $50 million a year, or to 'many times' the current rate, allowing for the large-scale provision of equipment and supplies as well as experts. The Board stated that, during the period between July 1950 and January 1956, 78 countries had pledged over $142 million for the organization's work; experts had been recruited from 77 countries; and 131 countries and territories had received aid. (Governments of assisted countries had provided 'matching' funds of about $300 million.) Thirty-one per cent. of total aid went to Asia and the Far East; 26 per cent. to South America and the Caribbean; 21½ per cent. to the Middle East; 8·8 per cent. to Europe; and 8·2 per cent. to Africa. Twenty-three per cent. of total funds had been spent on improving agricultural methods; 18 per cent. on health; 11·8 per cent. on economic development plans; 9½ per cent. on industrial production; 9 per cent. on education; and 7·8 per cent. on power, transport, and other public services.

The Board's annual report, published in June, recorded a striking increase in technical assistance. Governmental contributions to the

Technical Assistance Programme reached the highest figure so far—$27·9 million. Experts working in the field numbered 2,108 compared with 1,652 the previous year; and 2,431 fellowships were awarded compared with 1,542 in 1954. The report listed a number of examples to illustrate the scope and accomplishments of the programme, ranging from the preparation of the first geological map of Nepal to the treatment of about 570,000 people for trachoma in Morocco and Tunisia, with a high percentage of cures.

Sixty-five Governments pledged a total of $30,295,000 for the 1957 programme at the seventh annual pledging conference held in New York on 17 October. This sum was $2 million more than the previous year's total. Half of it was promised by the United States, subject to certain conditions. Canada contributed more per capita to the programme than any other nation, followed by Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the United States.

Trade. The eleventh session of the conference of the 35 contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was held in Geneva from 11 October to 17 November. Member States which had not signed the agreement establishing a permanent body, to be known as the Organization for Trade Co-operation, were urged to do so, and the final date for signature was extended until the end of October 1957. It was decided to discontinue discussions on a draft Special Agreement on Commodity Arrangements, and instead to review developments in international commodity trade at each session and to ask the United Nations to convene an inter-governmental meeting on commodity trade problems. Other matters discussed included the disposal of agricultural surpluses; proposals for a six-nation common market in Western Europe and for a free trade area amongst interested members of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation; and the Franco-Tunisian Customs Union set up in January 1956. The Contracting Parties granted Brazil a waiver from the provisions of Article II, para. 1 of the General Agreement, so as to allow the Brazilian Government to put its new customs tariff, changing over from specific to *ad valorem* duties, into effect. They agreed to enter into negotiations with Switzerland with a view to the latter's provisional accession to G.A.T.T.; and asked that consultations should be continued between Japan and the 14 members which were still withholding G.A.T.T. trade terms and tariffs from her. Finally they recommended that the technical assistance scheme under which officials of member governments undertook a training course in the G.A.T.T. secretariat should be extended to a wider number of trainees.

THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

If the year 1955 was for NATO a year of watchful anticipation to discover how genuine and lasting the apparent East-West *détente* might be, the principal characteristic of 1956 was the severe internal strains to which the alliance was subjected—and which it survived.

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By 4 May, when the NATO Foreign Ministers foregathered in Paris for their regular semi-annual meeting, there had been a growing amount of public discussion in all the principal NATO countries about the need to improve the machinery and the intimacy of political consultation within NATO. There were two principal causes of disquiet. The first was that several members of NATO were involved in increasingly acrimonious disputes with each other. Of these, much the most important was the question of Cyprus which divided Britain, Greece, and Turkey to a point where their actual military co-operation within NATO was endangered. Another problem engendering less political heat but of considerable military importance was the decision of the Government of Iceland to demand the withdrawal of American forces from her soil. (It was announced at the December meeting of the Council that Iceland had reversed this decision.) Another involved the pace of German rearmament and the amount of money she was prepared to find to defray the cost of NATO, especially British, forces stationed on her soil.

The second reason for disquiet was the obvious fact that the conflict between Soviet Communism and the free world had shifted from Europe to the Middle East and Asia, and from the threat of a direct frontal assault against the NATO area to subtler tactics of subversion and support for Arab and colonial nationalism. Thus the NATO countries were becoming increasingly affected by developments which were formally outside the competence of the NATO Council to discuss and co-ordinate.

The May meeting itself was able to contribute virtually nothing towards a solution of these two problems, and its principal achievement was the decision to set up a committee of 'three wise men', namely Mr. Lester Pearson, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Signor Gaetano Martino, the Italian Foreign Minister, and Hr. Halvard Lange, the Norwegian Foreign Minister 'to advise the Council on ways and means to improve and extend NATO co-operation in non-military fields and to develop greater unity within the Atlantic community'.

The three Foreign Ministers met twice during the summer and drafted a 32 point questionnaire to member governments in order to elicit the extent to which they were prepared to use the forum of the NATO Council as a means of settling disputes between themselves, and of co-ordinating national policies on questions outside the NATO area but which yet affected the other members. Their report was due to be presented at the regular December meeting of the Foreign Ministers, but before it took place events had drastically altered the context of their efforts. On 12 July the British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, rejected in the House of Commons the proposal that NATO should be associated with a solution of the Cyprus problem by giving the North Atlantic Council the authority to decide the date on which, after attaining self-government, the people of Cyprus should be able to vote on self-determination.

But of far greater importance was the Anglo-French intervention in

the Israel-Egyptian war, on 30 October, which was undertaken without informing either the NATO Council or any other member of NATO. Since this ended with the blocking of the Suez Canal, and the consequent necessity for drastic fuel rationing in many European NATO countries, it focused attention on the very problem of closer political consultation in advance of action for which these Foreign Ministers had been asked to devise new methods.

The emphasis of the December 1955 meeting of Foreign Ministers had been primarily on military questions, but that of December 1956 was thus dominated by the political aspect—by the necessity in fact to repair the breach between Britain and France on the one hand, and the United States, Canada, and the European NATO members on the other, that had been caused by the Suez crisis. The phrase in the communiqué issued after the meeting on 14 December 'The Ministers drew from the experiences of past divergences . . . the confirmation of the necessity for all members to develop effective political consultation and co-operation' embodied a very real effort on the part of all concerned to let bygones be bygones and to give reality to that part of the report of the 'wise men' which called on the member nations to consult within the NATO Council, not only where national policies directly affected other members, but where it indirectly affected them, as in the Middle East. Such an expression of resolve and intent to do better in future was found preferable to a Turkish proposal to create a direct link between the planning of NATO and that of the Baghdad Pact. The report, which was adopted, also recommended that the Secretary-General should henceforth be the *ex officio* chairman of the permanent NATO Council, and that he should be able to call on specialist advisers from the member countries in forming teams to study a particular problem or dispute.

M. Paul-Henri Spaak, the Foreign Minister of Belgium, was elected to succeed Lord Ismay as Secretary-General when he retired in the spring of 1957. It had for some time been felt that the post would now best be filled by a political figure from one of the smaller NATO Powers, and when Mr. Lester Pearson of Canada indicated that he did not feel able to accept it, M. Spaak was the obvious choice.

On the surface 1956 produced no significant changes in the military planning of NATO, and at the December meeting the Foreign Ministers again endorsed a 'forward strategy', that is deploying the main strength of the NATO ground forces in Germany. However, it became clear during the year that a major revision of NATO's strategy was now necessary. Two forces were at work during the year. One, a growing conviction on the part of many Western European statesmen that there must be some form of 'disengagement' in the centre of Europe, to enable the Soviet satellites to regain the relative independence which Poland has achieved, and to enable Russia to accept the re-unification of Germany by the neutralization of such a re-united Germany and its detachment from NATO and the Warsaw Treaty alike. Second, economic pressure forced several countries, principally the United Kingdom, to reconsider the size of their contribution to

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NATO's ground forces in Europe. The British Government informed the NATO Council in December that it was considering reducing each of its four divisions in Europe from about 18,000 to about 10,000 men.

On 20 November, General Alfred M. Gruenther, on retirement from the United States Army, relinquished the post of Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, which he had held since July 1953. He was succeeded by General Lauris Norstad, U.S.A.F., hitherto the Deputy Supreme Commander (Air). On 1 October Marshal Juin relinquished the command of Allied Forces, Central Europe to Lieut.-General Jean-Etienne Valluy, who had hitherto been the French representative on the NATO Standing Group in Washington.

WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION

The year 1956 was an inauspicious one for the 'progressive integration of Europe'—at least as regards the Western European Union devised as a 'focus' for it in October 1954 (see A.R. 1954, p. 461). W.E.U.'s most noticeable progress was made by subsidiary bodies in the fields of arms control and production and in the social and cultural spheres; the Council and Assembly, on the other hand, seemed to be unable to do much about the regress taking place in other fields. The two newest members of the Union, Italy and Western Germany, showed themselves keenest to keep it alive.

The Union's intended ward, the Saar, had repudiated the arrangements thought out for it and would have none of the Union's 'framework' (see A.R. 1955, pp. 231-3). The international commission appointed to supervise the referendum was dissolved in January. Its proposal that the Council should set up an international tribunal to hear any cases of political victimization that might arise in connexion with the Saar's transition to its new status was implemented in consultation with the Saar Government. The names of five judges, nationals of W.E.U. countries other than France or the Federal Republic, were announced on 22 February. The tribunal held its first sittings in July.

In accordance with a Council resolution of 14 December 1955 the Agency for the Control of Armaments began the year by sending the first questionnaires to member countries on 1 January. These were for the collection of statistical and budgetary data the scrutiny of which was to constitute one part of the Agency's functions in the control of the armaments of members' forces. When the Union's Assembly met in Strasbourg from 23 to 25 April it was stressed that these control measures were the first venture of that kind and might serve as a model for wider measures of disarmament.

The W.E.U. Council met in Paris on 3 May. It passed a resolution giving the Director of the Agency for the Control of Armaments the necessary powers to carry out test checks, visits, and inspections which were laid down as the other part of the Agency's activities in the amended Brussels Treaty signed in Paris on 23 October 1954 (see A.R. 1954, p. 466). It also laid down the regulations for the conduct of

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inspection at production plants and at depots and military units on the Continent which were not under NATO authority. These were published on 11 October. They were not yet applicable to inspections of private firms. A convention providing for the protection of private interests was still unsigned at the end of the year.

Meanwhile the Standing Armaments Committee which, like the Agency for the Control of Armaments had its seat in Paris, had also begun its activities. Three working groups had been set up to study certain types of arms and equipment, such as helicopters and anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons.

During the summer there was much German uneasiness about reports of British and American intentions to cut down conventional forces in Europe and to place more emphasis on nuclear weapons. A special meeting of the Council took place in Paris on 15 September at which the Federal German Foreign Minister stressed the political aspects of defence planning and the need for joint decisions in these matters. In the German view the reduction of conventional forces increased the danger of atomic war. The need for a joint policy in these matters was also discussed by the Assembly when it met from 11 to 13 October and found expression in a number of recommendations. Considerable disappointment was voiced concerning the lack of co-ordination between member Governments in their conduct of foreign policy and between the Council and the Assembly.

A call from Dr. Adenauer on 1 October to revive the Union, to revise the treaty, and to unite Europe was followed by a plea from Professor Martino at the Council meeting on 10 December when he called for constant and effective political consultation between the members of W.E.U., for economic integration, and for a directly elected W.E.U. Assembly. This was to be made the subject of a report by the Secretary-General to be submitted three months later. The W.E.U. Council meeting was eclipsed by the subsequent meeting of the NATO Council.

The strength and armaments of the internal defence and police forces of continental members were still not fixed at the end of the year, though the principles involved were discussed. The Rt. Hon. J. S. Maclay (U.K.) was re-elected President of the Assembly on 23 April. His resignation, after his appointment as British Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, was announced at the end of the Assembly's October meeting. Pending the election of a successor the senior Vice-President, M. Ernest Pezet (France), was to preside. Dr. Heinrich Boex succeeded Herr von Etzdorf as Deputy Secretary-General of W.E.U.

THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

During 1956 the Council of Europe waged an uphill struggle against a sense of frustration (to which only its most sanguine and idealistic members were immune) and against a growing lack of interest in its

work among the European press and public generally. There was a growing feeling that the Council had become even more of an ineffective, though talkative, spectator on the sidelines; it was only too easy to forget about the unspectacular practical work that it had been doing (for instance in easing travel restrictions) and to underestimate the real value of the exchange of views and ideas—and hence the enhanced understanding—between the delegates. The failure of Ministers, except in a few cases, to attend meetings of the Consultative Assembly added to the feeling of frustration. So did the knowledge that this year's most important 'European' talks (on the proposed common market and free trade area) had been taking place elsewhere, in Paris and Brussels.

The optimists, however, felt that if these plans for a European common market and free trade area came to fruition more hopeful prospects might open up for the Council as the parliamentary expression of these new economic arrangements; this would be particularly true if Britain were to be associated, as Mr. Macmillan had suggested that she might be, with them. The pessimists, on the other hand, felt that the Assembly's proposal (accepted by 78 votes to 0, with 9 abstentions, on 23 October) that the Council of Europe 'should be the liaison organ for the various European bodies' was too vague and would not materially help the Council to find a satisfactory niche. (The Assembly, of course, already helped to co-ordinate the activities of the various European bodies, for instance by holding joint meetings with the Assembly of the Europeal Coal and Steel Community and by debating O.E.E.C. reports. This year there was some difficulty in drawing a line between the functions of the Consultative Assembly and those of the W.E.U. Assembly.)

M. Fernand Dehousse, a Socialist member of the Belgian Senate who on 16 April succeeded M. Guy Mollet as President of the Assembly, was much concerned with ways and means of making the Assembly a more effective body. He pointed out, for instance, that the Council had no machinery for settling disputes between members (for instance the Cyprus dispute which was the cause of heated debates in the Assembly without any constructive steps being taken) and he would have liked to see this deficiency remedied. M. Dehousse was also anxious 'to fill the gap that yawns after each session' between the Assembly and the national parliaments. On the basis of proposals that he put forward, the Assembly, in October, decided to set up a permanent seven-member working party with the task of 'maintaining close links between the Consultative Assembly and national parliaments'; it would select texts from amongst those adopted by the Assembly for transmission to national parliaments and would keep the Assembly informed of the steps taken to implement its decisions in national parliaments.

The perennial struggle between the Committee of Ministers and the Assembly continued and M. Dehousse professed himself to be 'not at all satisfied' with the relations between the two parts of the Council of Europe, which he described as the 'great weakness' of the organization.

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But so long as the Council retained its purely deliberative nature it was hard to see how national Governments could be forced to pay more attention to the deliberations of the Assembly than they chose. One practical step, however, was taken to keep the Assembly's debates as realistic, topical, and unacademic as possible. This was the decision to divide the Assembly's annual sessions into three, instead of two, parts so that members would feel themselves closer to current events and not merely concerned in drawing up an annual balance-sheet.

This year the first part of the eighth session was held from 16-21 April and the second from 15-26 October. (The final meeting was scheduled for the middle of January 1957.) At the April meeting Austria was admitted as a member. Amongst other things the Assembly for the first time discussed the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and debated the merits of the two plans for a European atomic energy organization, one put forward by the O.E.E.C. and the other by a committee set up after the Messina conference of 'the Six'. It also passed a resolution in favour of a fund, to be administered by the O.E.E.C., for the economic development of south-eastern Europe. A resettlement fund, to help deal with refugees and problems of over-population, was set up by the Council of Ministers on 16 April.

At its second meeting (which was concluded just before the Anglo-French intervention in Suez and when the upheaval in Hungary was beginning) the Assembly was stimulated by Mr. Macmillan's statement of 3 October on the British attitude to the proposed free trade area, and preoccupied by the nationalization of the Suez Canal and the future of eastern Europe. The Suez debate was rather marred by an airing of British domestic party differences. The Assembly, however, finally decided to condemn 'this unilateral and arbitrary act' by Egypt, and urged a solution along the lines of the Security Council's resolutions of 13 October. On eastern Europe the Assembly declared that 'full self-determination for these people can alone ensure a lasting peace in Central and Eastern Europe'. In its debates on East-West relations at both its meetings the Assembly took a realistic view of Russian policy and showed that Russia's 'tactics of calculated affability' had not led it to assume that the Kremlin had changed its ultimate aim of establishing a world-wide Communist society.

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THE EUROPEAN COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY

Developments in the European Coal and Steel Community in the last year tended to be overshadowed by the discussions of the Intergovernmental Committee (set up by the Messina Conference in June 1955) looking toward the establishment of a European common market and an atomic energy community (Euratom) among the six Schuman Plan countries, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. Once the common markets for coal and steel were functioning and the main lines of policy laid down some decline in interest was in any case inevitable, for the problems requiring

to be dealt with became increasingly technical in character. Several developments during the past year were, however, of more than specialized interest.

The decision of the High Authority to set no new maximum prices when the ceilings on Ruhr coal expired at the end of March meant that for the first time in over 50 years the price of German coal was not formally determined by some controlling body. This decision of the High Authority was closely related to the settlement with the Ruhr coal sales agency (GEORG) which became effective on 1 April. The previous year the High Authority had given as its principal reason for retaining ceiling prices on Ruhr coal the fact that GEORG would set the price in the absence of action by the High Authority. Once the cartel had been reorganized in agreement with the High Authority this argument fell to the ground.

Although the High Authority has no direct jurisdiction over the steel export cartel, nor the power to fix export prices, early in the year it demonstrated that it could, nevertheless, influence the conduct of the cartel. The Schuman Plan Treaty stipulates that 'equitable limits' are to be observed in prices charged on foreign markets. When steel export prices threatened to rise beyond levels it deemed 'equitable', the High Authority warned steel exporters that if high export prices attracted steel away from consumption within the Community the High Authority might resort to the allocation of supplies. This warning sufficed to deter the higher prices that seemed to be in prospect.

During the past year there was increasing support for the Community from the trades unions and the Socialist parties in the six member countries. This was particularly noticeable in the meetings of the Common Assembly and in the meetings of the Consultative Committee where both groups pushed for a more active and positive role by the High Authority in the social field. To a large extent the treaty reserves questions of social policy for action by Governments, but the pressure exerted on the High Authority to stretch its limited mandate represented a marked shift in the attitude of the trades unions which had earlier been inclined to view the High Authority with considerable distrust.

Relations with third countries were strengthened in a variety of ways during the year. In the spring Mr. H. van Vredenburch, formerly deputy secretary-general of NATO, took up his appointment as head of the resident delegation which the High Authority had established in London. The Council of the Association between the United Kingdom and the Community which met for the first time in November 1955 held periodic meetings throughout the year in London and Luxembourg alternately. Interest centred on coal. Although the United Kingdom was not able to increase its deliveries to the continent to the levels sought by the High Authority modifications in proposed deliveries were agreed which eased the shortage situation in the Low Countries. Relations between the Community and Switzerland were also strengthened. A Consultation Agreement, roughly parallel to the agreement between the Community and the United Kingdom, was

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signed with Switzerland on 7 May. In June the agreement for the first private loan raised by the High Authority was signed with a group of Swiss banks. And on 28 July the conclusion of a transport agreement brought Switzerland into the Community's rail tariff system. Although there were indications in the autumn that Austria would join the Community these proved misleading. But relations between Austria and the Community, although less formal than those with Switzerland, were close.

As indicated above political interest in the Schuman Plan type of experiment centred on the new proposals for Euratom and a European common market. Indeed these proposals were the principal subjects discussed by the Common Assembly of the E.C.S.C. at a special session in March as well as at its regular sessions. The Inter-governmental Committee which met in Brussels, with M. Spaak in the chair, during the autumn and winter of 1955 and spring of 1956, concluded its report in April. It was officially considered by the Foreign Ministers of the six countries meeting in Venice at the end of May and accepted as the basis for the drafting of two treaties, one on Euratom, the other on the common market. This work proceeded during the autumn.

The principal problems that retarded negotiation on the Euratom treaty were the question of ownership of fissile materials and the question of whether the Euratom countries should undertake to develop atomic energy solely for peaceful purposes. The Germans, in particular, were sceptical of the advantages of a system which centralized too much control in the hands of the proposed European Atomic Energy Commission and made it the sole owner of fissile materials within the Community. The French were reluctant to renounce the right to develop atomic energy for military purposes. In so far as the common market negotiations were concerned, the chief difficulties stemmed from the French reluctance to undertake an automatic and irreversible system of trade liberalization and their insistence that a large measure of harmonization of social charges in the six countries was a condition precedent to a substantial removal of trade barriers.

As the year ended compromises were in prospect on all points and there were grounds for optimism that both treaties would be ready for signature by the spring of 1957.

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THE ORGANIZATION FOR EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

The ministerial level meeting of the Council of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (O.E.E.C.) held in Paris from 17-19 July brought to a head the work carried on by the organization during the first six months of 1956 and, in large measure, set the pattern of activity for the last six months. Two problems dominated the session: the first was the role of the O.E.E.C. in the development of atomic energy; the second was the question of how further progress

was to be made in liberalizing trade and, in particular, what was required to reduce intra-European tariffs.

In June 1955 the O.E.E.C. Council had established a special working party to 'examine and report to the Council, as soon as possible, on the possible scope, form, and methods' of co-operation in order to secure the greatest benefits from the use of nuclear energy. This three-man working party (M. Nicolaidis, Greece, M. Ockrent, Belgium, and Mr. Harpham, the United Kingdom) submitted its report on 15 December 1955 but it was not officially considered by the Council until its meeting in Paris on 28-29 February 1956. At that time the Council concurred with the main tenor of the working party's report and appointed a Special Committee to prepare detailed proposals on three substantive points: the nature of the security controls to be exercised by the O.E.E.C.; the 'joint undertakings'—such as the joint construction and operation by a group of O.E.E.C. countries of a plant for the chemical processing of irradiated fuels—that should be sponsored by the O.E.E.C.; and the measures that should be taken to make intra-European trade in nuclear equipment and materials as free from restriction as possible. In addition, the Special Committee was to make recommendations on the functions of a Steering Committee for Nuclear Energy which the working party had proposed as the permanent O.E.E.C. body to co-ordinate and direct action in this field. The Special Committee reported to the Council at the July session on all these questions and further decisions were then taken. In particular, the Council established a Steering Committee; adopted a stand-still agreement prohibiting the imposition of any new trade restrictions on a substantial list of atomic energy equipment and materials and directed that the possibilities of further liberalization be studied; authorized study groups to complete plans for a number of 'joint undertakings'; decided to establish an international security control and requested the Steering Committee to draw up a draft statute for the control organization; and instructed the Steering Committee to prepare a draft statute for a European Nuclear Energy Agency. The Steering Committee was given six months to complete its work.

During the early part of the year some countries tended to view the O.E.E.C.'s discussions on atomic energy as in competition with the 'Euratom' plan for the development of atomic energy which was simultaneously under discussion by the six Schuman Plan countries. The July meeting not only avoided a clash between the two groups but demonstrated that the two plans could be developed in a complementary fashion.

The second main aspect of the O.E.E.C.'s work during 1956, that on trade liberalization, also tended (early in the year) to be regarded as competitive with the plans of the Six for a common market. Again the July decisions appeared to resolve the difficulties. Prior to the Council meeting, the low tariff countries (Benelux, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland) circulated a plan calling for the automatic reduction of tariffs on those goods that figured largely in intra-European trade. They also let it be known that they would be unwilling to go

further in reducing quantitative restrictions or even to agree to an extension of the existing decision calling for 90 per cent. liberalization of intra-European trade unless the Council were prepared to take some positive decision on tariff reduction. At the July meeting a threatened deadlock was avoided. It was decided to establish a special O.E.E.C. working party to study the forms and method of association between the O.E.E.C. and the common market of the Six, and specifically the possibility of a free trade area which would include the common market as one element. This would be one way of attacking the tariff problem. At the same time the low tariff club's plan was to be studied further by the Steering Board for Trade. Early in 1957 the Council was to decide whether the free trade area plan held prospect of substantial progress; if not it was to instruct the Steering Board to complete the alternative low tariff club plan. Thus, the Council was committed to deciding early in 1957 which road to the reduction of tariffs it was to follow. Meanwhile the decision on trade liberalization would remain in force. During the autumn the widespread favourable reaction to the free trade area plan from labour, industry, and the press in the United Kingdom appeared to point in the direction of an eventual favourable decision by the British Government on that plan.

Three other developments of the past year deserve mention. First, the European Payments Union was renewed from 1 July for another year with no change in its operating rules. Secondly, the Council at its July meeting established a ministerial Working Party to give high level consideration to three major economic problems: the slowing down in the rate of economic expansion in many O.E.E.C. countries, the continued rise in prices in much of Western Europe, and the growing unbalance in intra-European payments. The ministers, with Mr. Macmillan in the chair, met during the autumn. Thirdly, the Organization promptly took action to minimize the impact on the economy of Western Europe of the interruption in oil supplies from the Middle East and took the lead in co-ordinating emergency measures to conserve supplies and in preparing for the allocation of available supplies of oil, if that should become necessary. The oil shortage called for immediate action. But throughout the year the Organization also concerned itself with the longer term problem of Europe's growing need for abundant energy at low cost if its competitive position in the world was to be maintained.

THE WARSAW TREATY

The signing of the Eastern European Mutual Assistance Treaty at Warsaw on 14 May 1955 by the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania was referred to in the last volume (see A.R. 1955, pp. 170-1, text p. 465).

The new situation created by the signature of the London and Paris Agreements of October 1954, particularly the restoration of

sovereignty to Western Germany, her membership of NATO and W.E.U., and consequent remilitarization, was discussed at a conference of the eight States held in Moscow from 29 November to 2 December 1954. On 21 March 1955 the Soviet Foreign Ministry announced that agreement had been reached on the principles of a mutual defence treaty and the organization of a unified military command in the event of the ratification of the London and Paris Agreements, 'with the aim of ensuring the security of the East European States and in the interests of the maintenance of peace in Europe'. Instruments of ratification of the London and Paris agreements were deposited by 5 May 1955 and the agreements came into force on that date. The eight States met in conference in Warsaw six days later, on 11 May 1955, and the treaty was concluded on the 14th. Communist China was represented at both the Moscow and Warsaw conferences.

The Political Consultative Committee set up under the treaty met in Prague on 27-28 January 1956 and was attended by the Foreign and Defence Ministers of all the eight States, the Premiers or Vice-Premiers of some, and by a Chinese observer. A communiqué announced that contingents of the new East German army would be incorporated in the unified command of the treaty Powers; that the Political Consultative Committee would meet when necessary and in any case not less than twice a year to discuss questions resulting from the application of the treaty; that a permanent commission would be set up in Moscow to make recommendations on questions of foreign policy, together with a secretariat, the staff of which would be drawn from all member States. A joint declaration was also issued in which it was proposed that neither East nor West German forces should possess atomic weapons and that the Soviet, American, French, and British forces in Germany should exclude nuclear weapons from their equipment. It proposed that NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization should sign a Collective Security Treaty as the best means of ensuring European peace, and that in the meantime non-aggression pacts should be concluded between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., the United Kingdom, and France; further that consideration should be given to Sir Anthony Eden's proposals at the 'summit' conference at Geneva for a demilitarized zone in Europe (see A.R. 1955, p. 166).

The first meeting of the East European Council of Mutual Economic Assistance was held in Budapest from 7-11 December 1955 and was attended by representatives of the eight signatory States. The Council discussed the main trends of economic development and standards of living in the member countries and long-term trade agreements between them. Specialization in individual countries and co-operation in the manufacture of certain types of machinery and equipment, with a view to achieving greater production, improving quality, and lowering costs through the extension of new industrial techniques in the area as a whole were also discussed.

A further meeting of the East European Council of Mutual Economic Assistance was held in East Berlin from 18-25 May 1956 attended by the eight member States and also by Chinese and Yugoslav observers.

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Continuing the discussions at its first meeting the Council announced decisions on co-ordination of development in the five-year period 1956-60 whereby member countries would specialize in the types of production in the basic industries for which they were best fitted, namely in the engineering, optical and precision instrument, iron and non-ferrous metals, coal-mining, oil and gas, and chemical industries, and in agriculture.

During the insurrection in Hungary M. Nagy, on 31 October and again on 2 November, sent a message to the U.N. Secretary-General announcing Hungary's wish to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty and appealing to the United Nations and to the great Powers to guarantee her permanent neutrality. The United Nations was, as is recorded elsewhere (see p. 131), powerless to help.

In putting forward its new disarmament proposals, published on 18 November, the Soviet Government again suggested the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the countries of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, and offered to consider agreeing to the employment of the aerial inspection plan in an area to a depth of 800 kilometres east and west of a demarcation line between the armed forces of the NATO block in Europe and the Warsaw Treaty countries, with a view later to the creation of a demilitarized zone.

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THE BAGHDAD PACT

The signature of the Baghdad Pact on 24 February 1955 and the first annual meeting of its Permanent Council on 21-22 November 1955 were recorded in the last volume of this Register (see A.R. 1955, pp. 293-5, text p. 463).

The Pact continued to be a bone of contention in the Middle East. Egyptian press and broadcast attacks were if anything intensified. In its declaration of 13 February that the dispatch of U.S. and British troops to the Middle East would be a threat to peace in the area, the Soviet Foreign Office again denounced the Pact as aiming at the creation of a 'new military block' in the Middle East. A third Soviet protest against Persia's adherence to the Pact, following protests in October and November 1955, was presented to Teheran on 5 February, and was rejected by the Persian Government on 6 April.

Disappointment at the refusal of the U.S.A. to join the Pact was offset by its decision, affirmed in the joint statement by President Eisenhower and Sir Anthony Eden in Washington on 1 February, that the U.S.A. would continue to give the Pact solid support and that American observers would play a constructive part in its committees. U.S. reservation in joining the Pact was explained by commentators in the Middle East by the fact that it was hampered by the sympathy for Israel of prospective Jewish voters in the U.S.A. and by fears that Saudi Arabian reactions might cause difficulties for American oil interests in that country.

The anniversary of the signing of the Pact was the occasion for Turkish, Pakistani, and British broadcast messages reaffirming support for the Pact, and expressing the hope that other countries might join it. In the House of Commons on 7 March Sir Anthony Eden declared that as one of the authors of the Pact he stood by every line of it. On 24 March the Turkish and Pakistani Prime Ministers pledged themselves in a joint communiqué issued in Karachi to do their utmost to make the Pact effective.

The inaugural meeting of the Economic Committee of the Permanent Council was held in Baghdad on 10-11 January under the chairmanship of Mr. A. H. Ebtehaj of Persia. In addition to representatives of the member countries American observers attended. It was agreed that in order to secure joint consideration of the economic problems of the area special studies by working parties should be made. It was also agreed to propose to the Permanent Council the establishment with British assistance of an atomic energy training centre in Baghdad for the benefit of member-countries.

The second meeting of the Permanent Council was held at Teheran on 16-19 April with the Prime Minister of Persia, Mr. Hussein Ala, in the chair. Of the other members Pakistan, Turkey, and Iraq were represented by their Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers and the United Kingdom by Sir Walter Monckton, then Minister of Defence. A strong delegation of U.S. observers, including senior officers of the three armed services, was headed by Mr. Loy Henderson, chief administrative officer of the State Department and former ambassador in Teheran.

During the meeting Mr. Henderson announced that the U.S.A. would co-operate more closely with the Pact in the following ways: full membership of the Economic Committee and of the Counter-Subversion Committee of the Pact; the establishment of a U.S. military liaison office in Baghdad; a contribution to the cost of the permanent general secretariat to be set up; continuation of military aid programmes. In addition the U.S.A. was prepared to discuss projects for regional development on a bi-lateral or multi-lateral basis.

The communiqué issued at the close of the meeting again emphasized the defensive nature of the Pact and suggested that criticisms of it were largely due to misunderstanding of its purposes; stated that since the basic objectives of Communism remained unchanged, despite a change in tactics, there could be no relaxation of measures to strengthen the defensive capacity of the area; and urged the immediate settlement of the Israel and Kashmir problems.

The following economic measures were approved by the Council: the establishment of a training centre in the use of agricultural machinery and for studies in soil and water conservation; joint training centres for anti-malaria operations and health education; joint surveys in locust control, control of pests, etc.; co-ordination of research in certain fields and exchanges of scientific and technical information and personnel; and the setting up of the proposed atomic

energy centre for the area, which was to be opened in January 1957. It decided to appoint a technical sub-committee in Ankara to make a preliminary study of the possibility of a joint development plan for the water resources of the Tigris-Euphrates basin and to make recommendations for any further detailed studies that might be required. It also agreed to set up a working party, which met in Teheran in June 1956, to consider means whereby regional projects of interest to two or more members might be studied or implemented through economic or technical assistance, particular mention being made of co-operation in industry and communications.

On the recommendation of the Counter-Subversion Committee which had met in Teheran early in April, the Council decided to set up a permanent organization, under the administrative control of the Secretary-General, to assist in combating subversion in the area.

The Israel invasion of Egypt and the Anglo-French intervention brought immediate condemnation from the Muslim members of the Pact. On 5 November they jointly approached the U.K. Government urging the immediate end of hostilities. The British Foreign Office stated on 8 November that H.M. Government 'had listened with close attention to the friendly and constructive advice offered'. In a press statement on 10 November Mr. Suhrawardy disclosed that the joint approach had been made after preliminary and urgent discussions and that it was understood to have influenced the decision for a cease-fire at midnight on the following day.

On 7 November a meeting of the four Muslim members of the Pact was held in Teheran; the United Kingdom was not invited and Iraq made it clear that she would attend no meetings of the Pact if British representatives were present. The communiqué issued at the end of the meeting, after calling for a withdrawal of forces from Egypt, urged that to ensure a permanent peace the Israel-Arab dispute must be settled immediately on the basis of the 1947 resolution of the United Nations, and that the Suez Canal problem must be settled, in negotiation with Egypt, under the auspices of the United Nations, freedom of the canal to be safeguarded but with full respect of Egyptian sovereignty.

M. Menderes invited the British and American Ambassadors to meet him in Istanbul on 10 November to discuss the Teheran meeting and economic problems. He emphasized that the omission of the United Kingdom from those invited to the meeting was 'a temporary expedient'. The Secretary-General of the Turkish Foreign Ministry on the same day said that the Teheran meeting had 'saved the unity of the Baghdad Pact'. A further meeting of the Muslim members of the Pact was held in Baghdad on 19 November to review developments. It was attended by the Prime Ministers of Iraq, Pakistan, and Turkey, the Foreign Minister of Persia, and also by the President of Pakistan, General Iskander Mirza, who was visiting the area. The meeting was adjourned on 21 November when President Mirza flew to Riyadh to meet King Saud, and Mr. Suhrawardy flew to Beirut for talks with President Chamoun. The discussions were resumed on 22 November when King Feisal of Iraq also attended. The communiqué issued on

23 November reiterated the belief of the four Governments that the recommendations in the Teheran communiqué were the only means of solving Middle East problems in a just, honourable, peaceful, and lasting manner. They further drew attention to the similarity of their views with those expressed in the communiqué published in Beirut on 16 November after the meeting of the Heads of Arab States. The most notable part of the communiqué was, however, a statement that the members viewed 'with anxiety and alarm the rising tide of subversion in the Middle East', and had decided to take all necessary measures, in conformity with the U.N. Charter, of counteracting the danger.

Shortly after this, on 29 November, the U.S. State Department, with the approval of President Eisenhower, made the steadying statement that it would view 'with the utmost gravity' any threat to the territorial integrity or political independence of the Baghdad Pact Powers—Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq, and Persia.

THE SOUTH EAST ASIA TREATY ORGANIZATION

The second annual meeting of the Council of S.E.A.T.O., consisting of the Foreign Ministers of the eight memberc-ountries, was held in closed session in Karachi from 6 to 8 March 1956 under the chairmanship of Mr. Hamidul Huq Choudhury, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. The other Foreign Ministers taking part were Mr. Casey (Australia), M. Pineau (France), Mr. MacDonald (New Zealand), Señor Carlos Garcia (Philippines), Prince Wan Waithayakon (Thailand), Mr. Selwyn Lloyd (United Kingdom), and Mr. John Foster Dulles (United States).

The Council had before it a first annual report on the work of its Representatives at Bangkok and of its Military Advisers, the bodies set up at the first annual meeting of the Council (see A.R. 1955, p. 164). The Council Representatives meet frequently to carry on the day to day business of the treaty, and are assisted by committees on security, on economics, and on information, cultural, educational, and labour activities. The Military Advisers meet periodically to draw up plans to resist aggression in the treaty area, and are assisted by a body of staff planners and a number of sub-committees. At a meeting in Melbourne on 17 January the Military Advisers drew up a regional defence plan, and a combined land, sea, and air exercise, 'Firm Link', was organized in and around Bangkok from 15-18 February.

The annual report stated that, apart from financial aid for military purposes, over $700 million had been made available for economic development in the South East Asian countries in the last two years, U.S. allocations in this period having increased almost fourfold. The defence forces of the member nations in Asia had been appreciably improved and were better equipped and deployed to act in emergency. U.S. military assistance to Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand had been considerably increased under bi-lateral agreements; 11,000 officers and n.c.o.s from the S.E.A.T.O. area had completed courses or

were attending American-operated service schools in the first nine months of 1955; service personnel were also attending military schools in France or received training in Britain. Although progress had been made in countering Communist subversion, the Report stressed that subversion remained a major threat to the area.

The communiqué issued at the close of the meeting (8 March) laid emphasis on the defensive nature of the organization, on the necessity for collective action in resisting Communist infiltration, and on the need to promote the economic and social wellbeing of the countries of the S.E.A.T.O. area. Satisfaction was expressed at the 'healthy political development' during the past year within the area: that steps had been taken towards establishing the full self-government and independence of Malaya within the Commonwealth, that talks were shortly to be opened on the future of Singapore, and that there had been further development of representative government in the countries referred to in the protocol to the treaty—Cambodia, Laos, and the Republic of Vietnam.

The Foreign Ministers were invited to consider the situation in Kashmir and the troubles on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, the latter it was suggested being an aspect of Communist influence. On the question of Kashmir the Council confined itself to affirming 'the need for an early settlement . . . through the United Nations or by direct negotiations' on the ground that the dispute was before the United Nations and therefore *sub judice*. Despite the caution of this statement it caused annoyance in India.

On the 'Pakhtunistan' dispute the 'members of the Council severally declared that their Governments recognized that the sovereignty of Pakistan extends up to the Durand Line, the international boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistan', thereby entitling Pakistan to invoke the Treaty in the event of an attack on her north-western territories.

To strengthen the organization the Council authorized the establishment of a permanent working group to assist the Council Representatives at Bangkok, composed of an officer from the staff of each Council Representative, and the establishment of a full-time executive secretariat to replace the provisional secretariat hitherto generously provided by the Government of Thailand; the establishment of a research service centre in Bangkok to produce for the benefit of member-governments, and of bodies set up within the S.E.A.T.O. framework, reports on current development in Communist activities; an expansion of the public relations office in Bangkok and the establishment of a cultural relations office to carry out new programmes in that field; the appointment of an economic officer, to work closely with and under the direction of the Council Representatives, to facilitate work in the economic field. All organizational costs were to be met from a common budget. Early in September it was decided at a meeting at Baguio to recommend to the Council at its annual meeting in 1957 that S.E.A.T.O. should establish a permanent military planning office at Bangkok.

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THE LONDON CONFERENCES ON THE SUEZ CANAL

The first London Conference was convened by the United Kingdom in agreement with the French and U.S. Governments, as set out in their joint communiqué of 2 August (for text see p. 451), and was held from 16-23 August 1956. It was attended by representatives of Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, the German Federal Republic, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Persia, Portugal, Soviet Union, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States; only two of those invited refused—Egypt and Greece.

Plans for the future of the Canal were put forward by the United States and by India. The U.S. plan, which was presented by Mr. Dulles and amended textually after discussion by Pakistan, Ethiopia, Persia, and Turkey, provided for international control of the canal governed by four principles; the canal should be operated as a free, secure international waterway in accordance with the principles of the 1888 Convention; its operation should be divorced from the influence of national politics; all legitimate rights and interests of Egypt in the canal and in its operation, including an equitable and fair return, should be recognized; payment of fair compensation to the Suez Canal Company should be assumed (for text see p. 452).

The U.S. plan as amended was supported by 18 nations: Australia, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, the German Federal Republic, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Persia, Portugal, Spain (with a reservation referred to below), Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

The Indian plan, presented by Mr. Krishna Menon, while starting from the same general premises, proposed that the 1888 Convention should be revised to meet present day needs; that, without prejudice to Egyptian ownership and operation, consideration should be given to the association of international user interests with the new Egyptian Corporation for the canal; and that for this purpose 'a consultative body of user interests be formed on the basis of geographical representation and interests, charged with advisory consultative and liaison functions'. This plan was supported by the Soviet Union, Indonesia, Ceylon, and India.

A further proposal was put forward by the Spanish representative Señor Artajo, under which there should be no direct international administration of the canal but representation of canal users on the board of directors of the Egyptian Corporation with sufficient power to safeguard free navigation. A request of the Spanish representative that, though his Government was prepared to support the 18-nations proposals, the Spanish alternative should be presented to the Egyptian Government if the former failed was accepted.

The Conference adopted the majority plan and invited the Governments of Australia, Ethiopia, Persia, Sweden, and the United States to appoint representatives to a committee, under the chairmanship of

Mr. Menzies, to approach the Egyptian Government on their behalf and to ascertain if Egypt would agree to negotiate a convention on the basis of it. At the same time a verbatim record of the proceedings of the Conference was sent to the Egyptian Government.

On 24 August Mr. Menzies requested the Egyptian Ambassador in London to transmit to President Nasser the request of his committee to meet him at a time and place to be agreed. President Nasser's reply agreeing to the proposed meeting was handed to Mr. Menzies on 28 August and the meeting was arranged for 3 September in Cairo. Throughout the discussions with the committee President Nasser made it plain that Egypt would not agree to any form of international control over the canal, that she would not relinquish sovereignty over the canal, and that she was prepared to guarantee freedom of navigation for all shipping without discrimination provided the first two points were accepted. The discussions ended in deadlock and the members of the committee left Cairo. The principal documents exchanged during the meetings were published: an aide-mémoire presented by the committee on 3 September; a letter to President Nasser from Mr. Menzies as chairman of the committee on 7 September; and President Nasser's reply in a letter dated 9 September (for text see p. 453). As had been agreed in London Mr. Menzies also forwarded to President Nasser the Spanish proposal, which also proved unacceptable.

Shortly after the members of the committee left Cairo President Nasser sent Notes to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to all countries except Israel making proposals, which he had not discussed with the committee, for immediate discussions between all States using the canal on a review of the 1888 Convention and on the creation of a 'negotiating body' to consider questions of freedom of navigation, development, and toll charges.

At a special session of the House of Commons on 12 September Sir Anthony Eden reported on the breakdown of the committee's discussions with President Nasser, adding:

> Not everyone yet realizes the advantages of the 18-nation plan offered to Egypt. The traffic, of course particularly of oil tankers, is steadily increasing. It is, indeed, expected to double under normal conditions within the next ten years. The Canal needs constant maintenance. It is going to require major capital expenditure. The latest estimate is that £100 million or more will have to be spent there if it is to continue to handle the expanding traffic. The Menzies mission's offer to Egypt was that this great financial responsibility should be taken over by an international authority while Egypt should be internationally recognized as the landlord and should draw an income based on the traffic passing through the Canal.

Sir Anthony then announced that the British Government, in agreement with the French and the U.S. Governments, where the idea originated, had decided to set up a provisional Suez Canal Users' Association which other countries would be invited to join and which it was hoped would prepare the way for a permanent system established with the full agreement of the interested parties. The Association would employ pilots, undertake responsibility for co-ordination of traffic through the canal, and in general act as a voluntary organization for the exercise of the rights of the canal users. The Egyptian

authorities would be requested to co-operate in maintaining the maximum flow of traffic through the canal. It was contemplated that Egypt should receive appropriate payment from the Association for facilities provided by her, but the transit dues would be paid to the Users' Association and not to the Egyptian authorities. The proposed Association was promptly denounced by Egypt. On 14 September the British Foreign Office announced that a conference to discuss the proposal to set up a Suez Canal Users' Association (S.C.U.A.) had been convened in London on 19 September and that those who had supported the 18-nations proposals had been invited to attend.

The second London Conference on Suez met from 19 to 21 September under the chairmanship of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. All the 18 Powers invited were represented, though several refused to commit themselves to membership of S.C.U.A. until its purposes and functions had been more fully explained. At the close of the Conference two declarations were issued: a general declaration by the 18 nations regretting the rejection of their proposals by the Egyptian Government and disposing of the proposals made by President Nasser on 10 September as too imprecise to afford a useful basis for discussion; and a declaration providing for the establishment of a Suez Canal Users' Association (for text see p. 457).

Immediately after the close of the Conference Mr. Selwyn Lloyd sent out invitations to a further conference of the 18 nations to be held in London on 1 October to set up the Association. This was attended by the Ambassadors of the countries concerned, and 15 of the 18 nations agreed to join S.C.U.A., representing nine-tenths of the canal traffic; those withholding their decisions were Ethiopia, Japan, and Pakistan. It was agreed to establish an Organization Committee to make recommendations for setting up a Council and to define its functions and those of an Administrator to be appointed by the Council; an Operational Committee to deal with practical matters affecting the use of the canal, including payment of dues; and a Finance Committee to deal with S.C.U.A.'s internal financial arrangements. The conference ended on 5 October after electing six of the seven members of the Council—France, Italy, Norway, Persia, the United Kingdom, and the United States; the last place was left until those who had not yet decided on membership had done so. It was agreed that the six members of the Council should be empowered to exercise the full functions of the Council and to appoint an Administrator, decide on the headquarters of S.C.U.A., and other relevant matters. On the morrow of its formation differences in British and American interpretations of its purposes seemed to arise from remarks made by Mr. Dulles in the United States, though this was later denied by Mr. Dulles and by President Eisenhower.

On 5 October the United Kingdom and France submitted a joint resolution to the Security Council, convened in response to the joint Anglo-French request of 23 September, asking the Council to recommend that the Egyptian Government should join in negotiations to work out a system of operating the canal based on the 18-nations

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proposals, and that pending the outcome of the negotiations Egypt should co-operate with S.C.U.A. After private discussion between the United Kingdom, French, and Egyptian Foreign Ministers, the Anglo-French resolution, incorporating a Persian amendment, was put to the vote in two parts. The first part embodied the 'six principles' upon which any settlement of the Suez question should be based and was adopted unanimously. The second part suggesting that the proposals of the 18 nations corresponded to these principles and that in the meantime Egypt should co-operate with S.C.U.A. though approved by 9 votes to 2 (U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia) was nullified by the Soviet veto.

The Council of S.C.U.A. held its first meeting in London on 18-19 October under the chairmanship of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. It elected Dr. Stikker, Netherlands Ambassador in London, as its Vice-Chairman, and appointed Hr. Eyvind Bartels, the Danish Consul-General in New York, as Administrator of the Association.

The Council held its second meeting on 25-26 October when it agreed, subject to parliamentary approval, to the creation of an initial fund of £50,000 for the administrative expenses of the Association, to be shared equally among its members; to the opening of separate banking accounts in the name of the Association to cover administrative expenses and to receive, hold, and disburse canal dues and other sums paid to the Association; to a formula for sharing future expenses under which the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. would each pay 20 per cent., France 15 per cent., and the other 12 members the remaining 45 per cent. between them. No agreement was reached on the amount which the Association should pay to Egypt from the canal dues received, nor was any decision taken on when members should start to pay dues to the Association.

With the Anglo-French intervention in Egypt the work of S.C.U.A. was halted and no further meeting was held until early in the New Year.

OTHER INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

Arab League. The Economic Committee of the League, it was announced in Cairo on 26 March, had approved the establishment of an inter-Arab organization for economic development, with a capital of £20 million to be financed jointly by member-States. The Committee also approved the formation of a company to exploit minerals in the Dead Sea area with a capital of £4 million and headquarters in Amman. The Council of the League met in Cairo from 5-12 April when it set up a technical committee to study the political, cultural, and economic boycott of France in view of the situation in Algeria, supported the presentation of the Algerian situation to the U.N. Security Council, and a request for a U.N. fact-finding mission to visit and report on Muscat and Oman. The Political Committee also considered the 'problem' of the Aden Protectorate. On 13 August the Political

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Committee, meeting in Cairo, issued a statement supporting President Nasser's declaration of 12 August.

BENELUX. Ministers of Benelux at a conference in Brussels on 12 January agreed in future to engage in joint trade negotiations with outside countries; Portugal and Denmark were the first countries with which such trade agreements were negotiated. On 24 April Dr. C. D. A. Baron van Lynden was appointed Secretary-General of the Benelux customs union. On 7 June a labour treaty was signed making the Benelux countries (the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg) a single labour market, with free movement of workers. The treaty was subject to parliamentary approval but was to become operative at latest on the day on which the proposed Benelux economic union came into force.

COLOMBO PLAN. The 11th Session of the Council for Technical Co-operation in South and South East Asia met on 25-26 July in Colombo. It reported a need for greater co-operation among the countries of the area and called for more external aid. The Council's report for 1955-56, 'The Colombo Plan Technical Co-operation Scheme' was published by H.M. Stationery Office in September.

The 5th Annual Meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan was held in New Zealand from 4-8 December and was attended by leading officials from 21 countries and representatives from E.C.A.F.E., the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the U.N. Technical Assistance Board. The meeting was technical and administrative rather than policy forming. It reviewed progress and considered problems of development.

EUROPEAN POSTAL SERVICE. Arising from a proposal made to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe on 9 July 1955, a conference of Ministers of Posts and Telecommunications of the six members of E.C.S.C. (Belgium, France, Western Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands) was held in Paris on 20 January under the chairmanship of M. Bonnefous. The following preparatory decisions were reached: the setting up of three working parties to prepare measures of co-operation in telecommunications, postal services, and postal cheques; the issue of a European stamp to symbolize the European idea.

EASTERN INSTITUTE FOR NUCLEAR RESEARCH. Representatives of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Outer Mongolia, North Korea, Communist China, Poland, Rumania, and the Soviet Union agreed on 26 March, after a six day conference in Moscow, to set up an Eastern Institute for Nuclear Research in the Soviet Union, for theoretical and experimental research into nuclear physics. This decision was implemented by a formal agreement on 12 July, when it was announced that the Institute would be established in the

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Kalinin region of Western Russia. The Institute held its first session on 21 September in Moscow when North Vietnam was admitted to membership.

NORDIC COUNCIL. The 4th session of the Nordic Council was held at Copenhagen from 27 January to 3 February. It considered a Norwegian Government report dealing with the basis for Scandinavian co-operation in the peaceful utilization of atomic energy. For some years Norway has provided radio-active isotopes for scientific and industrial research in the other Scandinavian countries and has also granted permission for all Scandinavian scientists to use the reactor at Kjeller in Norway for study purposes. The 5th session of the Council will be held in Helsinki in February 1957.

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL. A three day meeting of the General Council of the Socialist International opened in Zurich on 2 March and was attended by representatives of the Labour and Social Democratic Parties in Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Italy, Israel, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Western Germany, and the United Kingdom. The conference, rejecting an appeal for closer co-operation made by Mr. Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, adopted a resolution opposing any form of political co-operation between Social Democratic and Communist Parties. It also adopted resolutions appealing for progressive and controlled disarmament; the provision for Israel of arms for self-defence; and calling upon the U.K., French, and U.S. Governments to reaffirm the Tripartite Declaration of 1950.

The General Council met again from 30 November to 2 December at Christiansborg. About 50 delegates attended from 19 countries. The chairman was Mr. Morgan Phillips; Mr. Gaitskell was also present. Resolutions were passed calling for Russian withdrawal from Hungary, for the withdrawal of British, French, and Israel forces from Egypt, and for action by the United Nations in pursuing a settlement of the Suez Canal dispute, restoring the damaged oil-pumping stations in Syria, policing the Israel-Egyptian borders, ending the Arab economic blockade against Israel, and ensuring peace in the area. On the resolution calling for withdrawal of forces from Egypt the French delegation walked out of the conference; the Belgian, Israel, and Spanish delegations abstained.

5TH WORLD POWER CONFERENCE. The 5th (Plenary) World Power Conference, held at Vienna from 17-23 June, was attended by nearly 3,000 persons from 53 countries, including considerable numbers from the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe and from Communist China. The theme of the Conference was 'World Energy Resources in the Light of Recent Technical and Economic Developments'. The technical sessions were divided into the following main divisions: the State and development of power production and

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utilization in individual countries; the preparation and conversion of fuels; utilization of primary sources of energy; purification of waste water and waste gas in the production and use of energy; international collaboration in the production and use of energy.

24TH WORLD ZIONIST CONGRESS. The 24th Congress was attended by 500 delegates from 58 countries and was held on the Israel side of Jerusalem from 24 April to 7 May. It passed a unanimous resolution charging the Arab States with conducting economic warfare against Israel through boycott committees throughout the world. It also demanded that the U.N. Security Council should insist that Jordan fulfilled the undertaking in the armistice agreement to allow the Jewish people free access to their holy places (chiefly the Western Wailing Wall). The Soviet Government was called upon to restore full rights to its Jewish citizens, including the right to re-establish contact with Jewish communities in other countries and in Israel. Dr. Nahum Goldmann, an American, was elected President of the Congress in succession to the late Dr. Chaim Weizmann who resigned in 1946, since when the post had remained vacant.

CHAPTER II

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

IN 1956, as always in a presidential election year, there was a tendency for the United States to turn inward upon itself, to find domestic politics more absorbing than foreign affairs and to seek solutions of international problems which did not involve the American voter in the assumption of any additional burdens. This was accentuated by the remarkably high level of national and personal prosperity and also by the fact that President Eisenhower, though in many respects a symbol of America's commitment to the tasks of world leadership, was also something of a 'father figure' whose personality inspired such confidence as often to serve as a substitute for a policy. To a remarkable degree, indeed, the year was dominated by Mr. Eisenhower's personality. Indispensable to his party, he yet, in the eyes of most Americans, rose above it, assuming the dimensions of a latter-day George Washington. His popular vote in November, after his two serious illnesses, was a remarkable tribute to the breadth and warmth of his appeal. When the North Atlantic alliance creaked under the strain of the Suez crisis he personified both America's loyalty to the United Nations and its determination that the alliance should survive.

January opened on a muted note. The 84th Congress heard the annual State of the Union Message delivered on the 5th, not by the President himself, but by the congressional clerk on his behalf (Mr. Eisenhower was absent in Florida, completing his convalescence).

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The Message contained no striking novelties. As was appropriate at the opening of an election year, it pointed with pride to the maintenance of peace and the record level of national prosperity, while at the same time requesting aid for those less fortunate than their neighbour—the farmers, the pensioners, and the unemployed. The farmers were to be helped by the creation of a 'soil bank', which would recompense them for letting over-cropped lands lie fallow, while the subsidy system would be adapted to aid smaller farmers rather than encourage over-production of crops already in excess. Various social welfare proposals were outlined to fill in gaps in existing schemes—health, education, housing, flood relief. A large road-building programme was proposed. Certain hardy annuals reappeared amongst the legislative recommendations—revision of the Taft-Hartley Labour Act, statehood for Hawaii and Alaska, revision of the immigration law. There was one shrewdly conceived novelty in the proposal to appoint a bi-partisan committee to investigate electoral offences against Negroes. Congressional co-operation was sought in foreign affairs, notably in the economic field by approving American membership in the Organisation for Trade Co-operation, simplifying customs regulations, removing double taxation on earnings from American investment abroad and permitting long term grants of aid to underdeveloped territories. For the financing of all this the President, claiming a balanced Budget for the present year and seeking the same for the next, asked Congress to keep the present levels of taxation, giving a reduction in the national debt priority over any easement to the taxpayer.

The Budget message that followed on 16 January, reversed the retrenchment policy of its two predecessors in favour of a frank expansionism. Buoyant revenues were estimated to bring in $64·5 billion compared with $60·4 billion for the previous year, while total expenditures, though slightly less for 1956, looked towards a higher figure of $65·9 billion for 1957—a delay due to the fact that the full impact of certain increased 1956 programmes would not be felt until the ensuing year. The increases were due to come mainly on the home front, e.g. $2 billion for new schools—but also involved a slight increase on defence ($40·4 billion in all, with the Air Force totalling $16·5 billion) and also an extra $1·8 billion for the proposed long-term grants of foreign economic aid. Made possible by the remarkable increase in American national wealth, the Budget was thus able to be all things to all men—to the Republicans it was 'balanced' and to the Democrats it represented a continuance of paternalistic 'big government'. This same picture was presented in the Economic Report sent to Congress on 24 January, which spoke of a record gross national product of $397·3 billion, of a record number in employment, 64·6 million, of a virtually stationary cost of living, and of only two danger spots, agriculture and the motor industry.

In all this there was an implicit contrast between the prosperity of the U.S.A. at home and the troubles that menaced it from abroad. The gravity of these was crudely, even blunderingly, exposed to public view by Mr. Dulles in a New Year article in the magazine *Life* in which

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he averred that on three occasions—in Korea in 1953, in Indo-China in April 1954, and in respect of Quemoy and Matsu in January 1955—the United States had been brought to 'the brink of war' and had preserved peace by 'the new policy of deterrence' and the President's courage and decisiveness. Democrats chided Mr. Dulles for being 'willing to play Russian roulette with the life of the nation', the British disagreed with his version of events at Dien Bien Phu and worried lest more of such 'tough' diplomacy was in store, while even Mr. Dulles's own party wondered whether such disclosures were tactful in an election year. The President, back from his Florida vacation, affirmed that Mr. Dulles was 'the best Secretary of State' he had ever known but described some of his expressions as 'unfortunate' and gave his own, characteristic assurances that if war was involved he would always 'go to Congress'.

Against this uneasy background the Washington visit of Sir Anthony Eden took place on 30 January. A week before his arrival the Russians had fired an opening salvo in what seemed like a crude diversionary propaganda campaign, offering, in the form of a personal letter from M. Bulganin, a 20-year treaty of friendship. The President had sent a virtual rejection in terms which Sir Anthony found 'admirable' but which left the door open for further exchanges. The principal public outcome of the Eden-Eisenhower talks was the sonorous reaffirmation of the democratic case against Communism embodied in the 'Declaration of Washington'. On the Middle East, the most pressing danger spot for Britain, the leaders announced a joint invitation to France to a conference on the Arab-Israel conflict and an agreement on the 'importance' of the Baghdad Pact (not any hoped-for measure of U.S. participation in it). The communiqué on the Far East frankly admitted 'some differences' and held out promise of greater Anglo-American agreement only in respect of a review of controls on trade with Communist China.

How unformulated American policy in the Middle East remained was revealed by the flurry which developed in February over arms shipments. The disclosure on 15 February that some U.S. tanks were being shipped off to Saudi Arabia caused a storm of protest which the State Department, with Mr. Dulles on vacation, was unable to handle, and in face of which the President (once more on vacation, this time in Georgia) suspended all export licences to the Middle East. This only provoked fresh protests from Jewry, American and Israeli, to which Mr. Dulles, on his return, responded with reminders that Israel could not win an arms race with a Soviet-backed Arab world, and that her best hopes lay in the security afforded by the Anglo-Franco-American Declaration of 1950.

In the same month (despite a further seductive letter from M. Bulganin) the Russians crossed diplomatic swords with the U.S.A. by charging that American meteorological balloons were invading Soviet air space for espionage purposes, carrying photographic equipment, while the propaganda balloons of the Free Europe Committee (American-sponsored) were heightening tension between East and West.

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Mr. Dulles, though denying the charges, agreed 'provisionally' and 'in order to avoid misunderstandings' to stop the weather balloons and denied any government participation in the propaganda flights. The Russians were less successful in their other propaganda move, the 'unveiling' on 11 February of the mystery pair, Burgess and Maclean. In the U.S.A. at least, the interest aroused by their reappearance was short-lived and had no particular impact on Anglo-American relations.

Undoubtedly what most interested the American man-in-the-street during these weeks was none of these things but the question which so perfectly blended the human and the political, 'Will Ike run again?' The President deftly parried every inquiry until on 14 February his doctors issued their report on his health, following on a medical examination the previous day. They said he had made 'a good recovery' but their estimates of the degree of future activity he could safely indulge in were sufficiently vague to allow observers to make divergent prophecies about the President's likely course. Republican party leaders, whether acting on confidential assurances or voicing their own hopes as facts—for the fortunes of the party seemed indissolubly bound up with the President's decision—insisted that there was no doubt of it, Mr. Eisenhower would run. On 29 February, to a crowded press conference and that evening on television, Mr. Eisenhower confirmed their forecasts. His decision was taken, he said, on the basis of his doctors' 'favourable reports' and because the work he set out four years ago to do was not yet completed. There was a clear implication that he would cut down on his activities, confining himself to the 'important tasks' of his office; there would be no 'whistle-stop' campaigning. Mr. Eisenhower would not be drawn on his choice of a running-mate though obviously the Vice-Presidential nomination would now be particularly important; indeed subsequent historians might deem it all-important.

To the Democrats the news was a blow, but if any of the contenders for the party's presidential nomination was dismayed it did not show itself in any outward diminution of the vigour with which they competed. From the first Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson, by reason of his gallant fight in 1952 and still more his ability as principal party spokesman in the ensuing three years, enjoyed a substantial lead in public favour. His closest rival was once again Senator Estes Kefauver with his moral fervour and appealing 'folksiness', but there was also a serious possible claimant in the person of Mr. Averell Harriman, the wealthy ex-New Dealer and ex-Fair Dealer, who as Governor of New York State commanded an important segment of Democratic support. The first trial rounds occurred in March at the primary elections held in New Hampshire on the 13th and in Minnesota on the 20th. In New Hampshire Stevenson, conscious of local weakness, made no formal entry of his name. When consequently Kefauver got 21,600 votes to his rival's 4,000 'write-ins' it caused no great surprise. But in Minnesota the radical Democratic Senator Humphreys had for some time been working for Stevenson; when, despite this, Kefauver secured 239,000 votes to his rival's 183,000 and won 26 of the convention

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delegates out of 30, the pundits averred that the time had come for Stevenson to borrow Kefauver's methods, 'to shake more hands and promise the farmers bigger and better subsidies'.

In a sense the Republican votes in primaries were academic because it was always a case of 'Ike et praeterea nihil'. But the Republican turnout in Minnesota fell so far below not only the Democrats' but even their own figures in 1952 that it seemed as if the farm vote might be being lost to them. That at least was the contention of critics who disliked the policy pursued by Mr. Ezra Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, with the full endorsement of the White House. Such critics, in both parties, were especially vociferous in Congress where although the idea of a 'soil bank' won acceptance attempts to lower (or at least keep flexible) crop subsidies were unpalatable, especially in an election year. In the Senate, after the verdict of Minnesota, so many concessions were needed to pass the Farm Bill that, though the form of flexibility was preserved, the substantive subsidies granted were higher than in earlier legislation. The President let it be known that he would veto the Bill unless it were improved. It was not improved; in fact the House forced on the Senate an explicit one-year restoration of high rigid price supports. On 11 April the Bill passed both chambers in this form (with Republican legislators from the Midwest voting against the Administration in each chamber). On 16 April the President vetoed it. However, acting administratively, he granted certain increases which gave most farmers a subsidy halfway between the 1954 rates and what Congress wanted, amounting in all, it was estimated, to about $500 million extra. He appealed to Congress to content itself with passing a 'straight soil bank Bill'. The House upheld the veto by 211 votes to 202.

While these debates were in progress, Congress and President fell out over another Bill. This was the 'Natural Gas Bill', a measure designed to abolish Federal price controls on natural gas which was purveyed by interstate pipe lines. It was designed to benefit producers in oil States whose Washington 'lobby' was said to have spent $1½ million in promoting it. The Senate passed it in February by 53 votes to 38 but not before Senator Case of North Dakota had revealed that he had been offered a contribution of $2,500 for his campaign expenses by a representative of a California oil company. There was the predictable public reaction—shock, investigation, charge and countercharge, and on 17 February the President announced that in view of the 'highly questionable activities' surrounding its passage he must veto the Bill, although he approved its objectives.

Divisions on this measure had cut across party lines, with Southern Democrats from oil States combining with like-minded Republicans. Strictly an *ad hoc* alliance, it did not carry over into the other field in which Southern politicians were active in the early months of the year —the issue of segregation. Put on the defensive by the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling, Southerners were tirelessly but anxiously fighting to preserve 'white supremacy' and separateness in one direction after another. In Montgomery, Alabama, once the capital of the defeated

Confederacy, the year had begun with a Negro boycott of the city's buses in protest against the enforcement of the traditional 'Jim Crow' law that Negroes should sit at the rear in seats left over from whites. Despite mass indictments for conspiracy and the conviction in March of the Rev. Martin Luther King, the Negro pastor who led their cause, the boycott was substantially maintained throughout the year. In November the Supreme Court ruled in the Negroes' favour.

In the same State, on 1 February, after a two-year battle in the courts the State University was ordered to open its doors to a Negro applicant, Miss Autherine Lucy. Her admission provoked race riots, the expulsion of Miss Lucy from the University, and further legal wrangles in which the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People battled with the 'White Citizens Councils'. In schools in many States comparable difficulties and disorders attended attempts at de-segregation, though often, as at Louisville, success attended the reformers. However, the tenacity of white Southern resistance to forces making for racial equality was well illustrated when the Catholic Archbishop of New Orleans in February denounced segregation as 'morally wrong and sinful' and threatened its practitioners with excommunication. Resistance amongst his flock remained so strong that early in August the Archbishop had to announce that Catholic schools in New Orleans would remain segregated for at least another year. In 1952 hostility to any civil rights legislation had led Southern 'Dixiecrats' to bolt the Democratic party. To head off another such move moderate Southern conservatives in Congress prepared a manifesto which they induced all their Southern colleagues to sign early in March, declaring the Supreme Court's ruling on segregation 'a clear abuse of judicial power' and pledging themselves to oppose it by 'all lawful means'. The emphasis was on 'lawful' and as such it probably kept Southern fire-eaters from extreme measures. To most Northerners, however, such language came as a shock, particularly to Democratic leaders who justifiably feared the reactions of Negro voters in the big Northern cities.

March saw Mr. Dulles, already the most mobile of American Secretaries of State, taking the road—or to be more precise, the air—again, this time for a tour in the Far East. At Karachi he attended a meeting of S.E.A.T.O.'s Council of Foreign Ministers, which he followed up with a call on Mr. Nehru at New Delhi designed to allay Indian criticisms of an American policy which they charged was too partial to Pakistan. Returning to the United States, Mr. Dulles was in time to apply a moral drawn from his tour to the Foreign Aid Bill which the President had just submitted to Congress. The moral was, of course, the need for economic aid to combat the Communist challenge in Asia. The President's requests totalled some $4,860 million, of which approximately $3 billion was for military aid, $1·6 billion for economic aid and the rest for administrative expenses.

It was, however, the Nearer East which absorbed most of the Department of State's attention. The deteriorating situation exemplified by General Glubb's dismissal from Jordan led the American

Administration to submit to the Security Council on 21 March a resolution requesting the Secretary General to undertake a personal mission to the Levant. Before Mr. Hammarskjöld could be given the necessary authority there occurred a fresh outbreak of hostilities in the Gaza Strip. Mr. Eisenhower's most emphatic response to this was to furnish an assurance that no American troops would be sent into action in the Middle East without Congress being consulted, while at the same time Israel's request for arms was again rebuffed. The attendance of Mr. Loy Henderson, Under-Secretary of State, at the 16-20 April meeting of the Baghdad Pact Powers in Teheran hardly seemed to critics of American indecisiveness (e.g. in Britain) an adequate substitute for a positive policy; it did, however, result in the establishment of an American military liaison office and in the U.S.A. joining, not indeed the Pact itself, but two of its Committees.

The disharmony undoubtedly engendered between London and Washington by the lack of agreement over the Middle East was not allayed by the visit of M. Bulganin and M. Khrushchev to Britain later in April—a visit which many Americans thought ill-advised if not downright improper. However the treatment accorded these visitors by the British Government and people substantially relieved all but the most rabid of American Kremlin-phobes of their anxieties. In any case the gaze of most Americans was averted from the landing of the Soviet leaders on British soil by the more glamorous events occurring simultaneously in the Principality of Monaco. There the wedding of Miss Grace Kelly to Prince Rainier satisfied the romantic yearnings of millions of Americans for whom Miss Kelly, Irish-American, young, beautiful, a success in her own right, and now a princess by marriage, personified all that could be wished of the New World stepping forth in alliance with the Old.

Meanwhile the battle for the Democratic presidential nomination gathered pace. Senator Kefauver, unopposed in Wisconsin, gained further momentum for the really significant primary battles that lay ahead, but this was at least offset by Mr. Stevenson's large turnout of supporters in the equally one-sided contests in his home State of Illinois and in the important State of Pennsylvania. All these contests fell in April; on 18 May in Oregon Democratic voters 'wrote in' their preference for Mr. Stevenson over Senator Kefauver in the proportions of 8 to 5. But it was the Florida contest on 29 May which first saw the rivals in full confrontation after a bout of vigorous local campaigning. The result, significant as an indication of success amongst the all-important Southern Democrats, was a narrow win for Mr. Stevenson—221,718 votes to 209,447. Was this the reward for Mr. Stevenson's 'moderate' policy on school de-segregation as against Senator Kefauver's more forthright liberalism? While the argument raged on this, the California result on 5 June put Mr. Stevenson even more decisively in the lead by a margin of 450,000 in a total of some 1,800,000 votes cast. Such success, far from dismaying, seemed positively to encourage the third serious Democratic contender, Governor Harriman,

who selected this moment for openly avowing his candidacy and launching oratorical forays into the Middle and Far West in the hope of winning popular support and picking up uncommitted delegates. Rumour had it that he was the favoured candidate of the last successful Democratic champion, Mr. Truman. But Mr. Truman, who was touring Europe and collecting an honorary doctorate at Oxford, maintained an oracular silence ; his earlier criticisms of ' moderation ', interpreted as reflections on Mr. Stevenson's campaigning tactics, were not repeated, and even on his return in July the only public preference he expressed took the form of a hostile reference to Senator Kefauver.

The Republicans, united on Eisenhower, were not on that account idle. The President did not disdain the occasional role of party leader; in mid-April he addressed an enthusiastic meeting at Washington of party workers gathered from all over the Union, and early in June rallies of volunteer organizations, like Citizens for Eisenhower and Young Republicans. On 10 May his doctors, to reassure the public about his health, made known an astonishing wealth of clinical detail on his physical condition, based on a two-day medical examination. For the first time in American history the voters were provided with an organ-by-organ account of the physique of their elected leader. Democrats might remain sceptical about Mr. Eisenhower's ability to stand the strain of another term of office ; Republicans found in the doctors' report all the reassurance they craved.

Even in an election year—perhaps indeed especially in an election year—an American president has to give leadership to Congress. Thus on 24 April, in pursuance of his budgetary policy, the President had to urge Congress to apply the anticipated surplus not to a tax cut but to reducing the national debt. Even more determinedly he and Mr. Dulles had to battle for their desired totals of foreign aid. One of the President's main allies in this was the elderly Senator George, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, who found his liberal internationalism so menacing to his chances of re-election (against the demagogic compaigning of Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia) that in May he announced his intention to retire. The President at once appointed him Ambassador to NATO.

On 24 May the White House reported on the progress made by Congress on the President's various legislative requests. The same day saw the passage of the revised Farm Bill which gave the Administration the ' soil bank ' and the flexible price supports on most crops which it desired. It departed from presidential policy in two respects —it raised price supports for feeding stuffs too high and it required the dumping of surplus cotton overseas at or below world market prices. But it was felt to be a workable compromise and the President accepted it. June might normally have seen a sustained presidential pressure for action on his other legislative requests and indeed the month opened with a White House Conference on foreign aid with congressional leaders of both parties ; it was unsuccessful—majorities of both parties voted to cut the authorization from $4,900 million to $3,800 million. However on 8 June with dramatic suddenness Mr. Eisenhower fell

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victim to an attack of ileitis, or Crohn's disease, which necessitated an immediate abdominal operation. Once again, as in 1955, the national shock was cushioned by an expert public relations performance by the officials of the White House over the ensuing three weeks of the President's detention in hospital and his subsequent fortnight's convalescence on his Gettysburg farm. From the first the doctors were reassuring not only about immediate recovery but also about the long term prognosis; whatever the textbooks (and Democrats) might say about the probabilities of recurrent attacks, the President's own doctors insisted that his fitness to run and to serve again was not impaired. His staff carefully regulated the invalid's visitors and appointments so that the public felt little or no awareness of the President's hand being removed from the controls. Within ten days of his operation the President was receiving at his bedside Dr. Adenauer (whom Mr. Dulles had welcomed as 'the dean of the Western World' and to whom Yale and Marquette Universities gave honorary degrees). A week later, with rather less cordiality, he received the next European pilgrim to the U.S.A., M. Pineau, who had some rather negative conversations with Mr. Dulles and failed to draw a quorum for an address to the Senate. Before leaving hospital on 30 June, Mr. Eisenhower encouraged his party by endorsing plans for a short Republican convention in August, and before his fortnight's Gettysburg convalescence was concluded he met congressional leaders of his own party and let it be known that he would run again. On 19 July he returned to the White House and to a routine which, though lighter than before, looked reassuringly like 'business as usual'. The smoothness with which the whole machinery of the executive branch had operated during his five-and-a-half weeks absence was a striking tribute to the efficiency and devotion of the President's staff and Cabinet.

For all that neither the world nor the United States had stood still during the President's illness. In Poznan the Poles had demonstrated their unquenchable spirit of independence, while in the Middle East the British evacuation of their Suez base created a vacuum of power that the U.S.A. had still not devised any policy to fill. At midnight on 30 June a strike over new contracts of employment shut down steel mills all over the United States, while in Congress many controversial measures pressed for settlement before the promised adjournment at the end of July. One important Bill reached the President for signature while he was still abed—the Road Bill which authorized federal aid of over $33,000 million for a 41,000 mile network of 'superhighways' to be built over the next 13 years, as well as a smaller programme of secondary roads. The President had wanted to finance it by bond issues but the Congressional Bill provided for taxes on petrol and tyres. Far more controversial was the dispute about the defence estimates. At the heart of the defence debates was the Air Force's insatiable appetite for more and better bombers, and the continuing political attraction of a strategy which, by concentrating on air power, would enable the U.S.A. to release more men from the armed services. In February Senator Symington, a Democrat and a former Secretary

of Air, had become chairman of a Senate Armed Services sub-committee which conducted inquiries into the relative strength of the American and Russian air forces. Testimony—particularly from U.S. air chiefs—heard by the sub-committee satisfied them, and their Democratic colleagues in both Houses, that the Russians were ahead, particularly where jet super bombers were concerned; on the basis of this both Houses stepped up the President's Air Force estimates by $900 million. In July the Secretary of Defence, Mr. Charles E. Wilson, fought a final battle in the Capitol committee rooms against the testimony of his own Air Force subordinates and warned Congress that though the money was authorized it might not necessarily be spent. Finally as a parting shot—or as a defence against more evils to come—the Army, in true Washington style, 'leaked' to the *New York Times* the text of a secret memorandum prepared by Admiral Radford, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, according to which the armed forces would be reduced from 2,800,000 to 2,000,000 by 1960. This, it was asserted, meant a new strategy, even perhaps withdrawal from Europe to a 'Fortress America'. The Administration denied the finality of the memorandum and, of course, the alleged implications of it, but its publication did nothing to bolster NATO's uneasy morale or strengthen the case which the U.S.A., like other Atlantic allies, was concerned to make for German rearmament.

Simultaneously the argument over foreign aid continued. When the Senate came to consider the ceiling of $3,800 million fixed by the House they were impressed by the evidence presented by General Gruenther, the retiring C.-in-C. of NATO, Admiral Radford and, perhaps most effective of all, Senator George. As a result they not only resisted pressure for further cuts, and an amendment which would have excluded Yugoslavia and halved India's share, but finally increased the figure to $4,500 million. However, when, at the end of the session, the Bill went into Senate-House conference committee, the appropriation was cut again first to a figure of $4,100 million and finally to one of $3,770 million. This was $1,130 million less than the Administration had asked for (there was also a 96 days suspension of aid to Yugoslavia) and undoubtedly represented a setback to its programme and perhaps a new congressional attitude towards the whole foreign aid policy.

The other main field of legislative dissension was education. The country's expanding population was fast outgrowing its school facilities and the States, especially the poorer ones, were increasingly looking to the Federal Government for financial aid for school building. Accordingly the President sent to Congress a proposal for providing $1,250 million in federal grants for school-building to be spent over 5 years. However, the able Negro congressman from Harlem, Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, insisted on an amendment denying such grants to any school district which had not complied with the de-segregation ruling of the Supreme Court, while at the same time Southerners vowed to fight the Bill to the death if the Powell amendment were adopted. After weeks of controversy the amendment passed by 225 votes to 192,

but at the price of killing the Bill itself. Blame was variously allocated —on those who injected the racial issue, on the Southern diehards, on the Republican leadership for faulty co-ordination between the White House and the party in the House of Representatives—but what was certain was that, at a time when schools were urgently needed, no federal aid for them would be forthcoming.

Various other measures were passed, many of them in the stampede that traditionally marks the closing hours of a Congress. There was a small Housing Bill, providing for 35,000 federally subsidized housing units a year for two years. At Democratic urging pensions were extended to totally disabled workers at the age of 50 and to women at the age of 62 instead of the previous 65. A scheme for water storage in the Upper Colorado River was enacted but the project for developing public power in Idaho's Hell Canyon failed to muster the necessary votes in the Senate. This was one of the few issues on which Democratic-Republican party lines were clearly and consistently drawn. On the foreign trade issue, which once provided another reliable touchstone of party allegiance, traditional loyalties were upset. A new community of interest appeared between the developing industries of the South and the older industrial centres of the North East and Midwest, which led many Southern Democrats to abandon their free trade upbringing. In consequence, the President failed to get support for his Bill authorizing U.S. membership in the Organization for Trade Co-operation, and all he had to show for his 'liberalizing' efforts was the last-minute passage of a measure simplifying customs regulations. Two items of legislation were vetoed by the President after Congress adjourned on 28 July—a Military Construction Bill and an even more explicit piece of congressional 'pork', a Rivers and Harbours Bill that would have spent over $500 million on local projects which, however dear to congressmen up for re-election, had not been given the review required by law. Only once, by Roosevelt in 1940, had a similar veto been applied. In all the President vetoed 23 Bills in the year.

In general, however, the President and his Congress parted on surprisingly good terms, especially in view of the imminence of the election. There was more in common between the conservative Democratic leadership—men like Mr. Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House, Senator Lyndon Johnson, Majority Leader in the Senate, and the influential Senator George—and the 'progressive Republicanism' of the President than either side would admit to the voters. In consequence, neither side worried too much at Congress virtually ignoring such presidential requests as revision of the Taft-Hartley Labour Law, statehood for Hawaii and Alaska, relaxation of the immigration restrictions, and protection for the civil rights of Negroes.

The President's return to the White House on 15 July was marked by renewed efforts to terminate the strike of the United Steelworkers of America, but it was not until his return on the 24 July from Panama (where he had been gracing the meeting of the Presidents of the American Republics) that a settlement was arrived at. This was on the basis of a three year contract (Mr. McDonald, the union's leader,

had wanted five), providing substantial wage increases, extra pay for Sunday work, and an obligation on the companies to supplement State unemployment pay when the men were laid off. The strike ended on 28 July. A week later came the pay-off, when United States Steel raised its prices by $8.50 a ton. When in October Mr. John L. Lewis secured a 30 cents an hour increase for his ' soft coal ' miners it became apparent that a new ripple of wage increases was spreading, with its inevitable inflationary consequences.

It was not coal, however, but oil that loomed largest in American anxieties during the summer and autumn, as a result of the headlong developments in the Middle East. In December 1955 the U.S.A. had offered Egypt a grant of $56 million (supported by $14 million from Britain) to meet the initial costs of constructing an Aswan Dam. For months President Nasser toyed with the proposition and dickered with the U.S.S.R. In July he held talks with the Soviet Foreign Minister, M. Shepilov, in Cairo. Then Soviet aid apparently not being forthcoming, the Egyptian Ambassador called on Mr. Dulles on 19 July to signify his country's acceptance of the American offer; instead he learnt that the offer itself had been withdrawn. The exact reasons for America's change of front were somewhat less than clear, but they appear to have included doubts as to Egypt's competence to use the grant economically, dislike of appearing to compete with the U.S.S.R. in free gifts to neutrals, and deference to congressional opinion, critical of foreign aid in general but particularly critical of aid which might strengthen Egypt as a rival cotton-growing country and as the head of an anti-Israel coalition. And, of course, at all levels, legislative and executive, there was distrust of President Nasser.

Whatever the causes the consequences were not slow to appear. On the 24 July President Nasser launched a bitter attack on the United States: ' I look at you Americans and say: " May you choke to death on your fury ! " ' Two days later came his nationalization of the Suez Canal Company. Mr. Dulles was absent in Lima when this occurred, but it was immediately apparent from the State Department reaction that the United States would view the Egyptian action in a different light from Britain and France. It was not the Secretary of State but his Deputy Under-Secretary, Mr. Robert Murphy, who flew to London for a three-Power conference which he described as ' exploratory '. So little did this match the serious view taken by France and the United Kingdom that Mr. Dulles took plane for London on 31 July, and evolved an agreement describing the seizure as ' arbitrary and unilateral ' and calling a larger conference for 16 August. However, emphasis continued to fall differently on each side of the Atlantic. In Europe talk was of urgency and strong measures. In Washington the President denied any analogy between Suez and Panama, while Mr. Dulles, in a televised ' report to the Cabinet ' on his return, stressed that though the seizure was ' inadmissible ' the U.S.A. had given ' no commitments ' on action if the conference failed—' moral forces ' were ' bound to prevail '. A few days later, however, Mr. Dulles hinted at

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the possibility of 'economic pressure' being applied to Egypt and a high administration source described war as inevitable unless Egypt gave way. The following week the situation grew more grave and on 12 August the President called congressional leaders of both parties back to Washington (on the eve of the Democratic Party Convention) to brief them on the course of events. But the emphasis of the President's exposition was on his hope for a peaceful solution and on America's freedom from commitments in the event of such a solution failing. When on 16 August the 22 nation conference opened in London, Mr. Dulles presented an agreed Western plan for an international canal board associated with the United Nations. This was modified on 21 August to win over support from Ethiopia and the States of the Baghdad Pact, and won acceptance in this form from the 18 States which agreed to send Mr. Menzies and his committee as their spokesmen to Cairo. Behind this agreement, however, there was still a difference of accent, Britain and France holding on to force as an ultimate solvent and Mr. Dulles stressing conciliation, as, for example, when he praised President Nasser for his willingness eventually to receive the five-nation committee. President Eisenhower a day later said virtually the same, and when President Nasser protested against Mr. Eisenhower calling the canal an 'international waterway' Mr. Eisenhower said that there had been a 'misunderstanding' and that the United States wanted 'a peaceful settlement . . . and nothing else'.

When President Nasser's rejection of the Menzies committee's proposals synchronized with a fresh crop of incidents on the Israel-Jordan border, the American attitude, while remaining in certain respects the same, took on at least a surface appearance of ambiguity. This was due to the vagueness that attached to the concept of the Suez Canal Users' Association which Sir Anthony Eden announced to the House of Commons on 12 September. In Washington it was made known that while Mr. Dulles had proposed the scheme he was shocked by the strong terms in which Sir Anthony had presented it and within 24 hours Mr. Dulles was emphasizing that there was no 'undertaking . . . to shoot their way through', intimating instead that the association might be merely a means for organizing a by-passing of the canal. When Mr. Dulles presented his scheme at the second London conference of 19 September, it was in the most tentative terms and the result was an Association which had no specific function and hardly any powers. On the 23 September, therefore, Britain and France brought their case to the Security Council and Egypt brought a counter-claim. The U.S.A. joined a unanimous Council in voting to place the Anglo-French appeal on the agenda but declined to support the British and French move to keep the Egyptian appeal off. It was an omen of worse dissensions to come. While the Security Council meeting was still pending Mr. Dulles told his press conference on 2 October that 'there is some difference in the approaches to the Suez Canal problem' and in this connexion referred to 'the so-called problems of colonialism', saying that 'on these problems the U.S. plays a somewhat independent

role '. It was an admission too frank to stand and afterwards, in a highly unusual move, Mr. Dulles modified the official text to remove the connexion between Suez and colonialism and to put the reference to a policy split into the past tense. In Europe, however, the statement did great harm, and the report the following day that the United States might organize a consortium of business interests, including U.S. oil and shipping firms, to operate and develop the canal was used by the growing body of critical Europeans as evidence that American ' dollar imperialism ' was getting ready to do a separate deal with President Nasser.

There was never very much substance to such an idea but it persisted all the time that disagreement itself continued between Washington, London, and Paris. The Security Council debates and the equally fruitless private negotiations with Dr. Fawzi produced no great narrowing of the gap. Mr. Eisenhower's denial on 11 October that he had received any intimation of dissatisfaction from British officialdom hardly convinced anyone that the dissatisfaction did not exist, especially since Mr. R. A. Butler had admitted the previous day that the British Conservative Party was ' a bit critical ' of American policy. In face of the other Middle East peril, the conflict on Israel's borders, there was a measure of Anglo-American cohesion; on 10 October the two Powers gave their joint approval to the admission of Iraqi troops into Jordan and this was followed up on 16 October by a restatement by Mr. Dulles of the American determination to support any victim of aggression in the Middle East. But when after the failure of the Fawzi talks the United Kingdom asked for American aid in getting the Suez Canal Users' Association launched, it became apparent that Mr. Dulles viewed the Association merely as an instrument for effecting a new compromise and not as a weapon for a show-down. American ships were still paying tolls to the Egyptian Canal Authority and officials insisted that it was always the American intention that ' a fair share ' of the tolls collected by the Association should be paid over to Egypt. Here the Users' Association scheme virtually faded out; indeed a period of Suez stalemate seemed now to have arrived. The topic disappeared from the headlines, remaining only as an electioneering cry in the speeches of Democratic politicians criticizing the Administration's ' bungling ' and ' complacency '.

During these months the quadrennial election contest for the Presidency and the biennial battle for Congress had been getting under way. Mr. Eisenhower's willingness to run again delighted his party; the thought of Mr. Nixon as Republican Vice-Presidential candidate did not give equally wide satisfaction. Mr. Stassen was imprudently led to announce on 23 July that he was launching a movement in favour of Mr. Christian Herter, a well-connected, liberal, internationalist ex-congressman, now Governor of Massachusetts. Mr. Stassen claimed that an Eisenhower-Herter ticket would ' run at least 6 per cent. stronger than an Eisenhower-Nixon ticket '. Apparently the Republican leadership thought otherwise, for within 24 hours Mr. Leonard

Hall, the astute National Chairman of the party, announced that Mr. Herter, so far from agreeing to stand, had agreed himself to nominate Mr. Nixon at the Convention. Mr. Stassen declined to call off his 'movement', but to all intents and purposes it was dead.

Interest in Democratic nominations, however, persisted up to and including their Convention in Chicago, which opened on 13 August. Despite the odds on Stevenson, Harriman backers remained confident especially when, on the Convention's eve, Mr. Truman announced his support for him. For all the old standard-bearer's prestige the endorsement failed in its purpose. Mr. Stevenson received a powerful counter-endorsement from Mrs. Roosevelt and on the second day of the Convention Senator Kefauver withdrew and urged his delegates to support Mr. Stevenson. Mr. Truman's persistence—accusing Mr. Stevenson of 'surrendering the basic principles' of the party—came to appear only as an old man's perversity and *folie de grandeur*. A compromise on the painful civil rights issue (mentioning the Supreme Court but disclaiming the use of force to implement its decisions) balked the last hope of the anti-Stevensonians, a split with the South. Consequently when the balloting came the issue was never in doubt and Mr. Stevenson at once won the nomination by 905½ votes to Mr. Harriman's 210. Then, in a move that won universal acclaim, the victor forewent his traditional prerogative of naming his running mate; instead (a shrewd hit at the Republican pre-selection of Mr. Nixon) he insisted that the Vice-Presidency was now of such importance that a free choice should be left to the delegates. The result was a lively race between Senators Kefauver and Kennedy, the engaging young Massachusetts Senator, which Kefauver won by 755½ votes to 589 on the second ballot.

The following week, on 20 August, the Republican Convention opened in San Francisco. As the *New York Times* put it, the first part was 'a kind of tableau, which might have been entitled "waiting for Ike",' the second was 'a gala, which might have been called "Ike's here"'. The reference was to Mr. Eisenhower's decision to grace the proceedings in person and to invigorate them with his *bonhomie* and his surprising appearance of radiant health. For poor Mr. Stassen his arrival was the death blow; at the end of an eleven minute interview with the President, Mr. Stassen emerged to make a humiliating reversal of his position and actually to second the nomination of Mr. Nixon, Governor Herter fulfilling his pledge to initiate the nomination. Critics complained of the 'machine-made' quality of the proceedings, but the truth was that whether or not Mr. Nixon would have been acceptable on his own merits the Convention was so genuinely enthused with the personality of Mr. Eisenhower that even a Caligulan choice of running-mate would have been accepted with acclamation.

In view of the identity of the leading contestants comparison with the campaign of 1952 was inevitable. Observers agreed that in many respects they were watching a new Mr. Stevenson—less intellectual, more deliberately 'popular' in his appeal, frankly soliciting the aid of political professionals (e.g. Mr. Finnegan of Philadelphia), leaving no

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doubt of his frank desire to be president. If this new Stevenson seemed to many less convincing than the old—as if he had ceased to be Hamlet without succeeding in becoming Fortinbras—the fault might well be in the changed circumstances of his campaigning. The four Republican years had not been the disaster he genuinely expected them to be in 1952; in particular the menace to civil liberties which had sparked so much of his first fervour was sizeably abated in 1956. Moreover, his opponent had changed. Mr. Eisenhower now campaigned, like Roosevelt in 1936 or 1940, from an Olympian height; peace, prosperity, and personal popularity constituted an armour in which it was hard to find a chink. No doubt the President's party was less popular than his rival's, but that did not help Mr. Stevenson. The 'Operation Reverse Coat-tails', the tactics of associating Mr. Stevenson with young and popular Democratic candidates for local or congressional offices, constituted only a recognition of this fact, not a corrective of it. The truth was that from the first there was no real basis for expecting other than an Eisenhower victory. That, and the absence of clear-cut, deeply-felt issues, made the campaign what American elections so seldom are, dull and lifeless.

Outwardly, the struggle took much the course it would have done had the outcome been in doubt. Mr. Stevenson campaigned by plane and train and motor car all over the Union, opening with a Labour Day speech in Detroit. On 10 September he was heartened by the news that traditionally Republican Maine had re-elected a Democratic Governor and given the Democrats one of its three congressional seats. Mr. Eisenhower moved more slowly to the attack and it was not until 21 and 22 September at a national ploughing contest in Iowa that the rivals met on a common battle-ground, the struggle for the farm vote. Here Mr. Stevenson disappointed some by his frank appeal to a sectional interest with a promise of a return to high rigid farm subsidies at 90 per cent. of parity. The President soon stepped up his speaking schedule, though he never, unlike his rival, approached the levels of 1952. Most of the 'whistle-stopping' was left to the assiduous Mr. Nixon. The St. Sebastian of the campaign, Mr. Nixon was the continuous target of Democratic oratory (Mr. Stevenson called him 'a man of many masks') without ever losing his temper or deserting his role of the dignified and suffering public servant.

As October succeeded to September and the contest increased in severity Mr. Stevenson developed two new themes which appeared at the time to have a certain effectiveness—the prospect of ending conscription and, more important, a call to end tests of the hydrogen bomb. In debating terms these, especially the latter, undoubtedly put Mr. Eisenhower on the defensive, but it is doubtful whether they ever won many votes. And when on 20 October M. Bulganin put in his oar, writing to the President in support of the Stevenson proposal, it was easy for Mr. Eisenhower to administer to the Russians a sharp rebuke for 'interfering' in 'internal affairs' and hard for Mr. Stevenson to dissociate himself from such an unwanted endorsement. Nor did the last-minute swamping of the campaign by the tidings from Hungary

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and Suez do anything to help Mr. Stevenson. As so often the threat of danger from abroad consolidated opinion in favour of the incumbent, especially when that incumbent was a victorious general. Playing the natural and proper role of the President who rises above mere politics Mr. Eisenhower, on 30 October, cancelled the remainder of his speaking tour, made his last major speech at Philadelphia on 1 November, and left it to his subordinates to deal with Mr. Stevenson's final charges that his administration had failed to cope with the developing Middle East crisis, that the President lacked the energy for his office, and that a Republican victory would probably make Mr. Nixon President within four years.

The result was a landslide victory for Mr. Eisenhower, winning 58 per cent. of the popular vote (35,544,135), and 457 electoral votes to his rival's 42 per cent. (26,036,080) and 74. He even carried 5 Southern States, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Tennessee, and Virginia. He won support at all levels and in one new sector, amongst Northern Negroes defecting from the Democrats. His party, however, fared badly. In the Senate they had 4 gains, including New York, but the Democrats won 4 too, including Ohio, so that the score was still Democrats 49, Republicans 47. In the House the Democrats ended with 2 gains, 234 seats to 201. Ike's 'coat-tails' had not been enough. Clearly the voters wanted Eisenhower's personality and the opposition's policies.

For most Americans, however, the significance of these results was overlaid by anxiety about the sudden eruptions in Hungary and the Middle East. At first when Israel mobilized on 28 October, fairly routine moves seemed sufficient—the President's warning to Mr. Ben Gurion against taking a 'forceful initiative', the evacuation of American citizens from Jordan, the announced appeal to the Security Council. But the events of 30 October really shook American opinion to its foundations—the Anglo-French ultimatum and the British and French vetoing in the Security Council of the American resolution for a cease-fire. The fabric of the Atlantic Alliance appeared to have been suddenly torn apart, and the chosen instrument of world pacification flouted by America's closest friends acting in concert against her. 'I doubt', said Mr. Dulles in the General Assembly, 'that any delegate ever spoke from this forum with as heavy a heart. We speak on a matter of vital importance where the U.S.A. finds itself unable to agree with three nations with whom it has ties . . . and two of whom constitute our oldest, most trusted, and reliable allies.'

This was more in sorrow than in anger, but anger was not lacking either. For this not only the fact of the Anglo-French break-away but in some measure the particular circumstances of it were responsible —notably the failure to give the American ambassador in London, Mr. Aldrich, any appreciable notice of the ultimatum, with the result that the President himself first learnt of it from press reports. Mr. Eisenhower was said to have made no secret of his annoyance and Mr. Dulles informed the British Chargé d'Affaires (Sir Roger Makins having

retired as ambassador and Sir Harold Caccia not having arrived) of his 'extreme displeasure'. Indeed, reliable rumours credited Mr. Dulles himself with being the 'well-informed official' who alleged, adducing a good deal of circumstantial evidence, that Britain and France had 'connived' with Israel in advance. Non-official opinion, in varying degrees, gave credence to this report and accorded France and Britain varying measures of moral disapproval and reproof.

However, as the first shock wore off, feeling moderated somewhat. Mr. Eisenhower, broadcasting to the nation on 31 October, while criticizing Britain and France, stressed that disapproval 'in no way minimizes our friendship' for them. He added that American policy was pinned on the United Nations and there would be no direct American involvement. In line with this it was the U.S.A. which moved the cease-fire resolution in the Assembly that Britain and France initially ignored, and American reminders were issued to the combatants that arms supplied as part of U.S. aid were not to be used in Middle East hostilities. However, behind the real and forceful American opposition to Anglo-French policy was a persistent sense of the absurdity of being joint prosecuting counsel with the U.S.S.R., especially at a time when the U.S. Legation was under fire in Budapest and Cardinal Mindszenty was a refugee in it. When M. Bulganin, on the day of the allied invasion, proposed a joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. intervention and threatened London and Paris with rocket bombardment, American reaction was immediate. The White House said the U.S.A. would oppose 'the introduction of new forces' into Suez and termed joint intervention 'unthinkable'. Anxiety now developed lest Suez might kindle into the third world war. Although little was made public every pressure was undoubtedly put on London and Paris to cease hostilities, and when at noon on Polling Day the news that they would do so reached the President he expressed himself 'delighted'.

Gradually tension eased, though not before General Gruenther at SHAPE on 13 November had warned the U.S.S.R. (still threatening 'volunteer' action) that it would be destroyed if it attacked the West, and not before Senator Knowland (perhaps following Mr. Nixon's earlier jubilation over the U.S.A.'s 'independent' policy) had urged U.N. sanctions against Britain and France. Indeed during the uneasy weeks of cease-fire and non-withdrawal the U.S.A. maintained an attitude of aloofness, understandably if irritatingly blended with censoriousness. It continued to act through the U.N. with Mr. Hammarskjöld as agent and intermediary, carefully giving the U.S.S.R. no excuse for direct action. Mr. Eisenhower rejected not only the Swiss invitation to hold a five-Power meeting, but also all overtures from British and French leaders. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd attended the U.N. Assembly without so much as a White House nod. Mr. Casey, visiting Washington on behalf of Britain and France, was denied a presidential interview. Later Sir Anthony Eden journeyed to and from Jamaica without receiving any invitation to break his journey in the U.S.A. Above all emergency oil supplies moved slowly as long as the allies remained in Egypt. In Britain this provoked a new 'Bevanism of

the Right', virulent outbursts of anti-Americanism such as the resolution signed by 110 Conservative M.P.'s on 27 November, while in the U.S.A., paradoxically, the Administration came under fire from the Left.

However a new phase was inaugurated by the Franco-British decision to withdraw. Once this was known in Washington the U.S.A. helped the allies to save face by announcing an emergency oil plan in advance of Mr. Lloyd's and M. Pineau's public statements on 3 December. Moreover, the Russian threat to Syria provoked a further sharp American warning while the continuing explosiveness of Middle Europe produced reaffirmation from the President of support for NATO (borne out by Mr. Dulles at the NATO meetings from 10-14 December). Mr. Nixon, on 6 December, made a significant speech admitting faults on both sides and calling for an end to recrimination. A few days later the replacement as Under-Secretary of State of Mr. Hoover by Mr. Herter was announced, and accepted as substituting a basically pro-European spokesman for a leading pro-Arabist. In this mood Britain's request for a waiver on her loan payments was sympathetically received (though a decision rested with Congress) and she was permitted a withdrawal of up to $1,300 million from the International Monetary Fund. Complications over canal salvage stimulated further flurries of feeling between the U.S.A. and Britain, but these were not serious enough to prevent each side ending the year with a resolution to rebuild the shaken confidence between them—a resolution aided by the end-of-year reports of a new 'Eisenhower doctrine', betokening a greater American responsibility for Middle Eastern stability. The announcement of a new American ambassador in London, Mr 'Jock' Whitney, was hailed as a good augury, while the *rapprochement* in Washington between the President and Mr. Nehru presaged improved relationships between the U.S.A. and a key Asian and Commonwealth Power.

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CHAPTER III

THE U.S.S.R.

In a sensational speech to a closed session of the 20th Communist Party Congress on 25 February M. Khrushchev denounced Stalin, who during his lifetime had been glorified throughout the Soviet Union as a faultless demigod, as a tyrant who had usurped supreme power from the Party in defiance of Marxist-Leninist principles. Stalin was now said to have ruled autocratically, liquidating anyone who dared to oppose his will. He was personally responsible for the unjustifiable excesses of the pre-war purges, in the course of which thousands of honest Communists had perished after being convicted on the strength of fabricated evidence and confessions extracted by barbaric tortures. Prominent Party leaders had often been subjected by Stalin to gross humiliations.

His morbid suspicions, which Beria was said to have skilfully exploited, had grown so strong towards the end of his life that he had believed MM. Voroshilov, Molotov, and Mikoyan to be capable of treachery and had plotted their downfall. Far from being a military genius Stalin, according to M. Khrushchev, had been incapable as a war leader; he had ignored warnings of the impending German attack, and was thus to blame for Russia's early defeats. Yet, consumed by vainglory, he had caused the victory to be attributed to himself instead of to the Party and people; he had distorted history by creating a legend of his own infallibility; some of his ideological pronouncements were erroneous. Under Stalin's personal despotism the Government had lost touch with the people, and had formed the habit of ruling bureaucratically, disregarding unpleasant facts and concealing mistakes. This had caused serious harm, particularly in the field of agriculture. But M. Khrushchev claimed that the present 'collective leadership' had reintroduced proper Leninist principles of government, and he concluded by calling upon the people to rally round the Communist Party in overcoming the remnants of what was euphemistically described as 'the cult of personality'.

The illogicalities and omissions of M. Khrushchev's astonishing speech were even more significant than his revelations, which confirmed the opinion of Stalin's rule long held by the most bitter critics of Communism. Stalin's misdeeds supposedly dated only from the mid-1930s; apart from the breach with Yugoslavia, he was not charged with any error in the conduct of post-war foreign policy; he was only blamed for those mass deportations of nationalities for which there was 'no military justification'. M. Khrushchev's speech was as much a defence of the correctness of the Party's policy as an indictment of Stalin. Moreover, the façade of 'monolithic unity' presented by the 20th Congress showed that, although Stalin had been dethroned, the legacy of Stalinism remained.

There were indications that M. Khrushchev's speech was directly provoked by a conflict in the leadership. But the basic motive in repudiating Stalin was to gain the people's confidence by dissociating the present rulers from Stalin's policies and giving the impression that a fresh start was being made. Instead of ruling predominantly by compulsion, the Government sought to encourage initiative from below and obtain greater popular co-operation in implementing their programme. But in discrediting Stalin they risked undermining the very authority by which they themselves, as Stalin's former associates and adulators, exercised power. They apparently reasoned that, by carrying out a gradual controlled relaxation, the spirit of doubt and criticism which they would unleash could be kept within bounds.

At Party discussion meetings held throughout the country the contents of M. Khrushchev's speech were allowed to filter through to ever-widening circles of the population. But the significance of the disowning of Stalin was deliberately minimized. *Pravda* referred to Stalin as 'one of the greatest Marxists' and attacked 'rotten elements' that had dared to question the wisdom of the Party's policy. Although

the meetings generally passed off peacefully, there was a good deal of intellectual fermentation. At Tiflis an estimated 100 casualties occurred after demonstrations by students loyal to Stalin; later in the year Georgian Communists were frequently attacked for their reluctance to dethrone their former idol.

The full text of M. Khrushchev's speech became known abroad, and its publication by the U.S. State Department threw foreign Communist Parties into confusion. The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. was obliged to adopt a 'resolution' (30 June), in which an unconvincing attempt was made to provide a Marxist analysis of the reasons for the Stalin cult. To justify their failure to remove Stalin during his lifetime, the Soviet leaders pleaded that the people, identifying Stalin with Socialism, would not have understood such a step; that the successes being achieved by the country made Stalin's faults seem less important; and finally that they had not realized the extent of his misdeeds until the exposure of Beria. They stubbornly denied that there was any fault in the Party, and still less any degeneration in Soviet society; the U.S.S.R. was allegedly a vigorous Socialist democracy, and the Party's courage in ventilating the issue itself provided an adequate guarantee of its fitness to lead the nation onward to Communism; there could be no question of allowing more than one party in Russia. In the latter half of the year the repercussions of the repudiation of Stalin were felt mainly in relations between the Soviet Union and her European satellites.

On the domestic political scene, the 20th Congress strengthened the position of M. Khrushchev. Although the principle of 'collective leadership' was preserved, and the composition of the Party Presidium remained unchanged throughout the year, there were increasing signs of disagreement on some aspects of policy. On the eve of President Tito's arrival in Moscow, partly as a concession to Yugoslav susceptibilities, M. V. M. Molotov resigned as Minister of Foreign Affairs, being replaced by M. D. M. Shepilov. Shortly afterwards M. L. M. Kaganovich resigned his chairmanship of the State Labour and Wages Committee. But both these men, who were generally regarded as die-hard Stalinists, were later given important new posts: M. Kaganovich took charge of the building materials industry, whilst M. Molotov was appointed Minister of State Control. Other changes included the appointment to the Presidium of five new candidate members, including Marshal Zhukov and M. Shepilov. The sixth candidate member, M. N. M. Shvernik, exchanged his post as head of the Soviet trade unions for the chairmanship of the Party Control Commission. At the end of the year M. M. G. Pervukhin succeeded M. M. Z. Saburov as chief planner and was put in charge of a committee of six ministers to promote industrial efficiency. On 1 February M. N. P. Dudorov was appointed Minister of Internal Affairs in place of M. S. N. Kruglov.

Although the U.S.S.R. remained as totalitarian a State as ever, the general political atmosphere was more relaxed, and the average Soviet citizen could breathe a little more freely. The execution of M. M. D. Bagirov, Party chief in Azerbaijan until 1953, and three police officials

for alleged complicity in Beria's crimes added point to M. Khrushchev's claim that the Government were concerned to strengthen 'Socialist legality'. A committee was set up in the Procurator-General's office to inspect and supervise investigations carried out by the security authorities. At the same time pre-war laws permitting the use of 'special procedures' were repealed. Lawyers attacked Vyshinsky's theories that courts need not always establish the whole truth and that a confession was sufficient proof of guilt. As part of the policy of decentralization, the Ministry of Justice was abolished and its functions transferred to authorities in the constituent republics. This may have explained the Government's delay in implementing their promise to introduce a new penal code. These measures, although marking progress, fell far short of establishing the rule of law.

In his secret speech M. Khrushchev stated that 7,679 of Stalin's victims had been rehabilitated, 'many of them posthumously'. Thousands of people were released from prisons and camps. An M.V.D. official told a visiting French Socialist delegation in May that forced labour camps would be abolished within 18 months, but it appeared from present practice that many of those still serving sentences would be obliged, by restrictions on movement, to remain as semi-free labourers in the same area as the camps. The motive here was less humanitarian than political: to improve the efficiency of the forced labour system.

A number of modest measures of social reform were undertaken during the year. To diminish the striking gulf between extremes of income, the salaries of some senior officials were said to have been cut by unspecified amounts, and a decree of 8 September established a minimum basic wage of 300 roubles [1] a month for workers in industry, building, and transport living in urban areas. The decision to introduce such a measure before the forthcoming general review of the wages structure showed some realization of the urgent need to improve the conditions of the large number of people living near subsistence level.

This trend away from Stalinist accentuation of differentials was also apparent in the new pensions law adopted by the Supreme Soviet in July, which came into force on 1 October. This greatly improved the lot of most old-age pensioners, although agricultural workers were still disqualified. Benefits were payable to men retiring at the age of 60 and to women at 55 who had 25 and 20 years' service respectively, or ten years earlier in the case of workers in certain arduous or hazardous occupations; a 10 per cent. bonus was payable to those with especially long service. Previously earnings above 300 roubles a month had not been taken into account when fixing benefits; now they were calculated according to actual earnings on a sliding scale basis, with the lowest-paid workers getting 100 per cent., and those earning over 1,000 roubles a month 50 per cent., of their previous wage, with a maximum monthly pension of 1,200 roubles. Although the highest rates were

[1] £1=11·2 roubles at the official rate of exchange, but approximately 40 roubles in purchasing power.

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now four times the lowest, the new scheme put a stop to the privileges previously enjoyed by certain highly-paid groups, such as engineers and officials. Disability pensions were also greatly increased, but the rates were lower than those for old-age pensions. The Government accepted some suggestions put forward in the debate for minor increases, whilst ignoring others or rejecting them on the grounds of expense. The cost of pensions, which this year was estimated to increase from approximately 26 to 38 milliard roubles, was to be met in part by sacrificing the traditional annual price reductions.

By a decree of 8 May it ceased to be a penal offence to change one's employment without permission. But the system of work-books was not abolished, and strong direct and indirect pressures still remained to discourage workers from taking too frequent advantage of this concession. As an earnest of the Government's intention to reintroduce the pre-war seven-hour day by 1960, on 8 March the standard working week was reduced from 48 to 46 hours, but managers of enterprises were warned that this must not lead to any decline in production. From 1 July juveniles aged between 16 and 18 worked a six-hour day. Maternity leave was increased from 77 to 112 days from 1 April. There was evidence of greater concern to improve industrial hygiene and to prevent accidents. But the press cautiously advocated the raising of output norms to a 'realistic' rate based on potential technical efficiency. A Western newspaper reported that one attempt to revise norms had led to the first strike in the Soviet Union for many years.

The most serious popular grievances remained the continued scarcity and high price of consumer goods. The sixth Five-year Plan for 1956-60, endorsed by the 20th Congress, re-asserted the priority of heavy industry over the production of consumer goods, the rate of expansion for each sector being fixed at 70 and 60 per cent. respectively. By 1960 Russian industry was scheduled to produce over 53 million tons of pig iron, over 68 million tons of steel, and 593 million tons of coal—increases of 50 to 60 per cent. upon current output. The production of oil was planned to rise from 71 to 135 million tons, and of electric power from 166 to 320 milliard kilowatt-hours. The maximum attention was to be paid to introducing the most up-to-date scientific technique, particularly automation, for which a special ministry was created during the year.

A notable feature of the plan was that, of a total sum to be invested of 990 milliard roubles, no less than 490 milliards were allotted to the development of Asiatic Russia, particularly Central Siberia and Kazakhstan. In May the Government appealed for 400,000 young volunteers to help in industrial construction work in the East. Apart from political and strategic considerations, the Government were concerned to take advantage of the rich sources of power available in these areas, for in European Russia industrial development was outpacing existing fuel resources. M. Khrushchev's visit to the Donbas coalfield in August highlighted the seriousness of the position in the Ukrainian coal industry, but the Government showed little disposition to recognize

publicly the basic cause of the miners' lack of enthusiasm—the low standard of living. According to the plan industrial workers were to increase the productivity of their labour by 50 per cent., but the wages bill was to rise by only 30 per cent. (The corresponding figures for the collective farmers, 100 and 40 per cent., were even more extreme.) At its December plenum the Central Committee sounded a warning against over-ambitious planning and announced that the plan was to be revised in 1957, which seemed to herald a new shift of emphasis in favour of paying greater attention to the consumer.

Hitherto the Government's efforts in this direction had been concentrated chiefly upon expanding the production of grain and livestock. Largely as a result of the drive to develop virgin lands, a bumper grain crop was obtained ; Kazakhstan alone delivered 16 million tons, or ten times more than in 1953. But the target for 1960, now raised to 180 million tons, seemed over-ambitious. The planting of maize continued to be encouraged. Although milk output increased considerably livestock breeding was acknowledged to be the weakest sector of agriculture : with 67 million head of horned cattle the Soviet Union had one million less than in 1929. A decree promulgated on 27 August seemed likely to undo much of the beneficial effect of the agricultural reforms of 1953 (see A.R., 1953, p. 178), which had led to a marked increase in privately owned livestock. Although the Government recognized that sufficient quantities of alternative fodder were not available, owners of cattle were prohibited, on pain of heavy fines, from buying grain to feed them, and were obliged to pay high taxes and to make deliveries of meat and milk ; to prevent them slaughtering too many animals, local authorities were encouraged to buy their stock. A similar aim lay behind the Government's 'recommendation' to collective farms to amend their statutes so that private plots should be reduced in size, and allotted according to the amount of work done on collective land. But at the same time local authorities were ordered not to interfere in the farms' domestic affairs, so that they might be encouraged to display greater initiative, and as an incentive considerably higher prices were fixed for deliveries of potatoes and vegetables, wool, sugar beet, and fruit.

Government housing appropriations under the sixth Five-year Plan were doubled, but the target of 205 million square metres, if reached, would still be insufficient to relieve the acute overcrowding in the cities. The December plenum raised expectations of greater efforts in this sphere. In contrast an ambitious programme was sketched in the educational field. By 1960 universal secondary education was to be introduced virtually throughout the country. Fees in universities and secondary schools were abolished. Tuition began at some 285 boarding-schools, which appeared to be designed primarily to cater for those able to pay fees although entry was supposed to be by merit. In all schools increased emphasis was laid upon polytechnic training, especially upon practical work in factories. Over five million specialists were said to be working in the U.S.S.R., and it was planned to train a further four million by 1960.

Russian control of Eastern Europe, since 1945 the keystone of Soviet foreign policy, was jeopardized by events in Poland and Hungary. A corollary of the repudiation of Stalin, which seriously shook Soviet authority in the Communist world, was the growing *rapprochement* with Yugoslavia, culminating in Marshal Tito's triumphant tour of the U.S.S.R. (1-23 June). The most important result of his talks with Soviet leaders was an agreement to restore direct relations between the Soviet and Yugoslav Communist Parties on the basis of mutual recognition that each country should be 'free to determine its own road to Socialism'. This principle, if sincerely accepted, implied that the Soviet block ought to be transformed into an association of equal States, with Yugoslavia as a full partner. But the U.S.S.R. had no intention of forfeiting its position of supremacy amongst the Communist countries, as was clearly shown by the Soviet Communist Party's action in circulating to its fellow parties in the satellite States a letter warning them against following too closely the example set by Yugoslavia. In an effort to heal the breach that ensued, M. Khrushchev went to Yugoslavia for private talks with President Tito, who then returned to the U.S.S.R. for further consultations with Soviet leaders.

Any disposition on the part of the Soviet Union to yield was speedily dissipated by the Poznan riots, which Marshal Bulganin, who demonstratively toured Poland in July at the head of a strong Soviet Government delegation, dismissed as an 'imperialist provocation'. He sharply criticized the laxity permitted in the Polish press and called for a consolidation of Russo-Polish relations. On 19 October, in a patent attempt to impose their will upon a meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' (Communist) Party, MM. Khrushchev, Molotov, Mikoyan, and Kaganovich suddenly flew to Warsaw. The Soviet leaders backed their arguments with the threat of force: Russian warships appeared off the Polish coast, Russian troops moved up to Warsaw, and some clashes took place. *Pravda* complained pointedly of 'anti-Socialist insinuations' in the Polish press. But the crisis ended in a Soviet retreat: M. Khrushchev endorsed M. Gomulka's policy of reform; the troops retired to their bases; *Pravda* published an official Polish reply to its charges; Marshal Rokossowski, the symbol of Soviet power in Poland, resigned and returned to the U.S.S.R., where he was in due course appointed Deputy Minister of Defence. After a few weeks of uneasy truce, during which there were further movements of Soviet troops up to the Polish frontiers, the Soviet Union bowed to necessity and concluded a relatively magnanimous settlement with M. Gomulka, who came to Moscow for talks. In return for significant economic concessions, including a supply of Soviet grain on credit, Soviet troops were to remain in Poland 'temporarily' but were not to infringe Polish sovereignty. The details of this arrangement were settled in Warsaw on 17 December.

No such peaceful settlement was reached in Hungary, where Soviet armed intervention touched off a national anti-Russian and

anti-Communist revolution. In Budapest Soviet troops committed barbarous outrages against the civilian population. At first, faced with the totally unexpected collapse of Hungarian Communism, Soviet policy was confused. Not until 30 October did the Soviet Government state their readiness to evacuate Russian troops from Budapest and to discuss the withdrawal of troops and advisers from Hungary and other Soviet-occupied countries. This offer was not only inadequate but hypocritical, for Soviet troops, which had been pouring into Hungary for several days, were still being reinforced. The Soviet Government reasoned that M. Nagy's programme, if it were to be realized, would end Communist rule in Hungary and undermine it throughout the rest of Eastern Europe, and accordingly determined to adopt a ruthless policy: to instal a puppet Government under M. Kádár, to crush the patriots' armed resistance by military force, and to break the general strike which followed by mass arrests and deportations. Many thousands of Soviet troops were killed in the fighting, but the Russian armies achieved only a hollow victory. The Soviet Union was determined to retain its forces in Hungary at all costs, and disregarded repeated United Nations protests on the specious grounds that their intervention was at the request of the Hungarian Government. It tried by every means to bolster up the discredited Kádár régime, but when the year ended no political solution was in sight.

Soviet actions not only shocked the free world but had serious repercussions nearer home. Yugoslav criticisms of Soviet policy, most notably President Tito's revelation of disunity in the Kremlin, provoked counter-accusations in *Pravda* that Yugoslavia was interfering in other countries' affairs. The treacherous arrest of M. Nagy by Russian troops in Budapest contributed to bring about a marked deterioration in Soviet-Yugoslav relations. To prevent the spread of disaffection the U.S.S.R. strengthened its military position in Rumania and Bulgaria. Some units of the Soviet armies in Hungary deserted to the patriots, whilst others proved insufficiently reliable and had to be withdrawn. The Lithuanian authorities admitted the existence of unrest, and disturbances were reported from the Ukraine. In Moscow students openly showed their disbelief in official propaganda attributing the Hungarian revolution to provocation by Western agents.

Soviet relations with the Western world, M. Khrushchev declared to the 20th Congress, were to be based upon the principle of 'peaceful co-existence'—that is to say, the Soviet Union would continue to wage an ideological struggle against 'imperialism' and to compete with the West to secure the allegiance of the uncommitted countries. He spoke confidently of the existence of a 'zone of peace' embracing the Communist block and the Afro-Asian States, a force claimed to be so strong as to render obsolete Lenin's dictum of the inevitability of armed conflict between the Socialist and capitalist worlds. In some countries, M. Khrushchev explained, the 'transition to Socialism' could occur by peaceful means, even by winning a stable parliamentary majority, provided the mass movement was led by the Communist Party. But he made it clear that the ultimate objective remained

'Socialism' on the Soviet model, and the change did not denote any concession to 'reformist' Socialist ideas. The Congress made no major alteration in Soviet foreign policy, which continued to aim at maintaining the status quo in Europe and expanding Soviet influence in Asia, in particular by granting technical assistance to underdeveloped countries.

Great significance continued to be attached to personal contacts with statesmen in other countries. Preceded by M. Malenkov in his capacity as Minister of Electric Power Stations, Marshal Bulganin and M. Khrushchev paid a much publicized visit to the United Kingdom in April. This placed Anglo-Soviet relations upon a closer personal basis than they had ever been before, but did not lead to any noteworthy agreement on the political or other issues dividing the two countries. A similar agreement to differ resulted from the visit of the French Premier and Foreign Minister to the U.S.S.R. in May. Marshal Voroshilov paid a brief and uneventful visit to Finland, and the Prime Ministers of Denmark, Sweden, and Belgium went to Moscow. Air chiefs from many countries, including the U.S.A. and Britain, attended the Soviet Aviation Day celebrations. More significant were the personal contacts developed with Asian and Middle Eastern leaders. Moscow witnessed the arrival of the Shah of Persia, the Crown Prince of the Yemen, Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, Presidents Sockarno of Indonesia and Kuwatli of Syria, and prominent statesmen from India, Ceylon, and Afghanistan. M. Mikoyan toured southern Asia in March, and M. Shepilov marked his appointment as Foreign Minister by visiting Egypt, Syria, the Lebanon, and Greece.

The dissolution of the Cominform on 18 April was the most important of several moves designed to promote a 'united front' between Communists and Socialists in Western countries. This campaign, however, did not have any notable success. French Socialists who visited the U.S.S.R. were rebuked by *Pravda* for giving a 'distorted' picture of Soviet society on their return, whilst in London the incident of the Labour Party dinner for the Soviet leaders (see p. 19) destroyed any illusions the latter may have harboured concerning the immediate prospects of a 'united front' in Britain.

After Marshal Bulganin's suggestion in January of a bilateral friendship treaty had been rejected by the United States, attention centred once more upon the disarmament question. At talks in London M. Gromyko proposed the reduction of conventional arms to agreed levels under international control independently of agreement being reached on banning nuclear weapons; he also suggested the creation of a zone of limited disarmament in central Europe policed by both sides. On 14 May the Soviet Union announced its intention to reduce its forces by 1,200,000 men within a year. Western observers pointed out that this measure was dictated less by concern to increase international confidence, as the Soviet Union claimed, than by the need for more manpower at home and the transition to a strategy based on nuclear power, which decreased the value of large armies. In particular the much publicized withdrawal of 33,000 men from Eastern

Germany did not indicate any weakening of actual Soviet power there. For these reasons the Western Powers could not accept the Soviet argument, put forward in personal messages from Marshal Bulganin to several leading Western statesmen, and then in an appeal by the Supreme Soviet to the parliaments of the world, that they should follow the example of the U.S.S.R. by unilaterally reducing their forces. The Supreme Soviet also supported Japanese and Indian initiatives for an international undertaking to stop tests of nuclear weapons. M. Gromyko accepted the revised Western ceilings for conventional arms as a preliminary step to agreement on reduction to the levels originally specified. In a message to President Eisenhower on 11 September, Marshal Bulganin clearly expressed the negative Soviet attitude to German reunification, stating that this depended primarily upon 'changing the present foreign policy of the Federal German Government'. But in an official statement of 17 November the Soviet Union modified its previous hostile attitude towards the American 'open skies' proposal, agreeing to consider it in regard to a limited area extending 500 miles each side of the 'Iron Curtain'.

Meanwhile, however, East-West relations had been clouded by developments in the Middle East, where Arab nationalism, and Egyptian actions in particular, gave ample scope for the Soviet Union to exploit anti-Western sentiments in the area to her own advantage. Soviet desire to pose as the champion of Arab interests was tempered by caution lest the U.S.S.R. should inadvertently become involved in a major conflict. An official statement of 17 April, though critical of Western policy, called on Arabs and Israelis not to aggravate tension and expressed the Soviet Union's readiness to support a United Nations initiative to obtain a settlement. This declaration, reinforced by the Soviet leaders' statement on leaving London, seemed to indicate a willingness to move from an extreme pro-Arab position at the price of recognition by the Western Powers of the Soviet Union's interest in the area. But the unobtrusive supply of arms and equipment to Arab countries continued, and it was estimated that by the autumn Soviet deliveries to Egypt and Syria amounted to £150 million and £20 million respectively. A certain amount of technical assistance was also granted, although expectations that the U.S.S.R. might finance the Aswan dam were not fulfilled.

The Egyptian seizure of the Suez Canal was regarded sympathetically by the U.S.S.R., which took the line that, since Egypt had guaranteed free transit, there was no cause for Western alarm; the conflict should be settled by direct negotiations. The Soviet Union attended the first London conference on Suez, where she endorsed the Indian proposals. Soviet propagandists maintained that the conference really denoted a defeat for the Western Powers, since the 18-nation plan did not have the authority of all the delegations present. The Suez Canal Users' Association scheme was in turn denounced as 'provocative', and was vetoed by the U.S.S.R. in the Security Council. Sixteen Soviet pilots were sent to work under the Egyptian canal authority. The Soviet Union condemned the Israeli attack and the

action taken by France and Britain as 'aggression', and demanded an immediate cease-fire. On 5 November, at the height of the crisis, Moscow seemed to speak with two voices: the veiled threat of atomic retaliation against Britain and France raised the spectre of direct independent Soviet intervention, which would have had the advantage, from the Soviet viewpoint, of distracting attention from events in Hungary; on the other hand, the proposal for Soviet-U.S. co-operation in the Mediterranean pending United Nations action indicated that Russia might prefer to adopt a less violent course. With the Anglo-French agreement to a cease-fire, the prospect of unilateral Soviet action receded. The ostentatious recruitment of 'volunteers' to go to Egypt's aid, which was made after the cease-fire, was chiefly an act of bluff designed to impress Arab opinion, and was soon dropped. The U.S.S.R. had no alternative but to accept reluctantly the stationing of a United Nations force in Egypt.

The U.S.S.R. established and developed contacts with a number of uncommitted countries in Africa and Asia. Agreement was reached to enter into diplomatic relations with Liberia, Morocco, Tunisia, the Sudan, Ceylon, and Cambodia. Agreements on technical assistance were signed with the Yemen, Afghanistan, and Indonesia, and offers of aid were made to Cambodia, Libya, and the Sudan. Overtures were also made to Latin-American countries.

On 19 October, after prolonged negotiations, an agreement was reached with Japan to end the state of war, to repatriate all Japanese prisoners of war from the Soviet Union, and to restore diplomatic relations; further talks were to be held on the question of concluding a peace treaty.

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CHAPTER IV

FRANCE—BELGIUM—THE NETHERLANDS—THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND—SWITZERLAND—ITALY—SPAIN—PORTUGAL

FRANCE

THE General Election, held on 2 January, left the positions of Socialists, U.D.S.R. (*Union Démocratique et Socialiste de la Résistance*), and M.R.P. (*Mouvement Républicain Populaire*) virtually unchanged; the Right-wing groups in the National Assembly lost 40 seats, the Social Republicans (former Gaullists) 46 seats; the official Radical party led by M. Mendès-France, with 58 Deputies, and M. Faure's small dissident group with 14, gave the Radicals a combined total only slightly smaller than in the previous Assembly; Communists and associates, however, increased their representation from 98 to 150, while M. Poujade's *Union et Fraternité Française* (U.F.F.) secured 52 seats, subsequently reduced to 42 owing to technical irregularities in the election of some Deputies. The new Assembly numbered 596 instead of 627. Elections

for the 30 Algerian Deputies could not be held owing to the rebellion, and the formal cession to India of the Indian Establishments deprived the Assembly of its Parliamentary representative for this region.

At first sight, the difficulties of forming a Government looked considerable, since any formation excluding Communists and Poujadists required the support of both Socialists and some Conservatives. Yet, at the close of the investiture debate of 31 January, the Socialist Secretary-General, M. Guy Mollet, succeeded in obtaining 420 votes (the biggest investiture vote since that of M. Blum in 1946). Only 71 Deputies voted against him, 83 (mainly Conservatives) abstaining.

M. Mollet's Government, including Socialists, Radicals, 2 U.D.S.R. and, later, 2 Social Republican members, survived for the whole year, without any serious threat of defeat in the Assembly, though criticisms of their Algerian and their foreign policy increased considerably towards the end of the year. This unprecedented stability was due mainly to three things. First, there was the difficulty of finding an alternative combination with an agreed policy on Algeria. Since no Government could hope for a majority without either Socialist support or benevolent abstention, the Right's approval of the first stage of M. Mollet's action with regard to Algeria—the restoration of order—made it preferable for them to leave him to carry it out, any other course of action involving the risk of driving the Socialists into opposition with the Communists, with the consequent probability of deadlock in the Assembly. The second stage (see below under Algeria)—which the Right would no doubt have disliked—was not reached by the end of the year.

The second factor making for governmental stability was the maintenance throughout 1956 of the general economic stability that had characterized 1955. The harvest turned out to be less bad than had been feared during the February frosts; wages kept their lead over prices, though only governmental action in the summer and early autumn, prohibiting certain price increases and decreeing certain reductions, prevented the gentle, though steady, rise in the general index of prices from reaching the point at which the provisions of the 1952 sliding-scale law would automatically be applied and the consequent general rise in wages bring with it a renewed danger of inflation.

Towards the end of the year, there was anxiety regarding the future for a number of reasons. Wage increases and social legislation had increased the disparity between France's costs and those of her competitors; France's position in the European Payments Union had worsened and her deficit with the dollar area remained; mobilization for Algeria created a shortage of labour; social benefits, together with higher capital expenditure, were increasing the demand for consumption goods; the repercussions of the Suez action, only beginning to be felt at the end of the year, were threatening a general slackening of production, and the industries expected to be most heavily hit—chemicals, heavy engineering, and glass—were all export industries; there were also political and social tensions as a result of these repercussions, as for instance, resentment at a newly imposed tax on cars, whose use was, by the end of the year, severely restricted by petrol rationing.

Nevertheless, the slowing down of production was, in the Government's view, unlikely to amount to a recession, and the buoyancy of the economy (industrial production increased by nearly 10 per cent. during 1956) was expected to enable France to avoid inflation, given a reasonably good year in 1957. The 1957 Budget showed a continuing deficit, even excluding the cost of the Algerian and Suez campaigns, both presented in separate Budgets, but, largely thanks to a new procedure involving many fewer votes in the Assembly, the Government achieved the unprecedented success of seeing it voted by the Assembly before 31 December.

The third factor making for stability was the difficult situation of several of the parliamentary groups. The Republican Front of Socialists and (Mendésiste) Radicals did not survive the election intact, for M. Mendès-France disagreed with M. Mollet's economic as well as his Algerian policy and, though he agreed to serve in the Government as Minister of State without Portfolio, he left it on 23 May. The other Radical Ministers did not follow him and, for most of the rest of the year M. Mendès-France and a handful of his Radical followers abstained rather than vote against a Government whose views were, after all, closer to their own than those of any other conceivable alternative. The bulk of the Radical party voted for the Government, as did M. Faure's small dissident group and the M.R.P. Though neither of these two groups was represented in the Government, neither could afford to turn it out. Their relations with M. Mendès-France and the Radicals were too strained to make any coalition with them likely, yet both were anxious to be on good terms with the Left, after having fought an election campaign mainly in alliance with Conservative elements.

In February it looked for a moment as if the Government's future might be threatened by a revival of the quarrel over the Barangé Law, which grants a small amount of aid to Catholic schools and which had poisoned relations between the M.R.P. and the anti-clerical Left throughout the previous Parliament. But proposals to discuss the repeal of the law were defeated by the Assembly (though by very small majorities) four times between 17 February and 16 March and the matter was not in fact raised during the year. A renewed threat had nevertheless to be voted down by the Assembly on 8 November.

The internal difficulties of both Radical and Communist parties during the year contributed no doubt to their unwillingness to cause a Government crisis. The Left wing of the Radical Party was dissatisfied with the Government's Algerian policy, while the Right wing supported it. At the Radical Congress in October, a number of the latter left the party, forming a second small dissident group of 14 Deputies and some 20 Senators. M. Herriot refused to preside any longer over a party 'torn asunder' and the chairmanship was, therefore, left vacant, M. Mendès-France being confirmed in his position of first Vice-President, or effective leader.

Three factors contributed to weaken the Communist Party during the year. First, continued economic prosperity meant virtually no industrial unrest. Then, doctrinal quarrels over 'de-Stalinization'

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and official propaganda for a Popular Front with the Socialists placed the party on the horns of two dilemmas. It was difficult to find a way of following Moscow without damaging the prestige of M. Thorez, the most Stalinist of European Communist leaders, or to campaign for a Popular Front while opposing much of the policy of a Socialist-led Government. If these difficulties increased the apathy of which party leaders complained, the Hungarian revolution created a wave of strong anti-Communist feeling, shown in demonstrations, including an attack, on 7 November, on the party's headquarters in Paris, in criticisms by intellectual members or fellow-travellers, of whom some, including M. Jean-Paul Sartre, publicly severed their connections with the party, while others were expelled, and in obvious disquiet among the Trade Union rank and file.

Poujadist opposition in the Assembly neither embarrassed the Government nor made much impact in the country. The party seemed uncertain regarding both its aims and its tactics. On 30 July, a committee of nine was set up to work out a doctrine for the movement, which provided no evidence during the year of having any coherent or positive policy and which, outside Parliament, was suffering from serious internal dissensions. On 30 October five Poujadist Deputies voted for the Government, following the announcement of the ultimatum to Egypt, and three subsequently resigned from the Parliamentary Group.

In spite of the Government's overriding preoccupation with the Algerian problem, several important measures were voted during the year. Two contributed, no doubt, to the maintenance of social peace. These were the law extending the period of paid holidays to three weeks, which was voted in the Assembly on 28 February by 452 votes to one, and a Bill to raise old age pensions, finally voted on 27 June, after having been twice defeated in the Council of the Republic. The necessary funds, estimated at about 140 milliard francs, were to come from a number of special taxes (in particular from a new tax on cars) chosen with the aim of preventing repercussions on prices.

The Government's programme, as outlined by M. Mollet in his investiture speech, had included fiscal reform, economic expansion, including aid to small and medium-sized concerns, electoral reform, and improvements in parliamentary procedure. A Bill to revise 28 Articles of the Constitution had also been under consideration since May 1955. There was a good deal of discussion, both in press and Parliament, on the need for speedy constitutional revision and, in particular, on the need to revise Articles 60-82 (*Titre* VIII, dealing with the French Union), but North African affairs and, later in the year, the Suez action and its repercussions, made further progress on any of these impossible during 1956.

The Assembly did, however, on 23 June, complete the passage of an outline-law (*loi-cadre*) dealing with the overseas territories. The Government's chief aim was to provide facilities for political evolution in the territories still under French rule, and so avoid repeating mistakes

which had led to so much trouble in North Africa. The law provided for the setting-up of Governmental Councils in these territories, for the grant of greater responsibilities to the existing territorial Assemblies and for increased native representation on them, for the extension of the suffrage and the abolition of the double electoral college. Its application by decree was in process of preparation at the end of the year.

Meanwhile further steps had been taken towards democratization in the Trustee and Overseas Territories. In September constitutional government was introduced in the Trustee Territory of Togoland. A Constitution was approved by referendum on 28 October, 70 per cent. of the electorate (constituting 41 per cent. of the population) voting in favour of autonomy within the French Union and continued representation in the French Parliament.

On 23 December elections were held for the Territorial Assembly of the Trustee Territory of the Cameroons, where there is an active nationalist movement. Only eight of the 70 representatives (elected by a single college) were in favour of immediate independence. The nationalist *Union des Populations Camerounaises* boycotted the election, however, in its strongholds of Duala and Sanaga.

On 18 November, Municipal Councils were elected by universal suffrage (including women) and a single electoral college in 41 towns of West and Equatorial Africa and Madagascar where, previously, only three towns in Senegal had had elected Municipal Councils. The electorate numbered three-quarters of a million, of whom between 65 per cent. and 70 per cent. voted in Africa and 50 per cent. in Madagascar. Results showed a relative advance of the moderate *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain*, affiliated in the National Assembly to the U.D.S.R.

Uncertainty regarding Algeria's future provided the background to the debate of 13-14 December, at the end of which, by 376 votes to 160, the National Assembly approved a large-scale plan for the development of the Saharan region, including its reorganization (for this purpose only) in a single unit, responsible directly to the Prime Minister's Office, and comprising Southern Algeria, Northern Sudan, and most of Niger and Chad. Since it was to include nine-tenths of Algeria, and be dependent on Tunisian and Moroccan ports, France's future relations with all three territories would be vitally important for the success of the venture, said to require a capital of 400 milliard francs.

Throughout the year the Government pursued, with the support of all but the Communists and a few Right-wing extremists, the policy of 'pacification' associated with the name of M. Lacoste, the Minister-Residing in Algeria. This was a newly created post, replacing that of Governor-General.

M. Mollet's plan for Algeria was outlined in a broadcast to the Algerian population on 9 February on his return from a brief visit to Algiers on the 6th, when the European population gave him a hostile

reception. It was outlined to the Assembly a week later. It sought, in the first stage, to restore order and hold elections; in the second, to work out with elected Algerian representatives a new institutional framework which, while recognizing 'the Algerian personality' would, nevertheless, maintain 'indissoluble links' between Algeria and the mother country. The Government also proposed to take immediate steps to provide economic aid to Algeria, in the hope of restoring Moslem confidence in France. On 28 February, M. Mollet broadcast an appeal to the Algerians to lay down their arms, indicating that if his appeal met with no response (which proved to be the case) military resources would be used on a large scale in order to impose a cease-fire and hold elections as soon as possible afterwards. The debate on Algeria in March revealed that the rebellion by then covered a third of Algeria, that a fifth of the farms in the *département* of Constantine had been destroyed, that the rebels were being both aided and directed by Egypt, as well as receiving some aid from across the borders of Libya and Spanish Morocco, and that there was deliberate intimidation of Moslems friendly to France, particularly of elected representatives of the second (Moslem) College. On 12 March the Assembly passed a massive vote of confidence in the Government, 455 Deputies voting in favour and only the Poujadists and a few Right-wing Deputies voting against. The Government was granted special powers to reorganize local government, increase equality of opportunity, improve working conditions, and develop the Algerian economy.

During the following months large reinforcements were sent to Algeria and, by June, there were over 350,000 men there, though the number of active rebels was then estimated by M. Lacoste to be no more than 15,000. Helicopters were increasingly used to deal more effectively with rebel guerillas. There were some demonstrations of resentment by reservists; troop trains were stopped, for instance, at Bar-le-Duc, Dijon, St. Gervais, and Quimper, and there were demonstrations (mainly Communist-inspired) at St. Nazaire. There was anxiety, too, at the mounting cost of the campaign which, during the second half of the year, was estimated at £1 million a day. Supplementary estimates were introduced, the necessary funds being provided by a 'civic' tax on luxuries, a small increase in income and profits taxes and in the price of tobacco, and also by a loan which, by October, had brought in over 300 milliard francs—more than twice the amount expected, much of it coming from small subscribers. This enabled the Government at least to meet the bill for 1956.

Although progress was reported in the campaign, some members of the Government, notably M. Lacoste, were already coming to the conclusion, before President Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal, that its successful conclusion was dependent on a reduction in the latter's influence over, and aid to, the rebels. There was also some uneasiness both inside and outside the Government, regarding the rightness of the policy itself. M. Mendès-France, in particular, maintained that 'pacification' was not enough; that if Moslem opinion were to be won over, more immediate and spectacular gestures were called for than

economic reforms, necessarily slow in their application. He urged the freeing of political prisoners (except for terrorists), more freedom for the Moslem press, a purge of the European administration in order to eliminate reactionary elements, the dissolution of the elected Municipal Councils (on which Europeans had a three-fifths majority), drastic agricultural reforms, including expropriation of some of the big estates, and some intimation to Moslem opinion of the precise future status that the Government had in mind for Algeria. On 23 May, M. Mendès-France left the Government, mainly owing to its failure to adopt this line of approach to the problem. In June, half-a-dozen members of M. Mollet's own party (mainly members of the *Fédération Départementale de la Seine*) called for a 'round-table conference'. But the criticism did not develop into opposition and, both at the Socialist Congress at the end of June and at a special meeting in December, M. Mollet was given resounding votes of confidence by his own party.

In October two events complicated the Algerian problem. On 16 October the French Navy seized the 400-ton yacht *Athos* off the Algerian coast and found that it was carrying war material, loaded, according to its captain, by Egyptian army volunteers at Alexandria. France, therefore, submitted to the Security Council, on 25 October, a complaint that Egypt was supplying aid to the rebels. On 22 October a plane carrying five Algerian rebel leaders as guests of the Sultan, from Rabat to Tunis, where unofficial attempts at mediation were to be undertaken by both the Sultan and M. Bourguiba, was diverted to Algiers and the five leaders arrested by French military authorities. The arrest embittered French relations with Morocco and Tunis, and caused the resignation (on 23 October) of the Under-Secretary of State for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs, M. Alain Savary. Documents in possession of the rebels were said by the Government to provide evidence of aid furnished to them by Egypt and other Arab States.

On 29 October a new offer was broadcast to the Algerians, together with an appeal to them to lay down their arms. It was on substantially the same lines as earlier offers and met with no apparent response. French opinion seemed increasingly uneasy, since, despite M. Lacoste's thesis (put forward again to the Cabinet on 21 November) that the revolution was on the verge of petering out, little support was forthcoming for the rumours of increased rebel willingness to come to terms with France. At the end of November, an M.R.P. resolution called for a fresh Government initiative and the immediate reform of Algerian local government. On 5 December the Government announced the first stage of such a reform. Municipal Councils were to be dissolved and replaced by provisional 'mixed delegations' with equal representation for the two races, and new administrations were to be set up forthwith in the 12 *départements* into which the previous four Algerian *départements* had been reorganized.

There was little evidence that this move helped to restore Moslem confidence in French intentions. Indeed, relations actually worsened at the end of the year. French troops in Algeria then numbered over

400,000, yet terrorist attacks (attributed by M. Lacoste to increased activity by European Communists) continued, culminating, on 28 December, in the murder of the Right-wing President of the Association of Algerian Mayors, M. Amédée Froger, followed by violent demonstrations by extremist elements of the European population.

On 15 February Franco-Moroccan negotiations on 'independence within interdependence' opened in Paris and, on 2 March, Moroccan independence was formally recognized, including the right to a national army and to control of foreign affairs (see p. 462). On 14 May the Sultan held the first review of the Royal armed forces. A diplomatic agreement was reached on 20 May and signed a week later. On 29 February Franco-Tunisian negotiations opened and, on 20 March, Tunisian independence on the same terms was formally recognized (see p. 463). The problem of the status of French troops in both countries created some friction throughout the year, as did the support of both for the Algerian rebellion. The arrest of the five Algerian rebels led to the withdrawal of Moroccan and Tunisian ambassadors and to anti-French demonstrations in both countries. At the end of October the French Government sent special envoys with the mission of improving relations, but the breach had not been healed by the end of the year. No progress was made towards a definition of 'interdependence'.

On 3 December, by 315 votes to 252, the National Assembly approved the grant of subsidies of up to 48 milliard francs for development in Morocco and Tunisia, subject to agreement on outstanding issues.

The two predominating aims of French foreign policy during the first half of the year were, first, to make further progress towards European unity, by agreement on Euratom and the common market and by a settlement of the problem of the Saar, and, second, to exploit the apparent change in Russian policy. The latter objective was the hteme of several speeches by the Foreign Secretary, M. Pineau, who, on 15 May, in company with the Prime Minister, paid a visit to the Soviet Union. On 5 June a Franco-German agreement was reached (signed on 27 October and ratified by the Assembly on 12 December) providing for the Saar's political incorporation in the German Federal Republic on 1 January 1957 and for economic unification with Germany within three years. In return for this Germany agreed to the French desire for the canalization of the Moselle, undertook to pay part of the cost, and agreed to supply France with 90 million tons of coal at cheap rates from the Warndt mines before 1980. It was also agreed (on 28 November) that the Röchling works, sequestered in 1945, should be returned to the family in return for a payment to France of 3 milliard francs. On 11 July the National Assembly, by 342 votes to 183, approved a motion for co-operation on Euratom with the other five nations of the Coal and Steel Community, though independently of the Community. Atomic research was to continue, despite France's undertaking not to make an atomic bomb before 1961.

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No decisions were reached during the year regarding the organization of the common market, on which the French Government had a number of reservations.

The second half of the year was dominated by the problem of Suez. On 2 August, by 422 votes to 150 (that is almost unanimously, except for the Communists) the Assembly condemned President Nasser's policy. French opinion went through three distinct stages. The first reaction was support for the internationalization of the Canal, by means not necessarily excluding the use of force. This policy was reiterated up to the end of September, when France accepted, though reluctantly and with some reserves, the plan for a Canal Users' Association. On 30 October the Assembly approved the Anglo-French ultimatum, by 368 votes to 182. The cease-fire decision, read to the Assembly by M. Mollet on 7 November, was criticized, mainly on the ground that it made France appear to be yielding to external pressure from either the United States or the Soviet Union, or both.

The second reaction was one of disillusionment and growing criticism of the Government. On 8 November the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly voted in favour of a high-level meeting of representatives of the United States, France, and Great Britain, in order to try to restore peace.

The Government was criticized less on moral than on political grounds (though M. Mendès-France, at a meeting of Radical Deputies, accused France of failure to act as a loyal member of the NATO alliance). There was resentment at the failure of the intervention either to discredit President Nasser or to bring the internationalization of the canal any nearer, regret at the premature agreement to a cease-fire—openly shared by several members of the Government—and fear that the economic consequences of the intervention might endanger French expansion.

The foreign policy debate of 18-19 December covered no new ground, though it included among the Government's critics M. Edgar Faure (in his first parliamentary speech of the year) and M. Mendès-France (in his first parliamentary speech of importance during the year). M. Mendès-France called for a four-Power conference, expressed himself in favour of a North African Federation (advocated by both Tunisia and Morocco) and made it clear that, in his view, French foreign policy was dependent on a speedy solution of the Algerian problem. On 20 December, the Government obtained a vote of confidence, 325 Deputies voting for, and 210 (including M. Mendès-France and 14 other Radicals) against.

The third reaction was a revival towards the end of the year of interest in European integration (expressed by both M. Reynaud and M. Schuman in the foreign policy debate). This included something of the earlier French hankering after the conception of Europe as a Third Force, strengthened, no doubt, by impatience with both British and American reactions to the Suez campaign. It seemed likely, however, that the possible economic consequences of the Suez action would

strengthen French hesitations regarding participation in a common market.

In June the Government decided not to ask for ratification of the Franco-Libyan agreement on French evacuation of the Fezzan, but on 22 November this decision was rescinded and ratification, with one reservation, was agreed to by the Assembly by 411 votes to 120 (see p. 289). French troops were to be evacuated by 30 November.

BELGIUM

On 8 August the worst mining accident in the history of Belgium occurred at Marcinelle, with the loss of 262 lives, including 136 Italians. Fire prevented the escape of those working at lower levels, and after ten days all hope of survivors was abandoned. The mine was over 100 years old but had received Marshall Aid money for new equipment. A Commission of Inquiry had not reported by the end of the year. The Belgian mines had depended on Italian labour—nearly half the miners were foreigners, the majority of them Italians—and after the Marcinelle disaster the man-power position became acute. Italy had stopped recruiting for Belgian mines in April, after another accident involving Italians, demanding further safety measures. Negotiations between the two Governments were unsuccessful, and Belgium then turned for miners to Greece and Spain, and also to Yugoslavia and Morocco. By December from 400-500 Hungarians were working in Belgian mines.

Exports were higher than in 1955, but budget expenditure for 1957 was estimated at 102,596 million francs, which was seven milliards higher than 1956. No sooner was this published than the Government took fright, and on 19 October they demanded economies. The growing debt of the sickness insurance fund (no agreement had been reached on national health insurance between the Government and the doctors), a smaller revenue from petrol tax because of the Suez crisis, and the public's mad rush to lay in stocks of non-perishable goods, all helped to ruin the Government's retrenchment plan. A large cut was made in the defence budget and an emergency tax on industrial profits was announced, to take effect from 1957. The main difficulties arose from the constant increase in wages, mainly for miners, and the resentment of the middle classes at paying higher insurance contributions which both they and the industrialists regarded as a means of covering the sickness insurance debt, which the Government had failed to place on an actuarial basis.

M. Spaak was in the van of the struggle for a common market, and for a joint nuclear energy organization (Euratom). In May ex-King Leopold paid his first visit to the United Kingdom since the war, going to Enniskillen to receive the freedom of the City for the 5th Royal Inniskilling Dragoon Guards, of which he is Colonel-in-Chief. In the autumn there were parliamentary visits to Communist China by Liberals

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and Socialists, and to Formosa by Members of the Christian Social Party. On 24 September agreements were concluded between Belgium and Western Germany covering frontier changes. MM. van Acker and Spaak visited Moscow as the guests of the Soviet Government and a cultural agreement was signed there on 25 October. While the Prime Minister returned after four days, M. Spaak continued his journey for another week, to Tashkent, Samarkand, and Stalingrad. On his return home events in Hungary made the cultural agreement a dead letter, the Government deciding that it should not be brought before Parliament for ratification.

THE NETHERLANDS

On 13 June the West German weekly, *Der Spiegel*, referred to dissensions in the Dutch Royal family, and reports followed in the foreign press with more restrained but puzzled comment in the Dutch papers. Queen Juliana was understood to believe in the power of Miss Greet Hofmans, a faith-healer, to improve the eyesight of her youngest daughter, Princess Maria Christina (Marijke). Fantastic stories were recounted, that the Queen might abdicate, or be separated from Prince Bernhard. It was perhaps inevitable that the faith-healer, who had attended the Princess since her infancy, should have been thought to have too much influence over the Queen: the medical profession felt slighted and, even more so, the Calvinist Church, for the Royal family had always been the stronghold of the Protestants. They had not much minded Queen Wilhelmina's interest in Moral Rearmament; that she should add this to her Calvinism aroused no surprise in a land of many 'minor' religions. Mainly through her mother Queen Juliana was first drawn towards Moral Rearmament which prepared the way for the faith-healer (who was introduced by Prince Bernhard), the Princess' eyesight providing the motive. The Calvinist Ministers, however, felt that with Queen Juliana, Moral Rearmament and faith-healing had not merely been added to, but had actually ousted Calvinism. Apart from the so-called neutrals (Liberals, Socialists, and Communists) Dutch political parties are divided by religion, Catholics on one side and three Protestant parties on the other. Although Calvinist Ministers might be temporarily critical, most of her subjects were indulgent towards a mother's anxiety for her child, and she remained beloved throughout the country, and Prince Bernhard's popularity was unimpaired. The Dutch resented the sensational reports in the foreign press. On 29 June the Queen and Prince Bernhard appointed a commission of three statesmen, two Protestants and one Catholic, to examine the problem and to advise. On 24 August the Commission proposed that Queen Juliana should have no further contact with the faith-healer, and that there should be some changes in the Royal household. The Queen broke off all connexion with Miss Hofmans and by the end of the year there were resignations at the Palace of Soestdijk.

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Elections for the Lower House of the States-General were held on 13 June when the Socialists for the first time gained one more seat than the Catholics. The constitutional changes, increasing the number of seats in the Lower House from 100 to 150, and in the Upper House from 50 to 75, required approval by two Parliaments, thus necessitating elections for both Houses. Elections for the Upper House, which is elected by the Provincial Councils, were held on 14 June and on 11 October.

After the elections on 13 June Dr. Drees, the Prime Minister, resigned and was asked to form a new Government. He and four others who tried were unsuccessful until after 117 days without a Government Dr. Drees announced his new Coalition of Socialists, Catholics, Anti-Revolutionaries, and Christian Historicals. At first economic questions divided the two main parties but at the end it was only the allocation of portfolios. The saying that the Netherlands are not governed, but ' administered ', is understandable.

Estimated Budget expenditure for 1957 showed a deficit of over 300 million florins. While production and exports rose, imports increased faster, because of higher wages, rising prices, and greater consumption. On 20 October the Bank rate was raised to try to check inflation, and the Government announced economies.

On 13 February the Indonesian Government by unilateral action, decided to abrogate the Netherlands-Indonesian Union after a breakdown of the negotiations between the two Governments.

Shortly after President Nasser seized the Suez Canal Indonesia repudiated her debts to the Netherlands. Dutch feeling was solidly behind British and French action in Egypt.

THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

Irish life in 1955 had been dominated by two ill-omened themes, the balance of payments and partition. At the end of the year the first seemed to be in the way of improvement, the second unfortunately was more acute than it had been for years.

Returns published on 17 January showed that the adverse trade balance in 1955 amounted to almost £94 million compared with £65 million in 1954. This meant a deficit in the balance of payments of about £35 million. The development was the more serious on account of the fall in the net external assets of the Irish banking system and the fact that the trade deficit was continuing unabated. Moreover, a heavy increase in imports coincided with a pronounced fall in cattle prices which affected the export market. Speaking to the Institute of Bankers in Ireland on 16 February, the Governor of the Central Bank, Dr. J. J. McElligott, stated that the current rate of external spending in excess of income, if continued, would ' force the economy off the straight road of full external solvency into those frustrating by-ways of strict exchange control and restrictions of all kinds, leading ultimately to currency depreciation '.

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Further emphasis was given to this warning by the unfavourable reception given to a new National Loan which unluckily was floated in the same week as the Bank Rate was increased in London. It was difficult for the Inter-party Government, which contained diverse elements, to impose a sudden brake on an impetus which had been built up over the post-war years. On 13 March, however, the Minister for Finance, Mr. Sweetman, announced the imposition of special import levies on a wide range of household and electrical goods. A new minimum rate of deposit for hire-purchase was also introduced. On 25 July the Minister increased these levies and extended them to cover other articles of consumption. The travel allowance was reduced from £100 to £75. In the meantime, on 8 May, he had introduced his Budget, in which he proposed to strike a proper balance between revenue and expenditure 'to avoid adding to the inflationary pressures already existing'. Taxation was increased on tobacco and cigarettes and petrol: economies in expenditure were promised.

During March the *Taoiseach*, Mr. Costello, paid a visit to the United States during which he had conversations with President Eisenhower. No matters of importance needed discussion; and the *Taoiseach's* speeches to the Senate and House of Representatives and other bodies stressed the ties linking Ireland and the United States and the determination of his Government to play their part in the United Nations, to which Ireland had been admitted on 14 December 1955. He reiterated the statement that Ireland could not join NATO on account of the partition of the country.

At this stage of the year armed activities along the border had temporarily ceased. On 29 January a statement from the Catholic hierarchy was read in all churches warning Catholics against the illegal use of arms and stating that 'no private citizen or group or organization of citizens has the right to bear arms or to use them against another State, its soldiers or citizens'.

An equally intractable problem was recalled when the preliminary figures were issued on 1 June of the Census taken on 8 April. They showed that since 1951 the population had fallen by 65,771 to 2,894,822, the lowest figure recorded for the area at any Census. Net emigration during the period had been 200,394; the highest rate for 70 years. These figures were deeply disappointing especially because the five years 1946-51 had shown the first increase since the Famine. It was possible to argue that they reflected full employment in Great Britain; nevertheless when set against difficulties in the balance of payments pessimism was inevitable.

The autumn showed some new departures from which it was possible to draw encouragement. In a notable speech on 5 October to the members of the parties constituting the Government, Mr. Costello outlined new plans to increase agricultural and industrial production. He disclosed proposals to establish an Agricultural Production Council, an Industrial Advisory Council, and a committee to advise on public capital investment. Tax remissions were announced for profits derived from increased exports as well as grants for new

factory buildings. A new savings campaign was to be launched. These proposals were criticized as being little more than the establishment of unnecessary advisory bodies. They went deeper than that, however, since a perennial cause of dispute over agricultural policy lay in the alleged lack of contact between the Department of Agriculture and the farmers. The *Taoiseach's* insistence that investment in agriculture should be given priority over all other forms of investment was also well received. A further point of importance was the decision to proceed with the delayed project of establishing an Agricultural Institute for research. Generally the speech seemed to give the Government their second wind and it was noted that the tensions which had appeared between its component parts were allayed. Other hopeful signs for the future were the favourable results of investigation into the copper mines at Avoca, County Wicklow. More immediately cattle prices hardened towards the end of the year, and over the first eleven months of the year the trade deficit was reduced by £19 million. This might not be enough, and the remedies proposed in October were admittedly long-term, but the year ended rather more favourably than had been feared, even if the dangers to economic stability were still only too obvious.

A succession of by-elections during the year favoured the Opposition which increased its membership by three as compared with its position after the General Election of 1954. The Government still retained a majority of five in a House of 147 members. In the by-elections generally the combined Government vote fell away but it seemed that the electorate had not made up its mind in one direction or the other.

The Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Liam Cosgrave, attended the meeting of the United Nations Assembly in October, the first ministerial appearance since Ireland's admission to membership. He supported the American attitude on Suez but warned the Asian and African nations, in particular Egypt and Syria, against Soviet policy which, he said, was 'the legitimate heir of the old imperialism at its most aggressive'.

On 11 November six Northern Ireland Customs huts were destroyed. On 12 December a series of attacks on barracks of the Royal Ulster Constabulary began which was still in progress at the end of the year and had occasioned loss of life on both sides. The attackers, so far as could be discerned, were members of two separate and rival militant organizations, one of which drew its membership chiefly from Northern Ireland while the other was spread all over the country. Some of the attackers likewise operated from within Northern Ireland; others, and at this stage apparently the majority, operated from the Republican side of the border. On 14 December a Government statement announced that as the *Taoiseach's* warning and appeal of November 1955 had not been heeded and since 'these organizations have again arrogated to themselves powers and functions that belong to the duly elected representatives of the people, and to these representatives alone, the Government has now decided to take . . . such steps as the Government deems necessary and appropriate'. Police and troops

were moved up to the border during the next few days. A number of arrests were made; in one case the men were released, in another sentences for illegal possession of arms were imposed while a number of men awaited trial as the year ended.

On 19 December Sir Anthony Eden declared in the House of Commons that the safety of Northern Ireland was a direct responsibility of the British Government. He stated that, after the Irish Government's statement on 14 December, the British Ambassador in Dublin had been instructed to deliver a communication expressing his Government's 'very great concern at the recent incidents in Northern Ireland, and the hope that the important objective which the Republican Government had proclaimed in their statement would be effectively and successfully secured'. On 23 December Mr. Costello referred to this statement and remarked that: 'It is a matter of the deepest concern to the Government that there has been, so far, no indication of any change of attitude on the part of either the British or the Six County Government towards partition, and that, on the contrary, that attitude, which has already had such deplorable consequences has been reaffirmed in the recent public statements. . . . The claim that the Six Counties are "an integral part of the United Kingdom" is one that could never, in any circumstances, be accepted by an Irish Government. . . . It would indeed be in the interest of Britain as well as Ireland . . . if the British Government took the initiative in terminating partition, for the existence of which that Government is primarily responsible.' Thus, while fighting continued, both sides reiterated their claims.

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SWITZERLAND

Expanding prosperity and economic well-being have continued to be the main characteristics of the Swiss people, but internal disagreement has not been absent and events in Egypt and Hungary greatly disturbed the country before the end of the year.

On 10 January the Federal Council set up a commission to study the peaceful uses of atomic energy in relation to Switzerland, and on 21 June signed with the United States one of the latter's 'atoms-for-peace' agreements. Under this the United States would sell to Switzerland up to 500 kilograms of uranium-235 for use in universities, research establishments and private industry, as well as atomic equipment normally regarded as 'classified'.

The heavy expenditure required to equip a modern army to defend Swiss neutrality continued to be a matter of controversy. Opposition found expression early in 1956 in a new draft of an Initiative (a measure by which not less than 50,000 electors may propose a new law) first put forward in 1954 by M. Samuel Chevallier, a journalist, and M. Jack Rollan, broadcaster and editor, proposing that Swiss military expenditure for 1955 or 1956 should be reduced and the money thus saved spent on helping underdeveloped areas at home and abroad. Heated

discussion also arose over a Parliamentary decision to continue to 1960 a war-time subsidy to the *Holzverzuckerung A.G.* (Hovag), a company producing synthetic petrol from timber at Ems in the Canton Graubünden, a poor area. This decision was reversed by electoral vote on a Referendum on 13 May.

In the meantime the Government has continued with its defence plans. In December the Federal Assembly adopted an additional Article in the Constitution enabling the Government to conscript women between the ages of 20 and 40 for civil defence. This decision is to be submitted to the electorate for approval. On 30 December the Federal Council asked Parliament to vote a new credit of Sw. fr. 136 million to be spent on the extension of airfields, and the building of underground control rooms, fuel stores, and repair shops for army vehicles.

On 7 May Switzerland signed a Consultation Agreement, similar to that signed by the United Kingdom, with the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community, and on 28 July she signed a transport charges agreement providing for the introduction of international railway through-rates for coal and steel traffic between Community countries across Swiss territory, and related questions. An agreement for the first private loan to be raised by the High Authority was signed with a group of Swiss banks in June, the proceeds of which were to be re-lent by the High Authority to six steel works, three Italian, two German, and one in the Saar.

On 21 June the Federal Court sentenced the four Rumanians who in February 1955 attacked the Rumanian Legation mortally wounding the Minister's chauffeur, to imprisonment for 4, 3½, 2½, and 1½ years respectively.

Greatly disturbed by the course of events in the Middle East, the Swiss Federal Council sent telegrams on 6 November to President Eisenhower and to the Prime Ministers of Britain, France, India, and the Soviet Union, proposing an immediate five-Power conference to preserve world peace. The Soviet Union accepted the invitation, India welcomed it but pointed out that its success depended on the participation of the United States, Britain, and France, all of whom declined it on the grounds that, though its sincerity was appreciated, it was not opportune.

After the intervention in Egypt, Switzerland fulfilled a traditional role in representing British and French interests in Egypt and Syria, and French interests in Jordan, and did what was possible to assist British people obliged to leave Egypt.

Events in Hungary evoked nation-wide anger and indignation and after an emergency session on 4 November, the Federal Council issued a statement expressing the sorrow felt by the Swiss people at the suppression of the independence, liberty, and self-determination of the Hungarian people. Hundreds of demonstrators broke into the grounds of the Soviet Embassy in Berne on 5 November, burned the Russian flag and hoisted the Hungarian flag; protest demonstrations took place in many Swiss cities, and thousands of signatures were affixed to

petitions calling for the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union; and on 20 November a three-minute silence was observed throughout the country.

On 13 December Dr. Hans Streuli, Vice-President of the Confederation in 1956 and head of the Department of Finance and Customs (Radical Democrat) was elected President of the Swiss Confederation for 1957 at a meeting of the Federal Assembly; Herr Thomas Holenstein, head of the Federal Department of Economy (Catholic Conservative), was elected Vice-President.

ITALY

If the year at home was relatively uneventful, Italy, though not among the countries most directly involved, was considerably affected by the repercussions of international events in the spheres of Communism and the Middle East. In particular, the revelations of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party and the Hungarian rising had a considerable effect not only on the situation within the Italian Communist Party but also on the prospects of reunification of the two Socialist parties. The latter became perhaps the most outstanding political question of the year.

The three-party Government Centre coalition under Signor Antonio Segni remained stable despite its narrow parliamentary majority. Its major party, the Christian Democrats, gained votes both in the local elections held throughout the country on 27 May, in the Val d'Aosta on 11 November, and in Gorizia on 16 December, and also in the Regional elections in South Tyrol on 11 November. Some problems subsequently arose in the formation of the local *Giunte*, or administrative bodies. Following the new electoral law of 21 March, which provided for a wider form of proportional representation, each party stood alone in the communal (though not necessarily in the provincial) elections. But in the fairly frequent instances where the elections produced no clear majority for any single party discussion dragged on for many weeks before the local councils and mayors were finally appointed.

Some indications of the effects on Italian politics of the revelations in M. Khrushchev's report and the dissolution of the Cominform were already apparent in these elections, especially in the improved position of both Socialist parties. In particular, the hitherto fellow-travelling Nenni Socialist Party (P.S.I.), standing alone in the communal elections, made marked gains at Communist expense. But the major repercussions were still to come. Till after the elections no special attempt had been made by the Communist Party to explain the revelations of the Khrushchev report. But by June Signor Togliatti presumably felt it necessary to counter the manifest disorientation among his followers, who were openly asking how it had come about that their leader, who had been high in Cominform counsels during the crucial pre-war years, had hitherto kept them in ignorance of Stalin's crimes. The looked-for statement came in an interview in the

May-June issue of *Nuovi Argomenti*, in which Signor Togliatti spoke of the need for 'ever-increasing autonomy of judgment' among Communist parties outside Russia, and indulged in some cautiously-worded criticism of the 'bureaucratic degeneration' of Soviet society. For this he was duly rapped over the knuckles by Moscow and soon retreated to follow a more orthodox line.

But the damage was done; doubts and questionings continued among the rank and file of Italian Communists, only to be intensified in the autumn when the party's leadership came out in uncompromising support of the Moscow official line against the Hungarian revolutionaries. These doubts were not stilled by the conduct of the Party's eighth Congress (8-14 December) at which no satisfactory answer was made to the criticisms voiced (notably by Signor Antonio Giolitti, grand-nephew of the well-known statesman) about the leadership's failure to find a genuine 'Italian way to Socialism'. Criticisms on similar lines from another leading Communist official of many years' standing, Signor Eugenio Reale, appeared to reflect the views of many intellectuals, and were unlikely to be silenced merely by Signor Reale's expulsion from the party which took place on 30 December. Moreover, setbacks sustained by the Communist-controlled trade union (C.G.I.L.) in several end-of-the-year factory council elections seemed to indicate that dissatisfaction with the Party line was by no means confined to intellectual circles.

All these difficulties within the Communist Party itself must also be viewed against a background of increasing ferment within the party's hitherto acquiescent fellow-travelling companion, the Nenni Socialist Party. This party had for some time been making tentative, if so far unsuccessful, overtures towards closer collaboration with the Government (see A.R. 1955, pp. 211-12) which inevitably implied a greater detachment from the Communists. The Socialists were a good deal more shocked than the Communists by the Khrushchev report's revelations, and were, of course, in a much better position to say so. Signor Nenni said so very clearly indeed, in the companion pronouncement to that of Signor Togliatti which he made in *Mondo Operaio* and *Avanti* (24 June). Moreover, drawn together by their common reactions to the Khrushchev report, and emboldened by their respective successes in the May elections, the two Italian Socialist parties now began to feel that perhaps at last the time had come to sink their differences and reunite.[1]

The first official meeting between P.S.I. and P.S.D.I. representatives since the split of 1947 took place after the elections, on 6 June, nominally merely to discuss the possibility of collaboration in the formation of local *Giunte*. This preliminary skirmish, however, bore little fruit. But during the summer recess Signor Nenni and Signor Saragat met privately at Signor Nenni's invitation at Pralognan, in Savoy, on 25

[1] In 1947 the Italian Socialist Party split into two, largely on the question of collaboration with the Communists. Ever since then these parties had been violently separated, the Left-wing P.S.I. under Signor Nenni remaining closely linked with the Communists, while the Right-wing Social Democrats (or P.S.D.I.), under Signor Saragat, collaborated in the Government coalition.

August, and afterwards reports were issued that conditions seemed favourable for a reunification of the two parties. Outside influences soon took a hand: early in September the French Socialist Party leader, M. Commin, spent a week in Rome interviewing representatives of both parties and trying to mediate between them, while on 20 September the Socialist International organization, Comisco, gave its blessing to the proposed reunification and set up a special committee to further it.

But it soon became apparent that there was still a long way to go. There were two major stumbling-blocks: first, the P.S.D.I.'s insistence that the P.S.I. must, as a condition of reunification, renounce its post-war unity-of-action pact with the Communist Party and modify (in a Western sense) its attitude on foreign policy; and, secondly, the fact that both leaders, and in particular Signor Nenni, appeared to be well in advance of some sections of their parties in desiring reunification. These difficulties showed up clearly when, on 5 October, it became known that, far from abandoning the unity-of-action pact, the Socialist and Communist leaders had contracted a new, if modified, one to take its place. The Social Democrats described this move as a 'serious obstacle' to reunification. Nevertheless a joint committee of P.S.I. and P.S.D.I. representatives was set up on 12 October, and discussions continued, in an atmosphere rendered more cordial by the P.S.I.'s attitude of sympathy towards the Hungarian revolution, until 11 December, when Signor Saragat commented sharply on the P.S.I.'s continued failure to make a definite break with the Communists and modify its attitude on foreign policy and on 12 December resigned from the joint committee. Thus by the end of the year no decision had been reached, and the next stage appeared likely to be postponed until the respective Congresses of the two parties, to be held early in 1957.

Little of significance occurred in the life of the other political parties. At the Christian Democrat Party Congress in Trento (13-18 October) the *Iniziativa Democratica* trend (that of the Secretary, Signor Fanfani) again obtained the majority of the votes; the Centre coalition formula was re-endorsed, caution was urged in relation to collaboration with the P.S.I. or with a reunified Socialist party, and 'the breaking off of all ties with totalitarian parties' was said to be 'a first condition of adherence to democracy of any political force in Italy'. Late in the autumn it was rumoured that Signor Fanfani was agitating for an early General Election (due in any case in 1958), but both Signor Segni and the President, Signor Gronchi, made it plain that they saw no reason for advancing the date. At the Congress (24-27 November) of the neo-Fascist M.S.I (*Movimento Sociale Italiano*) the party virtually split in two, while the other Right-wing political group, the Monarchists, already divided into two parties, was further weakened by dissensions.

In foreign affairs Italy showed signs of playing a more active role than hitherto. At the May meeting of the NATO Council the Foreign Minister, Signor Martino, was put on the committee of 'three wise men' to study the integration of NATO in a political sense. Throughout

the Suez crisis Italy, after a slightly dubious start, advocated moderation and strove to reconcile the opposing points of view. As fourth among the users of the canal she was naturally considerably affected. She joined the Canal Users' Association, and while supporting the cease-fire resolution of 2 November made it clear that she regarded the maintenance of Western unity as of paramount importance. The Italian Parliament was the first to express sympathy (on 26 October) with Hungary at the drastic repression of the rising, and the Italian delegate to the United Nations strongly advocated that the Hungarian situation should be dealt with as a matter of urgency. Supplies and funds for Hungarian refugees were despatched, and Italy herself took 4,000 refugees.

The President, Signor Gronchi, and Signor Martino visited the United States, with a brief stay in Canada, between 27 February and 14 March. Mrs. Luce, U.S. Ambassador in Italy since 1953, resigned in November and was to be replaced by the former head of the Marshall Plan mission to Italy, James D. Zellerbach. Signor Gronchi and Signor Martino also paid State visits to France (24-29 April) and to Western Germany (5-8 December); Signor Segni and Signor Martino had already (5-9 February) been in Bonn for economic discussions, while Dr. Adenauer visited Rome from 2 to 4 July. Some agitation continued among the German minority elements in the South Tyrol concerning the alleged non-fulfilment of the De Gasperi-Gruber agreements (see A.R. 1955, p. 215) but received scant support from Austria.

In the economic sphere the country sustained a serious loss through the untimely death, on 16 February, of Signor Ezio Vanoni, Budget Minister and author of the ten-year Vanoni Plan for the development of income and employment. This plan, first put forward in January 1955, hung fire for some time, but in the autumn the Government announced their intention of carrying it out by degrees, and a special committee was set up for this purpose. A concomitant of the plan was the establishment, under a law of 20 December, of a Ministry of State Investment.

General economic conditions were less favourable for the furtherance of the Vanoni Plan than in the preceding year: owing to the rise in prices net national income was reckoned to have increased in real terms by only some 4 per cent. instead of the 5 per cent. which the plan required. Owing to exceptionally severe weather in the early spring the wheat harvest fell below the bumper figure of 1955. The picture in industry was more favourable, with an estimated increase in production of 6-7 per cent., especially in heavy industry and engineering —in other words, in the industries producing capital rather than consumer goods, thus reiterating a tendency already apparent in recent years. Foreign trade suffered in the latter part of the year from shipping difficulties owing to the Suez crisis, and a larger deficit in the balance of trade seemed inevitable. This, however, was offset by increases in the invisible items—freights and tourism (the latter, after a good start with the winter Olympic Games at Cortina, experienced a

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record year). Just before the year ended the important and much-discussed law on the development of natural resources (*idrocarburi*—see A.R. 1955, pp. 213-14), involving the question of foreign participation in oil development, was finally passed on 20 December. The country's shipping sustained a major disaster with the loss in collision of the *Andrea Doria* on 26 July. A further tragedy was the death on 8 August of 136 Italian miners at the Marcinelle mines in Belgium.

SPAIN

The year ended, as it began, with nothing settled on how, when or to whom the Head of the State, General Franco, would hand over his powers. On his part there was a remarkable change of policy. Whereas during 1955 he had appeared ready to allow some liberalization of his régime, sympathetic to the restoration of a king with at least some of the attributes of kingship, and antagonistic to the Falangists in their more extreme demands for absolute control of the country, during 1956 he turned completely round.

The change began in February. In that month riots of some seriousness broke out in Madrid. Enthusiastic Falangist students battled with opponents, and both with the police. For the first time for some years firearms were used. The situation looked at one time similar to that of 1930 when riots among the students set in motion the overthrow of Primo de Rivera and the expulsion of Alfonso XIII. The authorities suspended the Articles in the Charter of Rights guaranteeing freedom of movement and Habeas Corpus. The riots began as demonstrations by members of the Falange Students' Union against the proposed restoration of the Monarchy. These led not only to Monarchist counter-demonstrations but also to a revolt against the Government's control of university life in all its aspects. The event was symptomatic of the dissatisfaction felt in the universities with official political theory and practice. The rector of the University of Madrid, Doctor Laín Entralgo, who had addressed an open letter to the Head of the State requesting greater freedom of thought in the universities, was dismissed. The Minister of Education, Señor Ruiz Jimenez, whose views on education and politics were known to be more liberal than acceptable, was replaced by a nondescript bureaucrat, Señor Jesus Rubio, and Señor Raimundo Fernández Cuesta, the Secretary General of the Falange yet a moderate, by Señor José Luis Arrese, an extremist.

This swing to the Falange group with extremist socialist ideas and its insistence on the perpetuation of one-party rule in a system of government and administration closely resembling that of Soviet States, turned away from the party, or the Movement, as it preferred to be called, some of its moderate adherents. The defection of Señor Dionisio Ridruejo, the poet most closely identified with the régime, had a profound effect even outside political circles. But it was the defence by Señor Gil Robles, the one-time Republican Minister of War,

of the students who were brought to trial which gave heart to those opponents of the régime who looked to him as to a possible leader of a political party in opposition to the Falange.

The extremists in the Falange were not satisfied with mere dismissals of Ministers and university professors. It was in these circumstances that the Minister of War was informed by a group of army officers that any attempt by the Falange to disturb public order would be suppressed by the army with or without orders from the Government.

The peace was disturbed in April and May though not by the extremists. The Government had decreed a 20 per cent. increase in basic wages. Workers in Pamplona, the capital of Navarre, and, following their example, workers east and west in the other Basque Provinces and in Catalonia, went on strike demanding a more adequate increase and passively resisting the orders of provincial governors and of the police sent against them. They had the backing from the pulpit of a number of priests, 14 of whom were detained, and the sympathy of some employers. The spontaneity of these strikes revealed a widespread state of unrest among the workers and a strong dissatisfaction with official policies and organizations.

In October the Spanish Cardinals and Archbishops issued a joint Pastoral denouncing Spanish working conditions and low wages. They spoke of the existence of a great danger of revolution if the workers were not given a just wage. The Government did in fact raise wages again in November, to an extent (varying according to classes of workers from 30 to 50 per cent.) considered inflationary in effect by Government economists but inadequate by the State Labour Unions, the workers, and the compilers of statistics who had worked independently.

The lack of co-ordination between the various Government departments concerned with industrial and economic development, and the absence of any coherent economic policy became apparent not only in official acts when, for example, at almost the same time wages were increased, rents raised, and a vast new housing programme embarked upon, but also from the number of official and other studies of Spain's economic problems which appeared during the year. A ruined citrus fruit crop aggravated the situation. At a Cabinet meeting in October the Minister of Commerce openly confessed that there was widespread lack of confidence in the Government's economic policy, and that the situation was more serious than it had been since the bad times of 1951.

Army officers were also among those to receive increases in pay during the year. These, however, were insufficient to balance personal losses resulting from the surrender of the Spanish zone of Morocco where the army had enjoyed substantial financial advantages. Further, though the Sultan treated with Spain and France as with equals in the negotiations and subsequent establishment of the new State of Morocco, whereas under the 1912 Treaty Spain had had no legal status except as the tenant of France, the army and the people talked of the affair as a defeat and a catastrophic blow to Spanish prestige.

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It was in the face of such dissatisfaction in the army, the Church, the universities, and among employers and workers, that in a speech in Seville on 29 May General Franco threatened armed action against all opponents of the Movement and any deviationists. Thereafter until the end of the year he repeatedly appealed for unity within the Falange. Whereas in 1955 he had attempted to persuade the Falange to accept a king, in 1956 he warned the Monarchists they would have to accept a Falangist Monarchy or be given none at all.

In the Falangist Junta drafting the long promised new constitution, the position of the King became an academic point. Two drafts were made and rejected early in the year. A third was completed shortly before the year's end. This envisaged a one-party State, strictly disciplined, permitted 'self-criticism' and controlled by a National Council similar in powers to a Soviet Central Committee, and sovereign in all matters, from the appointment of Ministers to the approval of laws. In this also the Cortes or Parliament was relegated to the same task as that of the Supreme Soviet. The draft was to be considered in the New Year.

The Spanish Government expressed strong support for President Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal Company. At the London Conference in August Spain put forward an alternative to the 18-Nations plan which was submitted separately to President Nasser with as little success. Subsequently she agreed to become a member of the proposed Suez Canal Users' Association. Spain also supported the resolutions adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in November on Hungary, but within Spain demonstrations of support for the insurgents were suppressed.

PORTUGAL

In February Portugal formally filed her action against India in the International Court of Justice at The Hague (see A.R. 1955, p. 219). She claimed that since 21 July 1954 when Dadra and Nagar Haveli had been attacked by 'armed bands coming from Indian territory', India had refused right of passage to her officials or troops, and that as far as the Portuguese Government could ascertain these enclaves were still occupied by 'armed and irresponsible bands'. She asked the Court to declare that Portugal had right of passage, to find that India was preventing its exercise and that India should put an end to the situation. On 12 December the Indian Prime Minister announced his country's decision to contest the Court's jurisdiction.

The situation over Goa remained similarly unchanged. There were no attempts as in the previous year at mass incursions from Indian territory. There were Portuguese reports of some six raids by groups numbering not more than 25 at a time, of three bomb explosions attributed to Indian sympathizers and of a dynamited bridge. India accused the Portuguese of two frontier violations in February and of flying aircraft without authority over Indian territory in December.

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Ships with cargoes to or from Goa were boycotted at Indian ports. In speeches Indian Ministers continued to insist on India's right to Goa. The American Secretary of State when visiting India in March clarified his statements of the previous year saying that the American Government had never taken any position on the merits of the dispute and that he had merely expressed the hope it would be settled amicably between the two countries concerned.

Within Portugal the construction of roads, hospitals, schools, power-stations and dams, and consequent industrial expansion continued to keep pace with the increase in population albeit too slowly to raise the standard of living. For the 29th successive year the Budget was balanced.

Though the 1933 Constitution had defined Portugal as a 'corporative Republic', it was not till 19 July 1956 that the National Assembly passed a law providing for the creation of the first six corporations. Part of the delay was attributable to the effect of the war upon Portugal, but perhaps a greater part was due to the recognition by the authorities that if these corporations were to fulfil their purpose, their members had first to be trained to understand their rights and duties within them. The law was to establish the pattern for future development rather than bring the corporations into immediate being. They were to be as it were the roof of the structure built through the years of syndicates and guilds of workers and employees, and so bring together all those engaged in similar or kindred activities. Elected representatives of the corporations were to form the Upper Legislative House. Their overall intention was not only to look after the interests of their individual members, but to limit the powers of the State and to encourage the devolution of responsibility away from the centre. In this they were totally different in conception from the corporations of Mussolini's Italy.

Portugal took part in the London Conferences on Suez and supported the 18-Nations plan; she also supported the resolutions on Hungary adopted at the United Nations General Assembly in November.

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CHAPTER V

GERMANY—THE SAAR—POLAND—DENMARK—ICELAND—NORWAY—SWEDEN—FINLAND

GERMANY

Western Germany

Exchanges with the Soviet Union. There was no significant *rapprochement* between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union during 1956. During the first eight months of the year, relations with Moscow were mainly confined to the exchange of a series of Notes, in which Moscow

accused Dr. Adenauer's Government of not implementing an agreement (made during the Chancellor's visit to Moscow in September 1955) to facilitate the return of Soviet refugees from Germany and to take up the question of American propaganda from Germany. On the German side various Notes refuted the Soviet charges and accused the Soviet Government of still retaining some German prisoners-of-war, and some hundred scientists from the Soviet Zone.

While these chilly exchanges were in progress M. Zorin, the Soviet Ambassador in Bonn, fostered friendly relations with German industrial circles. No trade treaty with the Soviet Union was concluded during the year, but Federal German trade with the Communist countries increased considerably and in early November a group of Ruhr industrialists, including representatives of the Krupp concern, paid a visit to the Soviet Union. When the Soviet envoy was recalled to Moscow in mid-July, the Opposition accused Dr. Adenauer of deliberately cold-shouldering him. It was not until mid-October that Bonn received a request for the *agrément* for a successor, M. Smirnov.

On 17 August, the Federal Constitutional Court, after years of deliberation, finally pronounced the Communist Party to be an unconstitutional organization and it was duly banned ; in reply to a protest from the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, the Federal Government retorted sharply with an accusation of ' gross interference '. Dr. Adenauer, supported by his Ministers, repeatedly warned against the Kremlin's ' policy of smiles ', notably in a speech at Yale University in June. He secured much-increased public agreement after the Russian invasion of Hungary in October.

In exchanges with Moscow on the questions of disarmament and reunification, Dr. Adenauer and the Foreign Minister, Herr von Brentano, maintained conformity with the Americans, British, and French. *Démarches* were made in February in London and Paris in order to gain reassurances that, in dealing with the Soviet Government, disarmament would remain conditional on German reunification. A semi-official statement by the British Foreign Office, published in Bonn on 2 March, denied that there was any change in views in London or Paris and M. Pineau visited Dr. Adenauer shortly afterwards to give the same assurance. Before the conference of the Disarmament Sub-Committee of the United Nations opened in London in March, Dr. Adenauer sent Notes to the three Western Powers, reminding them of the German view. It had been noted in Bonn that Marshal Bulganin and M. Khrushchev had informed the French in early April that German reunification must not be made a condition of disarmament, and the Germans were also dismayed by the Soviet proposals for a neutralized zone in Europe—a version of the ' Eden plan ' to which Dr. Adenauer had objected when it was put forward tentatively at the ' summit ' conference at Geneva in 1955. However, Herr von Brentano returned from a visit to London (which began on 30 April) with the assurance that no comprehensive measure of disarmament involving the dissolution of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization would be proposed without securing German reunification. Relief was also felt

at a British declaration on reunification which accompanied the communiqué ending the disarmament conference (4 May). A further temporary shock came when Sir Winston Churchill, who received the *Karlspreis* at Aachen on 10 May, suggested that one day the Soviet Union might be brought into 'the spirit of NATO'.

Against this background must be seen Bonn's reaction to a Note from Marshal Bulganin (6 June) which for the first time drew the Federal Government directly into disarmament discussions, proposing *inter alia* a partial withdrawal of troops from Germany. On 21 July the German Government dispatched a strong reply, arguing that a reduction in Western forces would increase the danger of war and that Soviet disarmament had only shifted military potential from one type of armament to others. Dr. Adenauer recalled the limits placed on German forces by NATO and reaffirmed that German reunification would not endanger Soviet security.

Opposition criticism of lack of initiative on the part of the Government prompted the dispatch of Notes on 7 September to the Soviet Union and the Western Powers from Bonn, reminding them of their responsibility for reuniting Germany, while stating that a four-Power conference should take place only after diplomatic discussions had given it a basis. The German proposals, which it was indicated could be discussed in the first place bilaterally with the Soviet Government, repeated the basic demand for all-German free elections, and declared that, while agreeing to discuss any Soviet security proposals based on reunion, no system in which 'two German States' were included could be accepted. One new development in German policy was contained in the Note and an accompanying memorandum to Moscow. For the first time, the Bonn Government agreed to discuss a security zone on the lines of the 'Eden plan'. The Social-Democratic Opposition leader, Herr Ollenhauer, welcomed the Government's readiness for talks with Moscow, but objected that Dr. Adenauer still refused to discuss fixing the international status of Germany before reunification.

On 22 October Bonn received a reply from Moscow, in the form of a not unfriendly argument. Apart from familiar charges against German rearmament inside NATO—Russian readiness to permit Germany a defence force was reiterated—the Note agreed that talks on the Federal German Government's proposals for a demilitarized zone 'between East and West' could be of interest. Did they mean that the Federal Government was ready to conclude pacts with the States concerned? There could be no question of free elections now. 'To-day the question of reunification is in the first place a question of alteration of the present political course of the Federal Government, one of *rapprochement* between both States, and of achieving agreement between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic'. In a survey to the *Bundestag* on 8 November Dr. Adenauer expressed the opinion that developments in the satellite States had increased the chances of reunification by agreement with the Soviet Union. At the meeting of the Council of Europe in October Herr Mommer, a Social-Democrat deputy, proposed that an economic price should be offered

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to Moscow for giving up the German Democratic Republic (D.D.R.), an idea which had also been expressed inside Dr. Adenauer's party, the Christian Democratic Union (C.D.U.).

Relations with the Soviet Satellites. The Federal Foreign Minister remained bound by his Government's pledge not to have diplomatic relations with any government which recognized the D.D.R.; but relations with Poland improved on an unofficial and semi-official basis following 'de-Stalinization' in Poland. The Germans secured the release of former prisoners-of-war and permission for Germans to leave the Oder-Neisse territories to rejoin their families. Some members of the S.P.D. (without Party backing) publicly ventured to hint that claims to the Oder-Neisse area should be waived in return for reunification with the D.D.R. But the Government was faced with a dilemma on this thorny question. Any renunciation of Germany's 1937 frontiers would help Poland to free itself from Soviet troops but would lose refugees' votes in the Federal elections in 1957. The refugee organizations led an organized protest against Miss Elizabeth Wiskemann's book *Germany's Eastern Neighbours*, and a mass demonstration was held in Bonn following a statement on 21 October by Dr. Adenauer which the refugees' leaders found inadequate. 'The right to the homeland' (by which was meant the right to live in their former territories) would, he said, never be abandoned, but there would be no resort to force to secure it. He demanded freedom for all countries and expressed confidence that peaceful negotiations could be held with a free Poland. Previously (1 July at Bochum) Herr von Brentano had reaffirmed that Germany had not renounced her 1937 frontiers. According to a survey made by the refugee organizations in October, 57 per cent. of the refugees would return to their former homes if the territory came again under German rule.

In the *Bundestag* on 6 December, Opposition deputies called for the opening of consular and trade missions in the satellite States and China; and an end to the embargo on the export of strategic goods to the Communist area. Government spokesmen gave no hope of a drastic change of policy, but it was indicated that in the case of Poland, the question of recognition of the D.D.R. might be segregated from that of diplomatic relations. At the first of a series of press conferences on 7 December, Dr. Adenauer revealed that he would be ready to consider granting economic aid to Poland under certain circumstances.

The Governments in Berlin and Bonn were anxious to prevent a rising in the D.D.R. at the time of the Hungarian revolt. Dr. Suhr, the Lord Mayor of Berlin, and the Minister for all-German Affairs, Herr Kaiser, appealed to the East Germans to remain calm. The dangerous possibilities were shown by an unruly demonstration by West Berliners on the sector boundary in Berlin at the beginning of November. At the meeting of NATO in Paris on 13 December, Herr von Brentano stressed the need for a policy of strict non-involvement in developments in the satellite States, at the same time drawing up a 'Charter of Freedom' for all Europe. The declaration indicated that the Federal

Government realized that the future of East Germany was bound up with that of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Relations with Western Europe. In the Suez crisis, the Federal Government followed the American lead at the London conferences, and maintained a neutral reserve following the Anglo-French action. Criticism of the British in the press was, however, widespread, as the Germans were anxious to maintain their status in the Near and Middle East as a non-colonial Power.

Seriously disturbed by the lack of unity among the NATO Powers, and by reports that the United States might reduce its European forces, Dr. Adenauer made a fresh effort to create a European political confederation. Speaking at Brussels on 25 September the Chancellor for the first time stressed the need for a European Third Force which would not be neutral but which would be independent of American support as it could not be assumed that the United States would continue to make European interests its own. Moreover, he said, 'technical developments, development of nuclear weapons, the monopoly position which the two world Powers have secured in this way, lead in the long run to intolerable conditions for all small Powers'.

Relations with France were more friendly than at any time in recent history, owing to the satisfactory settlement of the Saar dispute and agreement on the need for 'Euratom' and a common market. M. Mollet visited Bonn to negotiate the final terms of the Saar settlement, which was announced on 29 September; the treaty was ratified by the *Bundestag* on 14 December by a unanimous vote. Dr. Adenauer himself visited M. Mollet in Paris during the height of the Suez crisis, and used his efforts to induce the French to follow the United Nations' call for a cease-fire. Passports for travel to France were abolished in December.

Dr. Adenauer was also able to secure a small but gratifying adjustment of the German frontier during a visit to Belgium in September.

'End of the Adenauer Era'? The year was marked by a decline in Dr. Adenauer's prestige and a breakup of the coalition which had held office since the first Federal Government was formed in 1949. The change was hailed by the Chancellor's critics as 'the end of the Adenauer era'. In fact the Russian action in Hungary and Germany's still increasing prosperity did something to restore his position. But his age—he was 80 in January—made it inevitable that even his own Party should examine his policies afresh and search for a successor.

In February, a *coup* was brought off against the Chancellor in *Land* North Rhine-Westphalia, the heart of industrial Germany. The successful Government headed by Herr Arnold, a Left-wing Christian-Democrat, was overthrown by a concerted attack launched by the Social Democratic Party (S.P.D.) and the Free Democratic Party (F.D.P.). The latter formed part of Herr Arnold's Government. On 20 February a vote of no-confidence was passed against the Government and Herr Arnold was replaced by Herr Steinhoff, a Socialist. This

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action was intended to frustrate Dr. Adenauer's policy in the *Bundesrat* (where the *Länder* are represented), since it was not possible to overthrow him in the *Bundestag*. It was, moreover, an effort to secure direction of F.D.P. policy by a group of younger Right-wing politicians who claimed to represent the 'Front generation' of ex-soldiers. By ousting the C.D.U. from the Government, yet another *Land* was added to those which were already governed by a coalition in which the strongest party was unrepresented. The new coalition partners had in common only their objection to political Catholicism and criticism of Dr. Adenauer on nationalist grounds.

The defeat in Düsseldorf was in some measure due to mistakes on Dr. Adenauer's part. In January 1956 the Chancellor allowed a dispute with the F.D.P. over changes in the Federal electoral law to reach a bitter point. Against F.D.P. and S.P.D. opposition, the C.D.U. proposed alterations which would have reduced the F.D.P.'s representation and brought Federal Germany closer to the two-party system. But Dr. Adenauer and his party finally gave way. The law passed on 15 February showed little change from that in force in the 1953 elections, except that a new 'Federal List' was introduced on which 10 per cent. of the deputies would be elected.

At the F.D.P. party congress at Würzburg on 20-22 April, the breach with Dr. Adenauer was made absolute, though Dr. Dehler declared that the Party would not decide with which other party it would be ready to form a coalition until 'the morning after the elections'. Nevertheless, the F.D.P.'s opportunist policy cost it dear. Sixteen F.D.P. members of the *Bundestag*, including the Vice-Chancellor, Herr Blücher, and two other Cabinet members, split on 23 February and formed a splinter Party, the *Freie Volkspartei* (F.V.P.) in May. The F.D.P. lost heavily in various *Land* elections in the autumn (see below).

Criticism of the Chancellor developed within his own party, and the C.D.U. Congress at Stuttgart on 26-28 April resulted in the appointment, against his will, of four deputy-chairmen instead of the previous two, in order to promote Herr Arnold and Herr von Hassel, premier of Schleswig-Holstein. Protestant representation in the deputy-chairmen's ranks thus became two out of four. No successor to Dr. Adenauer was named, and it was assumed that he would contest the next Federal elections.

The elections held in May, October, and November in six *Länder* confirmed that the electorate was tending towards a two-party system without any help from changes in the laws. On an average, the C.D.U. and S.P.D. divided the votes fairly equally, with the smaller parties far behind. The C.D.U. held its own or even gained in comparison with the *Land* elections four years earlier, while the S.P.D. gained at the expense of the smaller parties. In North Rhine-Westphalia, the S.P.D. won a striking victory over the C.D.U.

The Federal Government coalition cabinet was reshuffled on 16 October. Of the new Cabinet, 16 members belonged to the C.D.U.-C.S.U., 2 to the *Deutsche Partei* and to the loyal F.V.P. The occasion was used to replace the ineffectual Minister of Defence, Herr Blank, by

the energetic Bavarian member of the Christian-Social Union (C.S.U.) Herr Franz-Josef Strauss.

Dr. Otto John, former head of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution was brought to trial in November and was sentenced on 22 December to four years' imprisonment on account of his propaganda activities while in the ' German Democratic Republic '.

The Bundeswehr. The birth pangs of the new *Bundeswehr* began in earnest during 1956. In January it was announced that French and Italian aircraft would be built under licence. Pilots began training under the Americans and British, and the first American heavy equipment was handed over in January. On 20 January Dr. Adenauer took the first parade at Andernach of training cadres in a ceremony which was symbolically free of traditional Prussian severity.

In January also the Federal Government requested the British and Americans for naval aid. The British were asked to sell seven frigates and the Americans to lend 12 destroyers. Rear-Admiral Ruge, an expert on mine-sweeping and a former member of Rommel's staff, was appointed Inspector, or senior officer, of the Navy. Previously (16 January) a political flutter had been roused by a speech at Wilhelmshaven by Captain Zencker, then head of the naval department in the Ministry of Defence, who praised the honourable tradition of the German Navy under Doenitz and Raeder. Former Grand Admiral Doenitz was released from Spandau gaol on 1 October.

Throughout the year a struggle continued over conscription. On 8 February the Cabinet issued its draft defence Bill, or Soldiers Law, calling for 18 months' service. The change in the Constitution making conscription possible was passed in the *Bundestag* on 8 March with Social-Democrat support. The conscription Bill itself was passed by a simple majority against the S.P.D. votes, but it was rejected on 23 March by the *Bundesrat* which demanded that the term of service should be cut to one year. Objections to conscription were based on the argument that disarmament negotiations would be jeopardized, and that a mass army would not be effective in an atomic war. The prospect that Germany might face a civil war were also behind discussions about the rival merits of a professional or conscript army. The F.D.P. favoured a professional army together with a militia, and a reserve force consisting of conscripts who would do annual training courses following one year's service. It was officially stated on 2 March that a militia for home defence, particularly against air attack, would be set up.

Reports that the British Government aimed to abolish conscription and that both the British and Americans were considering reducing their forces in Germany strengthened opposition to the Government's proposals. Finally the conscription law was passed on 6 July by 270 votes to 166, with 20 abstentions among F.D.P. members; but it omitted to lay down the period of service. Bowing to this pressure, which also came from the South German wing of the Christian Democrats (the C.D.U.), the Government agreed on 27 September to reduce

the term of service to one year. Defence planning, it was admitted, would have to be revised accordingly.

The full extent of the change was revealed in the opening debate (8 November) of the next session of the *Bundestag*, when the new Minister of Defence, Herr Strauss, presented the new Bill calling for one year's service. Herr Strauss proclaimed that his slogan was 'Quality before Quantity'. His plan was to form small, mobile units quickly, instead of setting up the framework of the whole 12 divisions promised to NATO and bringing them up to fighting strength gradually. The full force of 500,000 men would be completed by the end of 1959. At the close of 1957, three divisions would have been established with tank units (according to a statement made by Herr Strauss to the press on 7 November), together with two tank divisions, one smaller Alpine division and a smaller parachute division—in all 120,000 men. According to the Minister, the target of 500,000 men was not 'a dogma' but might be changed if it was found desirable, in agreement with NATO.

The revised plans called for more volunteers to serve in the regular army; previously it had been intended that 230,000 of the 500,000 would be regulars. The Bill provided that conscripts, if they agreed to serve for 18 months, would be allowed to choose their arm or unit, and would only do a further 9 months' service. Those serving only one year would do a further 15 months service over a period, longer terms being laid down for officers.

It was announced at the same time that there would be 10,000 men in the German Navy by April 1957 and that the strength would rise to about 15,000 men. The Air Force would consist only of training cadres in 1956 and the following year, but in 1958 one transport, and two, possibly three, fighter squadrons would be set up. Canadian Sabre jet fighters would be bought instead of British machines for training, as the Canadians could provide training personnel.

The problem of equipment was debated in the *Bundestag* in November. It was laid down that the German army must have the best armour, and a decision was made at the close of the year to buy American M-48 tanks, and British Centurions. Previously 1,100 older tanks had been supplied free by the Americans. The Minister of Defence declared (7 November) that Germany would produce only part of her requirements of armoured vehicles and would welcome the creation of a European type of armour, to be produced in common. A definite decision on German tank production had not been made at that point. At the close of the year it was stated that Germany had been assured at the NATO meeting in December that there would be no discrimination against its forces in the supply of American atomic weapons.

Industrialists became more favourably inclined towards arms production than in previous years. At the conferences held in November with the Ministries concerned, it was made plain, however, that industry did not want German autarky, nor the control associated in Hitler's time with State credits. Arms production was regarded

largely as a reinsurance against a depression. Germany's huge and still growing surplus of foreign exchange made it clearly desirable to purchase arms abroad and to pay in advance.

Support Costs. Throughout the first half of the year, a dispute continued over the payment of a German contribution to the cost of maintaining Allied troops on German soil. After the Minister of Finance, Herr Schaeffer, had created bad feeling by his intransigence, the matter was taken over and settled by Herr von Brentano. On 23 July it was announced that the United States would receive DM 650 million, Britain DM 400 million and France DM 276 million and the small allies proportionately lower sums for the current financial year. The Germans regarded this payment as the last, whereas their allies reserved the right to make further demands if necessary. In the event, the claim was raised by the British at the NATO conference in December for another German contribution to the cost of some £70 million a year for British troops in Germany. Dr. Schaeffer protested again, but the Government appeared to realize that the slowing up of German defence plans and the Finance Ministry's large unspent revenue made his case untenable.

A Prosperous Year. In the German economy the outstanding feature of the year was the continued rise in the foreign exchange reserves owing to the unremitting surplus of exports over imports, and the attraction which Federal Germany exercised on foreign investors owing to the high interest rates prevailing. Further measures to encourage the export of German capital did little to offset this trend. Imports in 1956 amounted to DM 27,961 million against DM 24,472 million in 1955 (an increase of 14.3 per cent.), while exports were D.M. 30,854 million compared with DM 25,767 million in the preceding year (an increase of 20 per cent.).

The basic cause for this continued trend was the fact that inflation had not reached the same proportions as in other countries competing with Germany in export markets. Prices rose on an average by 3 per cent., but the rise was mainly confined to agricultural produce, which remained protected while duties were lowered on a range of other goods. Wages and salaries rose more than prices—by 7·2 per cent. during the first half of the year, compared with the same period of 1955. There was only one major strike, of workers in the Schleswig-Holstein shipyards. The gross national product rose during the year by 8 per cent. compared with 1955. Taxation was reduced further in May, though the 'credit squeeze' imposed by the *Bank deutscher Länder* continued.

An Atomic Energy Commission was inaugurated on 26 January, and an agreement was made with the United States on 13 February for the purchase of uranium–235. On 31 July a British reactor was bought and an agreement concluded for technical training. Plans for building reactors were pressed forward, but it was stressed that Germany had a 15-year time-lag to make good in this field.

Eastern Germany

Internal Affairs. In the *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* (D.D.R.) de-Stalinization did not go far, though Herr Ulbricht returned from the 20th Party Congress in Moscow with directives for various reforms. These emerged at the congress of the Socialist Unity Party (S.E.D.) which opened on 24 March. Herr Grotewohl criticized the police, who were, however, strongly defended by the Minister of Security, Herr Wollweber. Previously, the S.E.D. had remitted death sentences imposed on workers for inciting their mates to escape to the West, after strong protests had been made in the Bonn *Bundestag* and West Berlin. At the S.E.D. Congress, Herr Ulbricht (who only mildly criticized Stalin) promised a 40-hour week for some categories of workmen indicating that productivity must rise to make this reform general, and once again roused the hopes that rationing would be ended in 1957. By the end of the year, however, the leaders were hedging on this promise as the rations were not even being honoured in full.

Bills purposing to ' broaden democracy ' by reviving the moribund local ' People's Assemblies ' were introduced into the Chamber on 23 April, and a delegation went to Moscow to study developments there. May Day slogans proclaimed that the D.D.R. was ' a shining model for all Germany '. Much was made of a proposed revision of the judicial system by Frau Hilde Benjamin, the Minister of Justice. The Prosecutor-General declared (10 May) that in future the accused would be considered innocent until proved guilty ; it would no longer be assumed that industrial or agricultural breakdowns were sabotage, and some criticism (but not of the system as such) would be allowed without arrest. Probation and fines would be instituted. Further rights for the accused were announced on 28 December. In spite of these promises, it was made clear in word and deed that there would be no mercy for ' western agents '. Severe sentences continued to be passed on men accused of inciting workers to escape. However, some 5,000 citizens a week continued to flee to the West, and it was estimated that over a million had left since 1949.

The existence of this escape route was one reason why there was no revolt in the D.D.R. following the Polish and Hungarian developments, though there was unrest under the surface, and a state of alarm for the armed factory guards was ordered when the Budapest revolt began. All reports from Poland and Hungary were censored and distorted according to the Moscow line. Special anxiety was shown at the unrest among students. Loyal gatherings were organized at universities after some demonstrations had taken place, and some limited concessions were promised.

At a meeting of the S.E.D. Central Committee in mid-November, it was announced that old-age pensions would be increased from 1 December and some of the unpopular and inefficient measures of centralized control of production were abolished to placate farmers and to prevent the frequent stoppages which took place in factories. The important question of workers' demands for rights of management in

the factories was then tackled. On 8 December it was announced that, in an experimental group of works, committees would be allowed. Herr Ulbricht made it clear that they would not have the power they had in Yugoslavia, and an attempt would be made to control them by the Communist trade union federation. Herr Ulbricht's position inside the party was shaken by the first shock of de-Stalinization from Moscow, but it appeared to be firm at the end of the year. Some minor leaders who had been purged at the time of the execution of Beria in the Soviet Union were rehabilitated, but there was no outstanding change in the leadership.

The Soviet German Army. During January the fiction was finally abandoned that the armed forces in the D.D.R. were only 'barrack-based police', and the 80,000 strong factory militia were also brought into the public eye. On 18 January the People's Chamber passed a defence law formally establishing the 'National People's Army' and a Ministry of Defence under General Willi Stoph. Later in the year it was announced that conscription would not be introduced; but an intensive campaign was carried on by the para-military 'Association for Sport and Technology' which aimed to train a million men and women in the use of arms. This offset the declaration made in the middle of the year that the size of the army would be reduced to 80,000 men.

External Relations. Various appeals and 'offers' were made during the year to the Government of the Federal Republic, starting with a proposal for a non-aggression pact between 'the two German States', which was ignored in Bonn. Herr Grotewohl, on 28 May, laid down an eight-point programme for collaboration with the Federal Republic, as follows: abandonment of conscription; ban on the stationing of atomic weapons in Germany; protest against the infringement of German sovereignty by 'Allied espionage centres on Berlin soil'; identical penalties for militaristic agitation in 'both German States'; extension of cultural and trade contacts; increased contacts between deputies and parties; an end to 'persecution' in the Federal Republic of anti-militarist and anti-Fascist organizations and a ban on the activities of military leagues and neo-Fascist organizations and the purge of the West German judiciary of 'anti-Semitic and Fascist elements'.

Constant calls for collaboration with the S.P.D. were made throughout the year, and the S.E.D. released some thousands of Social-Democrats from prison. However, unity of action with the Communists was rejected by the S.P.D. Congress in Munich in mid-July. On the tenth anniversary in April of the founding of the S.E.D., Herr Grotewohl appealed to the S.P.D. to implement their 1946 programme of nationalization and declared that the 'democratic order' would have to be extended to all Germany. In a statement on 12 May Herr Ulbricht made it plain that the Communists were working for and counting on the defeat of Dr. Adenauer in the next Federal elections,

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and the formation of a government in Bonn that could accept the S.E.D.'s eight points. No doubt was left that the D.D.R. Government maintained its two-fold price for reunification, i.e., first that the Federal Republic should leave NATO, and second, that the D.D.R.'s 'reforms' should be introduced into the free West.

An important agreement for economic aid was concluded with the Soviet Union in July. Implicitly admitting that the D.D.R. would not become a good example for West Germany without help in fulfilling its lagging Plan, the Soviet Government cut its support costs by half, offered a long-term credit, and agreed to maintain an adequate supply of raw materials and some consumer goods. It was also agreed to take some products of German light industry, as well as heavy equipment in trade exchanges. The price paid for German uranium ore was raised.

Relations with Poland were strained following the reforms in Warsaw. The German Communists accused the Poles of doing too much and Poles criticized the Germans *for* doing too little. With Czechoslovakia, on the other hand, relations continued smoothly on the surface, and a treaty providing for economic collaboration was signed in December.

THE SAAR

In 1956 Franco-German statesmanship achieved in the Saar the end desired by the opponents of the Statute for the 'Europeanization' of the Saar by means which some of them were the first to suggest. But the opponents were displeased with the result. The Saarlanders had rejected the Statute agreed by Dr. Adenauer and M. Mendès-France but failed to elect a *Landtag* with the three-quarters majority required to change the 1947 Constitution. This laid down the Saar's economic union with France, with a reference in the preamble to the Saar's political independence from Germany.

Nevertheless the Prime Minister, Dr. Hubert Ney, declared that it was his Government's aim to attach the Saar to the Federal Republic. The *Landtag* endorsed this in a declaration of principles on 31 January. On 17 January it had already demanded the annulment of the Franco-German agreement on the sale of the Röchling steelworks at Völklingen. Franco-German negotiations began in Paris on 20 February. Basic agreement was reached on 5 June in Luxembourg when the French Prime Minister and the Federal German Chancellor resolved most of the outstanding problems.

It was agreed that the Saar was to join the Federal Republic politically on 1 January 1957 and economically in stages over a period not exceeding three years from that date. During this period the customs union with France was to be maintained and after it the Saar was still to have a special economic status in the Federal Republic for the continued maintenance of a high level of Franco-Saar trade. The equal voting power of France and the Federal Republic in the European Coal and Steel Community was to be maintained. The maintenance

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of coal supplies for France was still to be discussed. Meanwhile it was agreed that France was to get 90 million tons of Warndt coal—needed for the iron ore industry of Lorraine—over the next 25 years. The Saar mines were to be compensated by the Federal Republic for losses incurred in the transaction. The Moselle was to be made navigable between Thionville and Coblenz, the cost being shared between France and the Federal Republic. The French Government undertook to desist from the planned northward extension of the Alsace canal, to 'build back' the 20 mile extension made so far, and to indemnify the Land Government of Württemberg-Baden for damage caused to crops.

Developments in the Saar itself included a slight redistribution of seats in the *Landtag* which after 25 April consisted of 14 Christian Democrats, 13 Saar Democrats, 9 Social Democrats (the Saar Socialist Party having dissolved itself and merged with the Social Democratic Party), 12 members of the Christian People's Party, and 2 Communists. In the local elections on 13 May the Christian Democrats polled 28·8 per cent. of the votes, the Saar Democrats 22·3 per cent. and the Social Democrats 19·4 per cent., thus giving the league of pro-German parties a total of 70·5 per cent. The Christian People's Party received 23·1 per cent. and the Communists 5·9 per cent.

On 27 October, almost exactly a year after the rejection of the Saar Statute and two years after its signature, the French and Federal German Foreign Ministers signed the agreements embodying the decisions made in June. The chief new element was the agreed rate of conversion of francs into Marks (83 francs to the Mark, had been the official but, the Germans had maintained, unrealistic exchange rate) and the fact that the date for the change-over was to be left open to discourage speculation in the strictly financial sense. There was also a tripartite Franco-German-Luxembourg agreement on the canalization of the Moselle, a bilateral agreement on French compensation to Luxembourg, a Franco-German agreement on the Alsace canal, and an agreement on French representation in the Common Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community. That Gordian knot was untied by the simple expedient of freeing the French from the obligation to include three Saarlanders in their contingent.

On 28 November the Völklingen works were restored to the heirs of Herr Hermann Röchling. The family had told the French and Federal Governments on 26 April that it considered the option given to them to buy the works invalid.

With the necessary ratifications complete, the Saar became the youngest *Land* of the Federal Republic on 1 January 1957. Pending the Federal elections of that year it was to be represented by observers in both houses of the Federal Parliament.

POLAND

Boleslaw Bierut, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (P.Z.P.R.), died on 12 March in Moscow, where he had been attending the Twentieth Congress of the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union. He had listened to M. Khrushchev's momentous speech on 25 February, with its repudiation of Stalinism; he had himself been the principal instrument of Stalinism in Poland; it was the end of a chapter. M. Edward Ochab was appointed on 21 March to succeed him as First Secretary of the party, in the presence of M. Khrushchev, who had come to Warsaw for the funeral.

M. Khrushchev's speech in Moscow at the beginning of the year led directly to the totally new position in Poland as the year closed. M. Khrushchev's cue was taken more swiftly in Poland than in any other Communist-dominated country. Criticism within the party, fortified by his encouragement, became both loud and far-reaching. 'Some comrades', complained M. Ochab on 6 April, 'are losing, so to say, their balance of mind, are beginning to lose a sense of proportion. . . . The fact that they are writing against the party in the columns of the press is evidence,' he said, 'of an unhealthy phenomenon'; and he explained 'this nervousness, this tendency to hysterics' as being 'connected with the much greater and deeper shock which, for all of us, is the problem of the cult of the individual.' It was in this speech that M. Ochab confirmed officially, for the first time, the release from internment of M. Wladislaw Gomulka, who had been First Secretary of the party from 1945 until 1948, when he was replaced by M. Bierut. In November 1949 he had been expelled from the Central Committee of the party for tolerating 'enemy agents' and for 'nationalist deviation'; M. Ochab had been among those who then denounced him most strongly. But now M. Ochab declared that the first of the accusations had been proved false, although reasserting 'the correctness of the political and ideological struggle which the party has conducted and continues to conduct against the conceptions represented by Gomulka.'

The meeting of the *Sejm* from 23 to 28 April was preceded by the publication on 22 April of a draft Amnesty Bill, more generous, it was claimed, than any previously known in Poland. It would benefit 70,000 persons, and would release 30,000 from prison. Those imprisoned for crimes against the State, including espionage, would have their sentences reduced (although the arrest of 'three agents of the American secret service' had been announced the day before, on 21 April); those imprisoned for minor crimes would be freed. The meeting of the *Sejm* was also preceded by the dismissal or transfer of the Ministers of Justice, Culture, State Farms, Foreign Affairs, and Higher Education; by the dismissal of both the Civil and the Military Prosecutors-General; and by the arrest of two senior Public Security officials.

The public expression of criticism and complaint was not confined to material matters like the standard of living; the demand was for freedom as well as bread, and in particular articles were by Easter beginning to appear in the press demanding that greater authority and freedom of debate should be allowed to the *Sejm*. There were signs of this during the April session, and one government Bill in particular met with real opposition; although all the Bills presented were passed

in the end by large majorities. The resignation of M. Jakub Berman from the Central Committee of the P.Z.P.R. and from the position of Deputy Premier was announced on 6 May, and he vanished into obscurity.

The rioting in Poznan on 28 June, however, was due directly to the material grievances of the workers in the Stalin engineering works (ZISPO) in that city. A workers' deputation had gone to Warsaw on 26 June to ask for a wage-increase, for a revision of the whole wages structure, and for a refund of taxes paid on bonuses. It had returned on 27 June without obtaining satisfaction, and the rioting took place on the following day. This began as a peaceful demonstration, but disturbances soon arose. In particular there was a struggle in front of the headquarters of the political police, who opened fire. Arms appeared among the demonstrators, and security troops had to be brought in to restore order. The Poznan Trade Fair was in progress, and there were many Western witnesses of what took place. General Rybicki, the Prosecutor-General, said on 17 July that the casualties had included 53 dead and more than 300 wounded; among the Government forces there were nine dead and 39 wounded still in hospital. The cases of 323 people under arrest were still being investigated; of these, 64 faced charges of robbery, and 33 were criminals who had escaped from prison during the riots. Trials would be conducted by the ordinary provincial and district courts, and the prosecution would distinguish between those who had demonstrated because their 'largely justified demands' had not been met and those 'adventurers, criminal elements and provocateurs' who had been 'inspired by sources which are hostile and alien to Poland'. This was intended to reassure the workers; a good deal of unrest had been reported from industrial areas elsewhere in Poland, particularly from Silesia; and on 6 July it had been announced that the ZISPO workers were to be given most of what they had demanded: taxes totalling 6·5 million zlotys were to be returned to them; their wage-rates would be increased by from 19 to 25 per cent.; a 30 to 40 per cent. increase in piece-rates was being considered; and wage increases had also been awarded to other workers in Poznan.

The Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee of the P.Z.P.R. met in this tense atmosphere. M. Ochab, addressing it on 18 July, spoke at length about 'the painful incidents of Poznan', in considering which, he said, 'it would be erroneous to concentrate attention above all on the machinations of provocateurs and imperialist agents'. It was 'necessary to look first of all for the social roots of these incidents, which have become a warning signal for the whole of our party, testifying to the existence of serious disturbances in the relations between the party and various sections of the working class'. He blamed the grievances of the ZISPO workers on 'the callousness and bureaucratic attitude of the authorities, both central and local', and deplored the fact that little had been done to correct the national fall in real wages which occurred between 1951 and 1953. 'The task of correcting this neglect, undertaken by the Second Congress of the P.Z.P.R., did not

yield sufficient results, owing', said M. Ochab, 'among other things, to the fact that in many links of our economic apparatus there was embedded an improper attitude with regard to the living conditions of the working people.' During the period of the Five-year Plan then beginning, he declared, wages would be raised 30 per cent. above the 1955 level, and an extensive house-building programme would be carried out. There were anxious references during the Seventh Plenum to the limits of criticism and the need for vigilance, and there was discussion about constitutional reforms that might give greater freedom to the *Sejm*. The Plenum was still in progress when a powerful Soviet delegation, led by Marshal Bulganin and Marshal Zhukov, arrived in Warsaw to attend the celebration of Poland's National Day on 22 July; Marshal Bulganin disagreed with M. Ochab on the significance of the events in Poznan, which, he declared at a public meeting in Warsaw, 'provoked by hostile agents, provide fresh evidence that international reaction has not yet discarded the mad plans for the restoration of capitalism in Socialist countries'. On 20 October M. Gomulka was categorically to repudiate this view. Meanwhile, the Soviet leaders left to tour the country and the Plenum continued its deliberations, paying, in its final resolution, conventional deference to Marshal Bulganin's judgment on Poznan, but at the same time making a candid analysis of the economic and social background, and announcing important modifications of the new Five-year Plan; the workers' earnings, the resolution said, must be increased by at least a third, and those of the lowest paid must increase even more.

Hardly had the Soviet leaders left than M. Gomulka was rehabilitated, with others associated with him; a simpler matter than the corresponding rehabilitations in some other countries, since no leading 'deviationists' in Poland had been executed, or even subjected to public trial. On 4 August it was announced that the Central Committee of the P.Z.P.R. had interviewed M. Gomulka and had restored his party membership to him. On the following day, 5 August, M. Zenon Kliszko, who had been expelled from the Central Committee with him in 1949, was appointed Deputy Minister of Justice. On 24 August General Waclaw Komar, another of his supporters, who had been released and rehabilitated in the spring at the same time as General Marian Spychalski, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the internal security forces.

The *Sejm* met from 5 to 12 September, in a session that was both longer and livelier than those which had gone before. The Prime Minister, M. Cyrankiewicz, in his opening speech, gave an assurance that the Government intended to make the *Sejm* more significant; the number of government decrees would be reduced, there would be time and opportunity to consider them and make amendments, and greater importance would be attached to question-time. But the session was particularly notable for the speech made on 7 September by Professor Julian Hochfeld, Professor of Sociology in the University of Warsaw and a former leader of the Socialists in the *Sejm*, who became the first deputy in Eastern Europe since the war to say in so many words that

a parliament ought to control the executive and not be controlled by it. He thanked the Seventh Plenum for considering what might be done in this direction, but went on to ask why the *Sejm* had not been allowed to discuss the events in Poznan. The *Sejm*, he said, was unable to fulfil the chief function of any parliament, in controlling the executive, because the executive in Poland was the party, which had 'a specific leading position in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat'. It was nevertheless necessary to pass from 'control of the *Sejm* by the State executive to control of the State executive by the *Sejm*'; and Professor Hochfeld proposed as a first step that the *Sejm* should hold its Plenary and Committee sessions through the greater part of the year, and should devote one day a week to question-time. The work of this session included the establishment of the commission on the electoral law, for the elections which it was first proposed to hold on 16 December but which were, on 24 October, postponed to 20 January 1957; the law approved on 24 October differed from that of 1952 in permitting the number of candidates to exceed the number of deputies to be elected, although not by more than two-thirds; 'this', said M. Gomulka, 'allows the people to elect, and not only to vote; a very important change'.

The first two trials of those accused at Poznan began in the Poznan Provincial Court on 27 September, just three months after the disturbances; the third opened on 5 October; two further trials, for looting, were held in the Poznan District Court during October; but by the end of October only 22 prisoners had been indicted, out of 158 held for trial. It was announced on 23 October that all the indictments were to be revised and all those not charged with murder or robbery were to be released. None of the accused was described as a foreign agent during the trials. The Public Prosecutor withdrew some of the evidence when it was said by the defence to have been obtained by threats or by the beating of prisoners. The defending lawyers not only defended their clients but accused the régime, successfully ridiculing the prosecution's distinction between peaceful demonstrators and subversive criminals; these young men, almost all under 22, were the product of their environment, and the blame rested with those responsible for their environment. 'They have witnessed our achievements, but they have also witnessed our mistakes.' The judges were asked 'to show indulgence towards the accused, just as the leaders of our State are indulgent towards those responsible for the period of errors and distortions which gave rise to the Poznan events'. The sentences were comparatively light, six years' imprisonment being the maximum. Three defendants accused of murdering a security policeman were sentenced on 6 October to four and a half or four years, where the prosecution had asked for the death penalty. It was announced on 25 October that most of those sentenced had already been released, and on 6 November that proceedings against all those still awaiting trial had been dropped. The trials favourably impressed journalists and others from the Western countries who were allowed to be present. One of the accused attracted particular attention by describing his

family's sufferings after his father, a member of the secret police, had been arrested on false charges in 1952. There was considerable although not complete freedom for the Polish newspapers reporting the trials.

Meanwhile, on 9 October, the régime's chief industrial and economic planner, M. Hilary Minc, resigned from the Politburo and from all his ministerial posts through ill-health; he was the last of the Stalinist triumvirate of whom the other members had been Bierut and Berman. The Politburo met on 15 October, with M. Gomulka participating, to prepare for the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the P.Z.P.R., which had been called for 19 October. The proceedings began on that day with the re-admission of M. Gomulka to the Central Committee, with three of those closely associated with him: General Spychalski, who had been arrested with him in 1951, Zenon Kliszko, and Loga-Sowinski. Later in that same day a deputation from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, consisting of MM. Khrushchev, Kaganovitch, Mikoyan, and Molotov, arrived unexpectedly in Warsaw by air. The meeting was suspended to meet the visitors, who left on the following day, 20 October, without having obtained the inclusion of Marshal Rokossowski in the Politburo. The composition of the Politburo and Secretariat, announced on 21 October, represented a victory for the Poles over the Russians, and for M. Gomulka over the pro-Soviet 'Natolin Group' which had made its appearance in Poland during the summer. Marshal Rokossowski remained Minister of Defence; but shortly afterwards he went on leave, and on 13 November—the day before M. Gomulka left for Moscow—he was replaced at that ministry by General Spychalski; more than 30 other high-ranking Soviet officers attached to the Polish forces were also replaced by Poles. They included General Turkiel, who had commanded the Polish air force, and General Andrejewski, who had commanded the Warsaw military region.

The Eighth Plenum subsequently published the record of its debates, an unprecedented step which shed much light on what had happened during the Soviet visit. There was an edition in Russian. 'Our Soviet comrades', said M. Zawadzki, the President of the Polish Council of State, 'gave as the reason for their sudden arrival here, and for the composition of their delegation, the deep disquiet of the Praesidium of the Soviet Communist Party as a result of the development of the situation in Poland.' They had pointed out, said M. Zawadzki, 'that the proposed composition of our leadership was known everywhere, and yet, in spite of our relations with them, we had not informed our Soviet comrades about it'. The discussions had been carried on 'often with a show of temperament on both sides'. 'We tried to quieten our Soviet comrades. . . . We tried to explain to them the process of democratization which is taking place here—its nature, its meaning and its irrevocable character.' One speaker, M. Starewicz, declared that on 19 October 'movements of troops were taking place in our country in the direction of Warsaw. . . . It is clear that several columns of tanks were moving towards the capital, and that there were

some movements of Soviet units on our western frontier and inside the country.' He asked Marshal Rokossowski what the purpose of these movements had been and who had ordered them. The Marshal said that the troop movements had been connected with normal military manoeuvres; although he added: 'The Politburo is aware of a partial concentration of some units for special purposes. This has been done in connexion with the experience of the events at Poznan.' Later in the discussions M. Ochab spoke of 'desperate conclusions about the need for defending the Central Committee from the Soviet Army' which had been reached, he said, 'by people who undoubtedly want the victory of Communism'. There could be little doubt that he was referring to the Warsaw District Committee of the party, which was attacked by several other speakers for calling the workers into the streets. It appears, in short, that the workers of Warsaw and the security forces under General Komar rallied to the Central Committee to prevent a possible intervention, with or without Soviet support, by the troops commanded by Marshal Rokossowski.

M. Gomulka delivered a major address to the Plenum on 20 October. He spoke of the mutual confidence and support that ought to exist between Socialist States, going on: 'Within the framework of such relations, every country ought to have complete independence and freedom, and the right of every nation to the sovereign rule of its independent country ought to be fully and mutually respected. This is how it ought to be, and, I should say, how it is beginning to be.' He spoke unsparingly of the faults of the party leadership in the past. 'We must tell the working class the painful truth', he said. 'We cannot at the present moment afford any considerable increase of wages, for the string has already been stretched to the utmost and is in danger of breaking. . . . I am unable to give any concrete answer to the question when it will be possible to save further resources for the improvement of the living standards of the working class.' Industrial workers must be given incentives, especially in the form of participation in management through workers' councils, and agricultural workers must be allowed greater freedom. 'Entry to a producers' co-operative must be voluntary', said M. Gomulka. 'This means that it precludes not only threats and mental pressure but also economic pressure.' A Government Bill to reform the workers' councils followed. A plenary session of the Central Trade Union Council which met on 16 November accepted the resignation of its entire Praesidium, headed by M. Klosiewicz, a member of the Natolin group, who was replaced by M. Loga-Sowinski. Industrial production continued to increase; in agriculture, however, the advent of M. Gomulka, who had the reputation of being a friend of the countryside, had the first effect of making matters worse; the peasants, taking advantage of official permission to dissolve unproductive co-operatives, began leaving the collective farms in considerable numbers, and grain deliveries were not good.

The Eighth Plenum was followed by the widespread removal of members of the Natolin group from provincial party office. In 16 of the 19 provinces the Secretariat and most of the Executive Bureaux

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were dismissed. Similar changes were made in the Government. M. Zenon Nowak, the leader of the Natolin group, was demoted from First Deputy to Deputy Premier; and government changes involved the removal of five other Ministers, as well as Marshal Rokossowski. By the time M. Gomulka left for Moscow, on 14 November, the full weight of the Soviet repression in Hungary had been felt. On 2 November the P.Z.P.R. had issued a statement of solidarity with the Hungarian workers, while asking the Poles to avoid public demonstrations of sympathy for fear of Soviet reprisals. With the re-entry of Soviet troops into Budapest on 4 November Polish comment was modified, and M. Gomulka again stressed the need for prudence; but he would not endorse the Soviet intervention. 'Although we are of the opinion that other States should not interfere in the internal affairs of any country', he said, 'and that above all the nation and the working class should decide themselves about their political affairs . . . every one of us must be a political realist.' Students paraded with Hungarian flags through the streets of Cracow on 5 November, and demonstrations were reported from other Polish cities also.

M. Cyrankiewicz went to Moscow with M. Gomulka; M. Ochab did not. On the Soviet side the discussions were conducted by M. Khrushchev, President Voroshilov, Marshal Bulganin, and MM. Mikoyan and Suslov; Marshal Zhukov and General Antonov, the Secretary-General of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, also took part. The first part of the declaration published on 18 November said that Poland would continue to be associated with the Soviet Union in foreign policy, stressing the 'similarity of views' on Egypt and Germany as well as Hungary. The second part reaffirmed the Polish-Soviet alliance 'on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for territorial integrity, State independence and sovereignty, and non-interference in internal affairs'. This, it was affirmed, was the best guarantee of the Oder-Neisse frontier, 'the frontier of peace'. The third part was economic. The Soviet Union waived the outstanding Polish debt arising from credits granted to Poland under the Polish-Soviet treaty of August 1945; credits which had for more than ten years been paid in coal, exported at nominal prices, to the great prejudice of the Polish economy. The Soviet Union would deliver 1,400,000 tons of grain on credit during 1957; the 1956 harvest in Poland had been a poor one, and this was expected to maintain grain supplies, although without increasing them. In addition, Poland was granted a long-term credit of 700 million roubles for goods to be imported. These arrangements met some of Poland's immediate difficulties, but tended to increase her economic dependence on the Soviet Union even while her political dependence was being diminished. The fourth part of the declaration dealt with 'the temporary stationing of Soviet military units on Polish territory'; their presence 'must in no way infringe upon the sovereignty of the Polish State, or lead to their intervention in the domestic affairs of the Polish People's Republic'; their location and strength remained to be determined. Movements of Soviet troops in Poland would require

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the consent of the Polish Government; they would be bound to respect Polish law; the legal position would likewise be the subject of a further agreement. The last part of the declaration promised that Poles still retained in the Soviet Union would be repatriated, and looked back with satisfaction to the agreement on cultural co-operation between Poland and the Soviet Union which had been signed in Warsaw on 30 June. M. Shepilov and Marshal Zhukov flew to Warsaw a month later to sign there on 17 December an agreement elaborating the military provisions.

Cardinal Wyszynski, the Primate of Poland, who had been imprisoned since September 1953, was released by M. Gomulka without delay; he made his appearance in Warsaw on 28 October, the feast of the Kingship of Christ. A national pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Czestochowa on 26 August had attracted perhaps a million and a half people from all parts of Poland—some estimates said there were more; it was plain that reconciliation with the Church was a first necessity. M. Gomulka lost no time in setting up a joint commission to study the relations of Church and State, and an agreement was announced on 8 December in which the Government expressed its 'readiness to remove the obstacles to the realization of the principle of full freedom for religious life which existed in the previous period'; the Bishops for their part declared that 'as a result of the transformations in public life, aimed at the consolidation of legality, justice, peaceful co-existence, the raising of social morality, and the righting of wrongs', the Government would find the Church 'full of understanding'. The law of ecclesiastical appointments dated 9 February 1953 was abrogated; a new law would be drafted. Freedom of religious instruction in the primary and secondary schools was guaranteed; chaplains would be given facilities in hospitals and prisons which had not been enjoyed before; and nuns and clergy expelled from the Oder-Neisse territories would be allowed to return. The agreement provided also for the installation of Bishops as Administrators Apostolic in the Oder-Neisse territories; representatives of the Government attended the enthronements, which took place almost at once. Cardinal Wyszynski had lost no time in removing priests who had been uncanonically appointed by the Government to ecclesiastical office. When the year opened 13 of Poland's 40 Bishops were absent from their dioceses under Government compulsion, but by the end of the year all had been released, last among them the Bishop of Kielce, Mgr. Kaczmarek, who had been sentenced to 12 years imprisonment in 1953 and whose release was announced on 30 December.

The younger generation had exercised a considerable influence in a momentous year. The youth weekly *Po Prostu* had taken a leading share in the expression of critical opinions; after the changes of October its circulation, which had been limited to 40,000 by the restriction of newsprint supplies, quickly trebled, and its editorial board received the annual award of the Polish Journalists' Association. A conference of representatives of Polish youth held on 6 and 7 December sent out a statement announcing that 'the monopolistic,

pseudo-political organization of the younger generation, the Polish Youth Union (Z.M.P.)' was dissolved. 'It was the embodiment of the Stalinist concept of the youth movement. Its aim was to falsify and obliterate existing differences, to neutralize the political aspirations of youth, to rear blind, soulless, and obedient robots. Its decline and fall is the result of the process of de-Stalinization and democratization. . . .' The new Union, replacing it, would rest on the philosophy of Socialist humanism. A resolution proclaimed the principle of free discussion and the right of every member to defend his own views, stressing the points associated with the name of M. Gomulka. It could not agree to 'uncritical membership' of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which would have to make 'considerable changes' to become acceptable. It committed itself to 'the Marxist line of the party of the working class', but insisted that it was establishing 'an autonomous organization'. 'It is neither an annexe of the party, nor does it want administrative direction by the party.' As one of the delegates to the conference put it, 'Only a minority of young people have a Marxist outlook at the present time.'

DENMARK

The Danish people's reaction to events in Hungary, Poland, and Egypt seemed as a whole more intense than that in other Scandinavian countries. Thus the Danish Social Democratic Board alone sent a note of protest to the Polish Government in connexion with events in Poznan, pointing out that the violent reactions of the Polish authorities were inconsistent with their own admission that events had to be viewed against the background of the hardships suffered by the workers. When the news regarding events in Hungary became known, protest meetings took place everywhere and a nation-wide five minutes silence was observed in sympathy with the victims of Russian aggression. On 30 October the Executive Committee of the Communist Party passed a resolution condemning the Hungarian Government for 'resorting to forcible measures, including calling for assistance from Soviet troops'. On 11 November, on the other hand, the Central Committee of the Party issued a rather cautious statement. Individual Party members and local committees protested in no uncertain terms, some of them, including one third of the staff of *Land og Folk*, even resigning from the Party. Professor Mogens Fog, one of the Communist leaders in the Danish Resistance (although he claimed no longer to be an active Party member) publicly dissociated himself from Soviet intervention in Hungary and accused the Danish Communist Party board of presenting a distorted account of events in Hungary and of suppressing opposing views. Anglo-French military intervention in Egypt was condemned by the Government and the first popular reaction was one of disappointment that two great Powers had violated the rules and principles of the United Nations. Later, however, there was some recognition that the Anglo-French action had just forestalled a

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Russian drive towards the Middle East, and great eagerness to participate in the setting up of an international police force in the canal zone followed, the Danes proudly claiming that their troops were the first on the spot in Egypt.

Wage negotiations dragged on from the end of 1955 to March 1956, breaking down at intervals and strike notices being issued by various unions. On 17 March negotiations came to a standstill and a strike involving some 40,000 men started that evening. The comparatively small number of strikers arose from the fact that the strike was directed against vital trades and key functions, with the result that the 40,000 managed to paralyze the whole country. As all attempts to reach a peaceful solution failed, the *Folketing*, on 5 April, issued a decree stopping the oil and petrol strike; when the strikers continued to reject the mediation proposals the *Folketing* passed another Bill decreeing the immediate enactment of the official proposal and work was resumed on 16 April. In due course the Government was forced to introduce Bills designed to prevent a general rise in prices due to the considerable wage increases which it had been necessary to grant.

The oil and petrol crisis caused by events in Suez hit Denmark particularly hard because of her complete lack of domestic sources of energy and the necessity of using her carefully husbanded dollar reserves to buy fuel hitherto obtained from the sterling area. To conserve her stocks prices of petrol, kerosene, oil, and coal were increased on 11 December, and from 19 December gas and diesel oil for motor vehicles was rationed, oil for use in agriculture, shipping and fishing vessels being excluded from the rationing scheme. Heating, lighting, and cooking supplies were also rationed, although the aim was merely to prevent abnormal consumption.

The Budget balanced at Kr. 5,003 million, the first time that a Danish budget exceeded 5 milliard kroner. It was based on an unamended prolongation of current taxes, etc.; defence expenditure was estimated at Kr. 882 million, i.e. Kr. 21 million more than for the current year.

ICELAND

On 6 December it was announced in Washington that the Icelandic Government and the Government of the United States had reached an Agreement which would permit American forces to remain at Keflavik air base, it being agreed that the continuing threat to the security of Iceland and the North Atlantic Community made the retention of defence forces in Iceland essential.

NORWAY

A promise made in October 1955 by the Chairman of the Trade Union Federation (L.O.) that 1956 would witness an attempt at the most comprehensive revision of wages in the history of the Norwegian trade

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union movement was fulfilled early in the year when general wage negotiations proved exceedingly difficult, despite repeated Government warnings against excessive demands. On 22 May 1956 the official mediator at last succeeded in securing acceptance of his proposals, but the Government was in consequence forced to reduce certain subsidies to meet the increased wages, and prices for various foodstuffs, including sugar and coffee, rose sharply. At the same time the Government was faced with demands from farmers who were dissatisfied with the compensation promised in 1955 to offset the disastrous effects of the drought of that summer. To deal with the situation a fund of approximately Kr. 23 million was established, to be distributed in the form of allocations, e.g. Kr. 10 million towards butter and cheese, and a Budget grant for the purpose was approved in April by 72 votes to 55. To prevent a general rise in prices with consequent further wage demands, temporary measures for pegging prices and profits were introduced on 3 March, and on 4 June increases in official and public service charges were banned. Nevertheless, another strike, this time of 40,000 building workers, broke out on 7 July and was followed the next day by one of 16,000 paper and pulp workers. The latter strike was of short duration, but the building strike continued until 19 August and stopped all building work for NATO in Northern Norway. On 16 August the Prime Minister announced further measures to reduce the cost of living, among them an extension of the import free list.

Early in 1956 Soviet fishing vessels repeatedly violated Norwegian territorial waters, and later the Russians accused Norwegian fishermen of similar offences. In due course, however, the Soviet Government acceded to a Norwegian request for a committee to be set up to define the maritime boundary between the two countries in the north. In July an agreement was concluded between Norway and the Soviet Union for the erection of two power stations along the Pasvik river which forms part of the Russo-Norwegian frontier. On 13 October a Russo-Norwegian pact was signed covering exchanges in the scientific and technical fields and in art and literature.

Norway joined the Suez Canal Users' Association in October. On 31 October the Prime Minister voiced the nation's feelings when he announced that the Government 'viewed with greatest concern that individual countries in U.N. undertook separate action outside that organization'. Norway supported President Eisenhower's representations to the British and French Governments. The news that hostilities had ceased was hailed with relief as a first step towards a solution of the Middle East problem and a victory for the United Nations. In due course the Government agreed to send a detachment of troops to join the international police force. Russian military intervention in Hungary gave rise to great uneasiness and there were protest meetings outside the Soviet Embassy in Oslo. The Norwegian Communist Party protested against 'the solving of a people's problems by the use of foreign troops', indicating that this statement was mainly directed towards events in Hungary. It was also announced that these views had been communicated to the Hungarian Labour Party, the Soviet

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Union Communist Party and others. Relief funds in aid of Hungary were established and Norway joined the other Scandinavian countries in giving refuge to fugitive Hungarian citizens.

On 16 November a 10 per cent. reduction on quantities of fuel oil and petrol supplied during the same period of the previous year was introduced, and prices for both commodities were slightly increased at the end of the month. On 21 November the Minister of Commerce reported that considerable stocks of oil existed in the country for industrial purposes in case of war, and sufficient petrol and oil for agricultural use for a period of seven months.

On 9 March the Swedish-Norwegian agreement covering transit facilities via Trondheim was signed. On 16 March the *Storting* granted a concession for the building of an oil port and storage tank at Muruvik and facilities for unloading and storing oil. A road connecting Trondheim fjord with the Swedish frontier was also started.

SWEDEN

The most interesting event in Sweden was the result of the General Election in September which followed the usual, rather dull, election campaign. Although there were some indications that the slight swing to the Right noticeable in 1952 might be maintained, and that the Government coalition might be unable to regain the losses then sustained, the results far exceeded these expectations, as can be seen from the following figures :

	1956	1952	1948
Social Democrats . .	106	110	112
Agrarians . . .	19	26	30
Conservatives . .	42	31	23
Liberals	58	58	57
Communists . . .	6	5	8

The Social Democrats' lack of success was largely due to a certain indifference shown by their supporters. The leader of the Agrarian Party, Dr. Gunnar Hedlund, attributed the losses of his party to the continued shift of population from country to town, but another reason was undoubtedly the unpopularity of the Agrarian-Social-Democratic Government coalition. Both the Liberals and the Conservatives were undoubtedly assisted by having excellent leaders in the persons of Professor Bertil Ohlin and Hr. Jarl Hjalmarson, but some of the Conservative gains were rather marginal and might not be maintained at the next election. Hr. Tage Erlander, the Prime Minister, and his Social Democratic Party, were anxious to continue the coalition, but the Agrarian Party was divided on the issue and the Social Democrats had to make far-reaching concessions to obtain their continued collaboration, e.g. the establishment of a loan fund of Kr. 50 million to assist farmers. Nevertheless the coalition remained uneasy and in December the Government narrowly escaped defeat owing to opposition by some

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of the Agrarian members. The Government's weakness undoubtedly lay in their coalition with the Agrarians; the Social Democrats themselves remained by far the largest party in both houses of the *Riksdag* and continued to be strongly supported in the country. Thus, during the wage negotiations, laudable restraint was shown by both employers and employed and for the first time in trade union history individual unions yielded their negotiating rights to their central association and co-ordinated negotiations between employers and employed took place. They led in February to an agreement which involved an average increase of only 4 per cent. for all wage and salary earners or a total of Kr. 1,200 million for the entire labour market.

The visit of H.M. Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh in June was the occasion for much rejoicing among the Swedish people. On 9 June an Anglo-Swedish agreement on reciprocal social services was signed. The Suez crisis and events in Hungary gave cause for most lively concern. Anglo-French intervention was regretted as contrary to the rules and the spirit of the United Nations, but the readiness of the two Powers to comply with the U.N. demand to to withdraw their troops was welcomed with relief. The Government had already agreed to join the Canal Users' Association and now they consented to send a detachment of volunteers to join the international police force in Suez. Russian intervention in Hungary was violently condemned and gave rise to country-wide demonstrations in sympathy with the Hungarians. By the end of November relief for Hungary, including State grants, had reached a total of approximately Kr. 20 million and about 4,000 Hungarians had found refuge in Sweden.

Following the discovery of an espionage organization in 1955 in which the Soviet Embassy in Stockholm was involved, great bitterness was aroused when another case of espionage was discovered in the autumn of 1956 in which once again a member of the Soviet Embassy was implicated; the Soviet Government rejected Swedish protests as 'unfounded' but nevertheless, on 12 December, a change of Soviet Ambassador to Stockholm was announced which caused general satisfaction in Sweden.

To save fuel oil all private motoring at week-ends was prohibited from 18 November and oil supplies for householders and industry cut by from 30 to 40 per cent.

The working budget for the fiscal year 1957-58 was estimated at a total revenue of Kr. 11,883 million as compared with an estimated Kr.11,107 million for 1956-57. The defence budget for 1957-58 totalled Kr. 2,468 million or Kr. 397 million more than that for 1956-57.

FINLAND

For the Finnish people the year started happily, for on 26 January Finnish troops entered the evacuated area of Porkkala and hoisted the Finnish flag. Since then, on 1 December, a Soviet-Finnish agreement of 12 October came into force, under which Finland may transport

goods across Karelian territory, thus avoiding the detour which had been necessary since that territory was annexed by the U.S.S.R. On 14 December 1955 Finland had become a member of the United Nations. She took her place at the General Assembly on the Suez crisis in November and authorized her representative, Hr. Gripenberg, to offer a detachment of troops for the international force in Egypt; about 300 volunteers left for Suez in December. Finnish sympathy with the victims of Russian intervention in Hungary was general and contributions for their relief were generous, but the official attitude to events in both Suez and Hungary was extremely cautious owing to the country's delicate political position.

On 1 March President Juho Paasikivi's term of office came to an end. On 15 February Dr. Urho Kekkonen, the Agrarian Prime Minister, was elected as his successor by a minimum possible majority of two votes, his nearest rival being Hr. Karl-August Fagerholm. On 17 February Hr. Fagerholm formed a cabinet, again of Social Democrats and Agrarians, with one member each from the Finnish and the Swedish People's Parties. Hr. Ralf Törngren, member of the latter party, was appointed Foreign Minister. The formation of the Cabinet coincided with a general strike, 200,000 trade union members coming out on 1 March to support their unions' demand for a 5 per cent. wage increase. The strike paralyzed all factories, transport, postal and telegraph services, with the exception of public utilities. On 20 March an agreement was reached which granted all workers an average wage increase of 10 per cent., employers being compensated by certain tax concessions. The labour situation remained uneasy, however, and when in October the Government reduced—and in some cases entirely abolished—subsidies on certain consumer goods, with a consequent rise in the already high cost of living by another 4·5 points, new wage demands were made, although the Prime Minister in a broadcast explained that the savings derived from these measures were essential for use in counteracting threatening unemployment. On 7 November the Employers Federation rejected the demands on the grounds that they could not afford any increase and that, moreover, industry was not to blame for the rising cost of living since the general index of wholesale prices had risen only by 3·3 per cent. since 1951 while the level of wages had risen by 28 per cent. On 27 November the official mediator resigned because 'there was no basis for an agreement on wages' and since then the workers representative committee has been authorized to demand full compensation to ensure that the standard of living laid down in the agreement concluded in the spring is maintained.

On 25 October Hr. Risto Ryti, President of Finland during the latter stages of the war and later sentenced as a war criminal, died and was given a State funeral. On 15 December the whole nation was plunged into mourning by the sudden death of President Paasikivi.

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CHAPTER VI

CZECHOSLOVAKIA—AUSTRIA—HUNGARY—RUMANIA—YUGOSLAVIA —BULGARIA—GREECE—TURKEY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THIS was a year in which the Communist Party leadership stood its ground, on the whole, against criticism of unprecedented boldness. There was some further relaxation of the strict control which characterized the Stalinist period.

'There is no branch of the economy', said Prime Minister Široký at the Communist Party conference of June, 'in which the tasks of the Five-year Plan have not been directly based on the sixth Five-year Plan' of the Soviet Union. President Zápotocký emphasized that consumer goods would continue to take second place to heavy industry. The first six months of the plan brought a 2 per cent. overfulfilment, with 10 per cent. more coal mined than in the first half of 1955. Fuel continued to be short, however, and *Rudé Právo* of 18 September said that 12,000 more miners were needed. Construction of power stations was also behind schedule, and the motor industry was backward. One atomic power station would be working by 1960, and a series by 1965, thanks to Soviet help.

Encouragement of small and medium farmers still accompanied a drive for more co-operatives. Small farms, said *Rudé Právo* on 23 May, 'cover most of our land', while a Prague broadcast in June revealed that three-quarters of all farmers did not belong to co-operatives and that 8 to 12 per cent. of produce came from so-called *kulaks*. The number of agricultural co-operatives had increased since June 1955 by 1,320, covering 273,000 hectares and involving 68,620 members. *Rudé Právo* complained on 20 July that most members of co-operatives were elderly. *Kulaks* remained a problem, according to a Bratislava broadcast of 2 December, but should not be looked upon either as a class to be liquidated wholesale or as model farmers. 'We must not succumb to various liberal moods which hostile propaganda is trying to re-awaken', added the speaker significantly, 'or see in every *kulak* a person devoted to our régime.'

'We shall achieve a seven-hour day', said *Rudé Právo* on 9 March, 'when we can produce in those seven hours what we now produce in eight.' This reform could be introduced gradually, the Party announced, during the second half of the Five-year Plan. From 1 October the working week was reduced to 46 hours without loss of wages. Modifications in social insurance were also approved: two-thirds of all employees would qualify for sick benefit of up to 90 per cent. of net wages, and old age pensions would range from 50 to 90 per cent. of gross earnings. But only employees who had been with the same enterprise for ten years would get the maximum sick benefit, and absentees would be penalized on family allowances and in other ways.

Building workers, teachers, and doctors were among those whose pay was increased in April. M. F. Zupka, chairman of the Trade Union Council, spoke in November of a proposed new labour code, providing for paid overtime exceptionally, and especially concerned with absenteeism and the stability of enterprise staffs.

Although the Deputy Mayor of Prague spoke in June of food shortages, more was on sale than in previous years. Prices and incomes were such, however, that most families spent nine-tenths of their income on food alone. There were three price-cuts, affecting, among other things, footwear and textiles, foodstuffs, and radios. Food was bought up in considerable amounts during the Hungarian rebellion.

Trade or financial pacts were signed with Japan, China, Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Egypt, Jordan, and the Lebanon, and an arms agreement with Syria. Arms were also offered to the Sudan. Trade was developed with Western countries too, especially Yugoslavia, Austria, Holland, and West Germany, and an agreement was signed with Britain in October. Relations with countries outside the Soviet orbit were in general strengthened. Many foreign visitors were admitted, particularly from Germany and Austria, countries with which, according to President Zápotocký speaking at the New Year, it was important to be friendly. In August the West German Red Cross announced an oral agreement for the emigration from Czechoslovakia of up to 160,000 ethnic Germans. On 1 August Lord John Hope, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said that 18 British-born wives had obtained permission to visit the United Kingdom that year, but that others had been refused. Several Western news correspondents were allowed in Prague, more films made in the West were shown, and an agreement was made with the B.B.C. on the exchange of television films. Radio jamming continued, and letters sent abroad still had to bear the sender's name and address. Protests were made by Czechoslovakia against leaflet balloons and by Austria against border violations. There was some stiffening of official relations with the West after the Hungarian rising, condemned as 'fascist', and on 11 December the U.S.A. protested at police interference with visitors to its Prague Embassy.

Opposition was increasingly manifest at home. Addressing the Party conference on 13 June, Vice-Premier Kopecký (who said that the Party line was always correct) recalled 'the passionate transports of liberalism' witnessed at the Writers Congress in April, when the resignation of the Government and of the Party Central Committee had been asked for. Equally outspoken were the student protests of May when processions held in Prague, Bratislava, and other cities showed banners and tableaux sharply critical of the régime. Resolutions were passed demanding, *inter alia*, a free press and Parliament, freedom of travel, an end to jamming of broadcasts, better hostel accommodation and scholarships, the revival of the Sokol organization, and the reduction of Marxist-Leninist teaching. The students also suggested that the Soviet flag should no longer be regularly flown nor the Soviet national anthem played, and asked who owned the uranium

mines and why there was only one active party. M. Kopecký rejected such demands as 'bourgeois-liberal', and regretted that university staffs had not used their authority to back the Party's ideas. According to M. Frantizek Kahuda, Minister of Education, speaking on 26 June, only 42·5 per cent. of students were the children of workers, or of small or medium farmers; this proportion must be increased. Lectures would be reduced in number, but Marxist instruction would remain. On 27 October, according to a Czech refugee, students demonstrated their sympathy with the Hungarians by wearing black ties. 'Nobody may express an anti-Soviet attitude openly and publicly', said Slovak *Praca* on 23 November.

Arrests and trials reflected opposition too. *Jihočeská Pravda* reported in April that a *kulak* had been sentenced for distributing leaflets and writing to a friend abroad. There were several trials for black marketeering, sabotage, and (especially towards the end of the year) espionage. Spies were smuggled in among tourists, said *Rudé Právo* on 5 October. A number of Czechs were re-captured or killed at the frontier while trying to escape. Refugees included the conductor of the Prague National Theatre Opera.

The new Party line which emerged at the Soviet Communist Party Congress occasioned some readjustment. Following M. Mikoyan's reference to the 1948 *coup* in Czechoslovakia as a revolution brought about constitutionally, commentators stressed that 'elastic use' of Parliament had been made at that time, but that 'reformism' was not therefore to be espoused. Exposure of the 'cult of personality' involved mild criticism of the late President Gottwald and the dismissal of his son-in-law, General Alexei Čepička, as Vice-Premier and Minister of Defence. Rehabilitations presented a more difficult problem and, in spite of the Polish example of M. Gomulka, it was decided that M. Slánský, M. Clementis, and others (see A.R. 1952, p. 253) had been justly accused, except of Titoism, and were indeed guilty of still other crimes. 'It was Slánský, in co-operation with Šváb and Taussigová', said *Rudé Právo* of 12 March, 'who introduced the violation of socialist law into the organs of security and justice', so that many of the confessions made were false. On 11 May M. Široký linked M. Slánský's alleged activities with Beria's, and justified the condemnation of MM. Clementis, Husák, and Novomeský (see A.R. 1954, p. 242). At the Party conference M. R. Barák, Minister of the Interior, said that Slánský had given instructions 'that a Czechoslovak Rajk be found'. M. Novotný added that the Field brothers and Zilliacus took no part in M. Slánský's crimes, which also included allowing property to be transferred abroad. MM. A. London and V. Hajdu, two of the three defendants in the Slánský trial who were not executed, were said to have been arrested on M. Slánský's orders, and were set free. There were many other releases and rehabilitations, as well as releases without rehabilitation, such as those of M. Novomeský and M. Husák, who had 'sabotaged food supplies', and Mme. Švermová, the 'educational purpose' of whose imprisonment was said to have been achieved.

Novotný referred to voices, mainly those of students, intellectuals, and civil servants, which had demanded liberty for 'anti-socialist propaganda' and even a return to 'pre-February conditions'. Party branches, chiefly in Prague, had wanted an extraordinary Party congress convened. Unfortunately workers formed only 36·3 per cent. of the Party membership, and peasants only 7·3 per cent. Attendance at branch meetings was poor, said *Rudé Právo* on 19 July. In September a large Party Control Commission, under M. J. Haruš, was appointed.

The Party conference decided also upon decentralization. Authority would be gradually transferred to Ministers and even managers of enterprises, the Slovak National Council would be empowered to appoint and recall the Board of Commissioners and would have more legislative authority, and National Committees would be able to take final decisions on education, agriculture, and health. A number of Ministries were combined, and a ministerial re-shuffle took place involving, among others, Dr. Václav Škoda (formerly a Vice-Premier), who succeeded Dr. Jan Bartuška as Minister of Justice. The latter replaced M. Václav Aleš (assistant prosecutor at the Slánský trial) as State Prosecutor. On 2 August the Slovak National Council elected a new Presidium, with M. F. Kubáč as chairman, and asked M. R. Strechaj to appoint a new Board of Commissioners; apart from mergers, membership was as before.

Emphasis was laid, particularly during the latter part of the year, on the importance of 'socialist legality'. A housing law in preparation forbade the eviction of people from their homes on account of old age or political unreliability. Amendments to the penal code empowered the courts not to sentence minor offenders and to reduce certain terms of imprisonment. Life imprisonment was replaced by a 25-year sentence, the alternative to capital punishment. A home radio report of 17 July said examining magistrates would help the courts to distinguish between 'workers and class enemies'.

Student protests apart there were few events of special interest in the educational world. According to the Minister of Education, speaking in August, 40 per cent. of the children who had completed the eight-year school course would go on to secondary education, and the management of schools was to be decentralized. In November the Slovak Commissioner for Education declared that more workers must study Russian, 'the language of unity and co-operation in the socialist camp'.

Policy on religious matters remained much the same as before, the importance of atheistic propaganda being stressed and its lack of success admitted. *Naše Pravda*, Gottwaldov, declared on 24 August: 'Places of pilgrimage still draw the faithful. To the most important of these, Hostýn, 40,000 people make the pilgrimage every year, and Hostýn is only one of many such places. . . . We must devote more attention to the atheistic instruction of our teachers.' Bratislava *Pravda* explained on 16 November that a citizen could belong to any sect which did not harm the State, as the Adventists did in failing to plan

pig-breeding, or the Baptists in refusing military service. But religion was a citizen's own affair only *vis-à-vis* the State, and not *vis-à-vis* the Party, which 'cannot tolerate any ideological non-uniformity or "freedom" of thought which would weaken its power'. Two prominent ecclesiastics, Bishop Vojtášek and Mgr. Buzalka, were released from prison because of age, and Mgr. Pobožný, having sworn the State oath of allegiance, would, it was said, be reinstated as Bishop of Rožnava. Archbishop Beran's whereabouts remained publicly unknown.

The armed forces were cut by another 10,000 men, and from 1 November army leave was reduced to 5-8 days annually, in order, said *Rudé Právo* of 10 November, 'to increase the fighting preparedness of the People's Army, whose importance has been confirmed by the events in Hungary'.

'All talk about so-called national Communism conflicts with Marxism-Leninism,' said a joint statement issued by the East German and Czechslovak Communist Parties on 20 December. From Christmas Day, nevertheless, the Soviet national anthem no longer concluded daily broadcasting.

AUSTRIA

New elections in May and a slight change in the composition of the Government set Austria on a rather more Right-wing course during the latter half of the year, although the coalition of People's Party and Socialists (representing the vast majority of the electorate) remained. No General Election was due until the spring of 1957, but fundamental difference between the two large parties over such questions as the nationalization of civil aviation and of the oil and other industries which had been returned to Austrian ownership under the terms of the State Treaty reached such proportions in the spring of 1956 that the Government had practically ceased to function. Elections were therefore held on 13 May, with the following results:

	Seats in the Lower House ('Nationalrat')	
	1956	(1953)
People's Party	82	(74)
Socialists	74	(73)
Freedom Party	6	(14)
Communists	3	(4)

Whereas the Socialists were able to maintain and even increase their vote slightly (except in Vienna, where they suffered from their unpopular action in increasing tram fares), their championship of further nationalization prevented them from picking up any votes from the crumbling Freedom Party, and the conservative People's Party emerged as the victors.

The new Government took office on 29 June. Apart from the creation of a new Ministry of Defence under Herr Ferdinand Graf

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(People's Party) there were few personnel changes. But the former Minister for Transport and Nationalized Industries, Herr Karl Waldbrunner (Socialist), was shorn of his control over nationalized industries, except for electric power, and these were placed under the direct control of the Cabinet. In this way it was hoped to give effect to the People's Party electoral programme of reducing the extent of nationalization in favour of a certain degree of private ownership in the form of ' people's shares ', which would be made available in small units at reduced rates of taxation. The party also hoped, by making over the profits of the nationalized industries to the State instead of ploughing them back, to achieve a 20 per cent. reduction in the wage and income tax. This desirable object, which was an undoubted vote-catcher, had later to be postponed to the beginning of 1958.

The struggle to preserve financial stability continued throughout the year. Austria was in 1956 faced with extra expenditure, in particular on reparations payments to the Soviet Union and on raising and equipping an army, at a time when the rate of economic expansion was slowing down. Whereas the gross national product increased by 11 per cent. in 1955, the increase was estimated at less than 4 per cent. in 1956. The Minister of Finance explained, when introducing his Budget proposals in Parliament on 26 October, that economic capacity and labour reserves were exhausted, and further economic expansion was possible only through increased investment and improved methods of production. The Budget itself was intended as a check to inflation. Departmental estimates were drastically cut (as a result of which the Minister of Trade, Herr Udo Illig, resigned), and the unusual device was adopted of dividing the Budget into two sections—an ordinary Budget of some sch. 32 milliard and a Supplementary Budget of just under 2 milliard, expenditure under the latter head to be deferred until sufficient surplus revenues accrued—possibly in the autumn of 1957.

There were some labour troubles during the year. In June there was a short strike of workers in the Lower Austrian oil-fields, as a result of Communist agitation over the introduction of German drilling equipment and experts into the area. In the autumn there were various strikes in support of wage demands, and civil servants threatened to strike if their promised salary increases were deferred from January to July 1957, as the Minister of Finance intended. The Government were forced to give way on this point, but instead of burdening the Budget with the extra expenditure it was decided to cover it by converting 40 per cent. of the share capital in two of the large State banks into ' people's shares '.

A heartening feature of the economic situation, however, was the great improvement in the balance of payments for the third quarter of 1956 in comparison with the same period of 1955. An improvement in the balance of trade, combined with a record tourist season and an increase in the supply of foreign capital brought about a surplus of 979 million schillings as against a deficit of 263 million.

A modest start was made with the formation of the new Austrian army. The first recruits were called up in October, and there were

24,000 men on active service by the end of the year, when in view of the recent Hungarian experiences, the formation of frontier defence companies was being urgently considered.

In the domain of foreign affairs Austria was able to strengthen her links with the Western world by becoming a member of the Council of Europe on 16 April. There had been some timidity over applying for membership for fear of offending the Soviet Union, but the view that there was no contradiction between neutrality and international and inter-parliamentary co-operation in the non-military field finally prevailed. A sharp measure against external Communist influence was taken in February when the Minister of the Interior effected the dissolution of the World Federation of Trade Unions' headquarters in Vienna. This organization had transferred itself to Vienna in 1951 under Soviet protection and its activities had been a perpetual source of irritation to the Austrian Government.

The South Tyrol question continued to rankle throughout the year. There was some disappointment in Austria that Dr. Leopold Figl, the Foreign Minister, did not use the opportunity of his visit to Rome in March for the Pope's eightieth birthday to take a firm stand on Italian implementation of the Gruber-de Gasperi Agreement. Austrian resentment flared up in August and September, when numerous incidents affecting the rights of the German-speaking minority in the South Tyrol were reported, and the Austrian Ambassador in Rome and his colleague in Milan were recalled to Vienna to report on the situation. Despite an ill-considered demonstration by extremists in Vienna in October the situation had, however, quietened down by the end of the year, the Austrian Government having submitted a memorandum on its grievances to the Italian Government.

Relations with Federal Germany continued to improve throughout the year. The Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Julius Raab, paid an official visit to Bonn in October, where he received a warm welcome from Dr. Adenauer, who once again expressed Germany's determination to respect Austria's independence, neutrality, and sovereignty. Further progress was made on the various Austro-German property questions arising out of the State Treaty, and a formal agreement on the subject is expected early in the New Year. It was decided that a formal cultural agreement between the two countries was unnecessary in view of the high level of existing cultural exchanges.

But all other foreign affairs were completely overshadowed in the autumn by the events in Hungary, and the very deep Austrian sympathy for the Hungarian patriots was quickly translated into practical help. Flight into Austria had been miraculously facilitated by the removal of barriers and minefields along the Hungarian side of the frontier some weeks earlier, and the Austrian authorities coped with the refugee stream with commendable energy, as well as sending medical supplies, blood, and food into Hungary through the Austrian Red Cross as long as the frontier remained open. By the middle of December some 140,000 Hungarian refugees had entered Austria, of whom about 65,000 had been transported to other countries under the

auspices of the Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration. On 21 December the Vice-President of the U.S.A. arrived in Vienna to discuss means of further alleviation with the Austrian Government.

Both directly with the Soviet Government and in the forum of the United Nations Austria pressed the case for the restoration of normal conditions in Hungary. In return she was accused by Moscow and the loyal satellites of violating her neutrality, and libellous charges were made that she had allowed weapons and para-military units to be infiltrated across the frontier under cover of Red Cross convoys. On 6 November, repudiating these statements, a State Department spokesman declared that the violation of the territorial neutrality or the internal sovereignty of Austria would be regarded by the United States as a grave threat to peace.

HUNGARY

Events in Hungary in 1956 moved in a gradually increasing accelerando. The year opened on a note of moderate and managed de-Stalinization of policy, obediently carried through by an unchanged team of Stalinists. The errors of the cult of personality were dutifully, although unemphatically, explained by M. Rákosi on 11 March to the Central Committee of the Workers' Party. A large number of political prisoners, mainly but not entirely ex-Social Democrats, were released and some victims for whom the change came too late, including M. Laszlo Rajk, were given ceremonious posthumous 'rehabilitation'. The press and writers were allowed considerably increased freedom to criticize the bureaucracy.

On the other hand none of the leaders of Hungary were dismissed, except General Mihály Farkas, who was made scapegoat for his colleagues in connexion with the Rajk trial. Posthumous rehabilitations included not only 'national' Communists, but Béla Kun, Hungary's most un-national Bolshevik boss of 1919, and his terrorist-in-chief, Szamuély. Some 60 'intellectuals' who took their freedom too freely were austerely censured. The Budget, introduced on 9 February by M. Olt, continued to lay chief emphasis on the development of heavy industry, and the collectivization of agriculture was pressed on unabated. The second Five-year Plan, of which a draft was issued on 27 April, was on the same lines, with especial priority given to the 'exploration and exploitation' of local raw materials and sources of power, these including Hungary's newly-discovered uranium deposits, the produce of which (as everyone knew) was going to Russia.

In June the pace quickened. On 27 June the 'Petöfi Circle', a group of leading intellectuals and writers which had been formed, originally as a secret coterie, two years previously, came out into the open and held a tumultuous meeting in which very strong attacks were made on the régime in general, and on M. Rákosi in particular. These attacks were pointedly reported in the Yugoslav press. MM. Rákosi and Gerö were summoned to Moscow, and on their return Rákosi, on

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18 July, handed in his resignation as First Secretary of the Hungarian Workers' Party, appealing to his advancing years and failing health, but also confessing that he had erred in the fields of cult of personality and violation of socialist legality. Several further changes were made in the Government, the Politbureau, and the Party Secretariat. Parliament was convoked on 30 July and was promised many reforms: a legal and penal system approximating more nearly to the normal conception of justice, a further amnesty, elections by constituencies (although still only on a single list), more serious consultation of Parliament, greater autonomy for local authorities, fewer forced deductions from workers' pay. Some of these reforms were actually introduced by enactment.

These moves, however, represented no real concession to Hungarian opinion or conditions. M. Rákosi had simply been sacrificed to the personal spite of Marshal Tito, with whom the changes in personnel had been agreed. It was probably also to please Marshal Tito that M. György Marosan, a renegade Social Democrat, and M. J. Kádár, who had been imprisoned by M. Rákosi for his alleged national and Titoist sympathies, were brought into the Politbureau. But the effect of this was balanced by the inclusion with them of M. J. Révai, for several years after 1945 the Party publicist in chief and, above all, by the choice of M. Gerö as successor to M. Rákosi in the Party Secretariat. For M. Gerö was at least as orthodox a Muscovite as M. Rákosi and, fundamentally being much the more intelligent man of the two, a more important one. As to policy, M. Gerö stated emphatically that there were to be no concessions on matters of principle, and none to M. Imre Nagy and his following.

Such soothing effects as the changes might have exercised were in any case soon wiped out by the advent of a series of economic misfortunes. The harvest turned out to be catastrophic: wheat and rye were 20 per cent. below even the poor figures of 1955 (and then Hungary had had to import bread-grains), while fodder crops were even worse; and a bad maize harvest in Hungary always necessitates reducing the live-stock population. For some of these failures bad weather was to blame, but faulty planning had also played its part: for years the land had been starved of fertilizers, natural and artificial. Poland defaulted on her deliveries of coal, and there was no hard currency available to make up the shortage from Western Europe. One important oil-field was found to be water-logged, while the output of others was falling. The miners were asked to work overtime, but in September 600 passenger trains, besides many buses, had to be taken off for three weeks.

For all this public opinion blamed Russia and its agents. It was known that despite the home shortage, Hungary was still exporting foodstuffs to Russia. The shortage of hard currency was due to the over-centralization of foreign trade on Russia and her satellites. The over-exploitation and the faulty maintenance of the oil-fields and the coal-mines were Russia's doing. Russia's action in appropriating for herself the produce of the uranium mines was bitterly resented. In

face of all this, the announcement that Russia was 'helping' with 100,000 tons of oil and a small loan in raw materials and hard currency did nothing to mitigate the resentment.

This grew vocal in September. The Trades Union Congress, meeting on 10-11 September, demanded a radical revision of the wage system and genuine participation by the workers' own representatives in the conduct of industry. The peasants sabotaged deliveries. The Writers' Congress, on 17 September, elected outspoken critics of the régime as its officers.

The Soviets' chief concern was, apparently, still to reconcile Marshal Tito with the continued rule of their own agents in Hungary. At the end of September and the beginning of October meetings took place in Russia between MM. Gerö, Kádár, and Hidás for Hungary, MM. Mikoyan and Suslov for Russia, and Marshal Tito. The bodies of Rajk and the other victims of the 1949 trial were now exhumed and given a grand State funeral on 6 October, and General Farkas and his son were arrested. On 14 October M. Nagy was re-admitted to the Workers' Party, and on the same day, M. Gerö, with two of his lieutenants, set off for Belgrade, where they in fact obtained from Marshal Tito a pact of mutual non-intervention, as between the Communist Parties of the two countries.

During their absence the students of Hungary decided to hold a great meeting in Budapest. The delegates preparing it drew up 16 demands, to be published as their programme for a new Hungary. These were: Soviet troops to leave the country; publication of secret commercial agreements and military obligations; denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty and neutralization of Hungary on the Austrian model; relations with the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia to be on a basis of equality and mutual non-interference; a new provisional Government, under M. Nagy, should at once proceed to free elections in which the parties of the 1945 coalition should participate; M. Rákosi and his followers to be called to account or removed from their posts; freedom of press and instruction; independent courts of justice; free optional religious instruction; free communication with the West; restoration of Hungarian national emblems, uniforms, etc., and removal of Soviet emblems; the uranium mines to be under Hungarian management; right of strike for the workers; revision of norms and wages; cessation of forced deliveries and collectivization on the land; complete solidarity with the Polish national movement.

It was decided to stage a great demonstration of sympathy with Poland on 23 October, and to make this the occasion to present the programme to the public. It was run off in leaflet form and widely distributed on the previous night, and great crowds attended the demonstration, at which the students' demands, and similar ones from the Writers' Union, were read out. Part of the crowd then flocked to Parliament Square to shout for M. Nagy, who eventually came out and urged the crowd to trust in him; others set themselves to demolishing, with relish, the giant statue of Stalin; others again flocked to the wireless station to demand that their programme be broadcast.

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Instead they heard a truculent speech from M. Gerö, denouncing the demonstrators as 'Fascists'. The A.V.O. (State Security) guard on the studios tried to disperse the crowd with tear bombs, but a delegation forced its way into the building with the 'Points'. At this point the tragedy occurred: an A.V.O. officer shot and killed one of the delegates, and later live shots were fired into the crowd. Workmen from the Csepel munitions factories and soldiers, who were called to disperse the demonstrators but, instead, fraternized with them, distributed arms among the crowd, who thus found themselves transformed by the authorities' own action, and quite contrary to their own original intention, from peaceful, if rowdy, demonstrators into armed revolutionaries.

Early next morning it was announced that M. Nagy had been appointed Minister President and some 'national' Communists taken into the Party Committee and Secretariat and the Politbureau; but the effect of the announcement was spoiled by the retention of M. Hegedüs as Deputy Minister President, by an explicit statement that M. Gerö's position as First Secretary of the Workers' Party was 'reaffirmed and strengthened', and by the appearance in Budapest of Soviet tanks, summoned, as he afterwards admitted, by M. Hegedüs. Thus appeals to the 'insurgents' from M. Nagy, Archbishop Grösz, and M. Zoltan Tildy and M. Szakasits, the Smallholder and Socialist ex-Presidents of Hungary, to lay down their arms, were ignored, and the last hope of peace was destroyed next morning when A.V.O. men and Soviet tanks fired on a large, unarmed crowd in the Parliament Square. The insurgents, their numbers swollen by many new elements, including many units of the army and civilian police, resisted the Soviet forces vigorously, and fully held their own in many quarters of the capital. Meanwhile the revolt had spread to the provinces, where local committees, shouldering the bureaucracy aside, took charge in almost every town and village. As the Soviet troops outside Budapest remained, with few exceptions, neutral, little resistance came except from the A.V.O., which in places fired on the crowds. These were in turn hunted down and lynched, and within two or three days the Revolutionary Committees were in charge almost everywhere.

The villages seem quietly to have dissolved most of their local *kolkhoz* and then returned to work. The larger centres, among which Györ took the lead, drew up lists of demands, which were transmitted to the Government. As the revolution had been wholly unpremeditated, these were unco-ordinated, but remarkably uniform. Almost every centre demanded, besides the remedy of obvious economic grievances, the disbandment of the A.V.O., the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, the denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty, and free elections for a genuinely democratic government.

The Government gave way step by step. On 24 October M. Gerö was replaced by M. János Kádár. On the following day M. Nagy, besides promising extensive internal reforms, said that he would open negotiations with the Soviet Union on the whole complex of Hungaro-Soviet relations, including in particular the evacuation of Hungary by

the Soviet troops. The troops in Budapest would withdraw as soon as order had been restored. On 27 October M. Nagy added three members of the Smallholders' Party to the Government, although the large majority of the members of that body still belonged to the Workers' Party. On 28 October M. Nagy announced that the Soviet Government had agreed to withdraw their troops from Budapest as soon as the new Hungarian army had been formed, and to negotiate on the complete evacuation of Hungary, and at 4 p.m. on the 30th it was officially announced that the evacuation of the capital had began an hour earlier. The same day Nagy promised a return to the form of coalition government, and announced the formation of an Inner Cabinet of National Communists, Social Democrats, Smallholders, and National Peasants. The Smallholders, Social Democrats, and National Peasants began to reorganize (the last-named as the 'Petöfi Party') under uncompromised leadership. They were followed by the Catholic People's Party and a Catholic Alliance. The Communist Party was reported to be dwindling rapidly. Cardinal Mindszenty was released from his place of internment and brought in triumph to Buda. Political prisoners were released. A Central Defence Committee was formed. On 31 October Budapest was really clear of Soviet troops. On 1 November M. Nagy formed a genuine coalition Government, consisting of three National Communists, three Social Democrats, two Smallholders, a Petöfist, and Colonel Maleter, who had emerged as the *spiritus rector* of the freedom fighters, in charge of Defence. M. Nagy then cabled to the United Nations announcing Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty and asking for her recognition as a neutral State, under the joint protection of the great Powers. A notification in similar terms was conveyed to the Soviet Government.

The Soviet leaders, however, were not going to allow Hungary thus to slip from their grasp. On 30 October Soviet reinforcements began entering north-eastern Hungary in large numbers, and fanned out over the country. Some of these came from deep in the Ukraine, and must therefore have started from their bases several days before. Other units which had been reported as leaving the country were found to have done so only to refuel (the Hungarians having immobilized their own stocks of oil) and return. The Hungarian Government protested both to the United Nations and to the Soviet Government against these movements, and demanded the complete evacuation of the country, which it now declared to be neutral. The Soviets, returning evasive answers, continued their movements, until by the night of 3-4 November they were in position, surrounding the main industrial and military centres in the country. At 4 a.m. on the 4th they attacked their objectives simultaneously, catching the Hungarians unawares. Four hours later, Soviet tanks had reached the Parliament in Pest, where the Government had assembled. M. Nagy took refuge in the Yugoslav Legation, and Cardinal Mindszenty, who had been with him, in the American Legation. Colonel Maleter, who had actually gone to discuss the withdrawal of the Soviet troops with their commanders, never returned from his mission.

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M. Kádár, whose defection at this point came as a surprise and shock to many, and the leading Stalinist Communists left in Hungary (M. Gerö and some others had disappeared) had evidently been in the secret, for the attack had hardly opened when M. Ferencz Munnich, a well-known Communist, broadcast from a Soviet-controlled station, probably in Szolnok, announcing the formation of a new 'revolutionary peasant-worker Government'. An hour later, M. Kádár spoke on the same wireless, announcing the composition of the Government to be himself (Minister President), M. Munnich (Interior and Defence), M. Imre Horváth (Foreign Affairs), M. Istvan Kossa (Finance), M. Antal Apró (Industry), M. Imre Dögei (Agriculture), M. Sándor Rónai (Trade), M. György Marosan (without portfolio). All of these were Communists, although M. Marosan had begun as a Social Democrat.

M. Kádár said that 'reactionary forces' had gained the upper hand in the revolution, destroying its original intentions, which had been good, and it had been necessary to call in Soviet troops to help restore peace and order and to prevent the return of the landowners and capitalists. When these tasks were accomplished, he would open negotiations with the U.S.S.R. and the other members of the Warsaw Treaty on the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Hungary. He thus implicitly (and later, explicitly) repudiated Hungary's denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty, nor did he offer coalition government or free elections, but he dissociated his programme emphatically from that of the 'Rákosi-Gerö clique' and promised internal reforms in various fields.

The country, naturally, saw only that the hated Soviet tyranny had returned. The fighting which followed the treacherous Russian *coup* was on a scale and of an intensity far exceeding that of the preceding week. The Soviets employed heavy artillery and bombers, and their troops, many of whom were Asians, used their arms ruthlessly and indiscriminately. The Hungarian freedom fighters, most of whom were of young or even of tender age, fought back with the reckless courage of fury and despair, while the workers and miners backed the combatants by a general strike of extraordinary completeness. This time, moreover, the struggle was not confined to Budapest, raging fully as fiercely in the main provincial industrial centres, such as Györ and Dunapentele (under the alias of Sztalinváros the pride of the Rákosi régime), and the mining towns as in the capital itself. Further bitterness was injected into it when the Soviets, in the areas in which they gained the upper hand, took to rounding up and deporting eastward persons known or presumed to have taken part in the fighting. Survivors whose ammunition was exhausted took to flight when this became known. They were followed by many others to whom further life under the Soviets seemed intolerable. As the frontier with Austria was, by a coincidence, physically open for the first time since 1945 and further, for a while, almost unguarded, a great flood of refugees poured across it. By the end of the year some 153,000 persons had thus sought safety, and many thousands, after being given ready assistance in Austria, found haven in countries of Western Europe and overseas.

The back of the Hungarian resistance was broken after about ten days, although sporadic fighting went on long after that, considerable bands having taken to the hills, whence they continued to harass the Soviets' communications. In places they were allegedly reinforced by considerable numbers of Soviet deserters. Meanwhile the population at large stubbornly refused to recognize any authority as binding on it except that of the various Councils established after 24 October. Among these the lead naturally fell to the Central Workers' Council of Budapest, which many local and vocational bodies explicitly recognized as their authorized spokesman ; above all, the strikers took their orders from it. From 12 November onward, protracted negotiations were conducted between this body and M. Kádár. The Council at first put its price for calling off the general strike very high, demanding the enactment of all reforms promised by M. Nagy up to 3 November plus the reinstatement of M. Nagy himself and the release of Colonel Maleter. The standpoint of M. Kádár who, of course, was bound, willy-nilly, by instructions from Moscow, was that the Soviet troops could not be withdrawn so long as 'disorder' prevailed, and that the Warsaw Treaty was intangible ; but that he would negotiate for the total withdrawal of the troops, within the framework of the Treaty, as soon as 'order' was restored ; meanwhile, the internal reforms demanded by the Council were, on the whole, acceptable. On this basis the Council voted, on 17 November, to recommend the resumption of work, but this was by no means the end of the crisis. The order itself was only very partially obeyed, many of the workers refusing to return before the Soviet troops were withdrawn, and a fresh crisis arose on 22 November when M. Nagy, on leaving the Yugoslav Legation under a safe-conduct, was kidnapped and abducted to an unspecified destination, reported to be Sinaia, in Rumania. The guerilla warfare too, went on, and repeated incidents and demonstrations, including a mass demonstration by the women of Budapest on 4 December, showed that the defiant spirit of the people was in no way abated.

On 8 December the Soviets arrested many leading members of the Councils throughout Hungary. The Councils thereupon again called a 48 hour general strike ; the Government replied by proclaiming martial law and dissolving all Workers' Councils above the factory level. This was followed by mass arrests, and a number of persons were summarily executed for possession of arms.

By this time the nation's hopes of foreign help had faded in view of Marshal Tito's passivity, the helplessness of the United Nations, and the ambiguous attitude of its Afro-Asian members. A gradual drift back to work had begun, but even men willing to work were often unable to do so ; machines had been destroyed by shell-fire or wrecking, mines blown in or flooded, fuel and power were in short supply. Moreover, about half of all Hungary's miners and a high proportion of her younger skilled workers were casualties or refugees.

Meanwhile M. Kádár had repeatedly re-affirmed his own repudiation of the 'Rákosi-Gerö system' and his will to introduce internal reforms. Several important concessions had, in fact, been made. A decree of

21 November introduced a large measure of workers' control in industry and mining. On 3 December the compulsory deliveries of farm produce were abolished and the farmers were solemnly promised that they would be subjected to no more compulsion, direct or indirect, to enter collectivized enterprises. An alteration of the rouble-forint exchange rate and a revision of the uranium contract were promised and, on 31 December, further freedom for the farmers and artisans and a revision of the second Five-year Plan in the direction of more production of consumer goods. M. Kádár was reported to be conferring with the representatives of the Churches on a revision of the relationship between Church and State, and even to be negotiating with leaders of the Social Democrat, the Smallholders', and Petöfist Parties with a view to their entry into a coalition Government. Up to the end of the month, however, no one had agreed to any settlement which did not include the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

RUMANIA

In a year of acute political tension throughout Eastern Europe it might be regarded as a negative achievement that the pattern of power in Rumania remained undisturbed, at least on the surface. M. Gheorghiu-Dej, whose subservience to Stalin and corresponding anti-Titoist pronouncements might have rendered him expendable under the new Soviet dispensation, survived in the key office of Party Secretary to carry through the necessary policy adjustments. Nevertheless the official reaction to M. Khrushchev's repudiation of Stalin was muted; neither public expression of relief nor speculation of greater freedom was encouraged, and the report made by M. Gheorghiu-Dej to the Central Committee of the Party in March did not go beyond conventional acceptance of Moscow's directives combined with admonition to observe a stricter interpretation of the Leninist principles from which Stalin had deviated.

President Tito's visit in June, following his spectacular reception by the Soviet collective leadership, gave the Rumanian crowds a rare opportunity for spontaneous applause. After talks in Bucharest with Premier Chivu Stoica and M. Gheorghiu-Dej, and a tour of the Ploesti oilfields, the visit ended with a joint declaration of political and economic co-operation. Pledges were exchanged to revive close contact between the Yugoslav and Rumanian Communist Parties; agreement was also announced to construct a power station at the Iron Gates which would harness the Danube to the benefit of both countries.

In October the Rumanian leaders journeyed to Belgrade as President Tito's guests. By that time, however, events in Poland had already given rise to renewed caution as to the course Rumania should steer in order to retain Russia's approval without repulsing Yugoslav friendship. In the light of the Hungarian uprising, this caution was even more manifest on the occasion of M. Stoica's mission to Moscow in November. A joint Soviet-Rumanian statement endorsed the

presence of Soviet troops in Rumania (later reported to have been reinforced) and expressed identity of views on international questions including Hungary. At the same time Rumanian docility was rewarded by Soviet agreement to reduce the price paid by the Rumanian Government in regaining ownership of the former mixed companies (a process completed in 1955), and to postpone repayment of credits. Nevertheless, increased security precautions and reports of troop movements in the frontier areas, especially those inhabited by Hungarian minorities, suggested that the régime was anxious about the effect of the Hungarian revolution. The official press, on the other hand, insisted there was no unrest within the country and echoed the Party leaders' endorsement of the Soviet line on Hungary.

One happy result of the more liberal trend earlier in the year was the release in April of the Jewish leaders who had been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for Zionist and other 'anti-State' activities (see A.R. 1954, p. 251). Another significant development was the emphasis laid on improving political education among students and other young people. All youth activities were brought within the orbit of the U.T.M. (Union of Working Youth) which held its second congress in June. Steps were also taken to combat disaffection among intellectuals, and strong warnings against departure from the Party line were issued at the Writers' Congress in the same month.

In the economic sphere the Budget introduced in March was planned to give priority to heavy industry; but agriculture continued to be a focus of exhortation. M. Gheorghiu-Dej claimed that over 1,000 new collective farms had been established in January and February, bringing the total to 7,700. But by the end of the year it was reported that conditions of drought had required shipments of wheat to be sent from Russia at a time when the Soviet economy was already strained by the Hungarian disorders. On the other hand a steady increase in oil production was recorded, giving reasonable expectation that the 1960 target of 13,500,000 tons would be reached. The political factors influencing external trade can be seen from the trade agreements concluded during the year with a number of Asian and African States, among them Burma, India, Ceylon, Syria, and Egypt. Diplomatic relations between Rumania and Greece, which had been the subject of negotiations since 1953, were renewed in August.

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YUGOSLAVIA

In the course of 1956 Yugoslavia's newly re-established relations with the U.S.S.R. underwent a dramatic change marking one of the most significant developments in a period crowded with major international events. The mounting cordiality at the beginning of the year, followed by rapid development of economic ties on terms highly advantageous to President Tito's Government, had yielded place as the year ended to ideological quarrelling on a scale reminiscent of the dispute of 1948.

The new ties reached their climax in the months between the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February and Marshal Tito's triumphant visit to Russia in June. Soon after his return, the Poznan riots in Poland took place. There followed the first disillusionments and difficulties, the first uneasy feelings that all was not going well in Russian affairs.

Momentarily, the difficulties seemed to be glossed over or patched up by M. Khrushchev's unexpected 'holiday' in Yugoslavia at the end of September. But soon the 'ideological differences' subsequently admitted on the Yugoslav side were to flare up in open dispute over the Yugoslav leader's public appraisal of the Hungarian uprising and its causes and of the Soviet reactions thereto, followed by complete Soviet repudiation of Yugoslav views of Communism and Socialism in the contemporary world. Soviet accusations that the Titoists were, in fact, causing a split in the Communist movement, that they were trying to revise Marxism-Leninism, and interfering in the affairs of other Communist Parties were echoed throughout the Communist world. Before the year closed, Yugoslav views were almost generally repudiated and recognition of Soviet Russia's leading role reaffirmed. Finally the Chinese spoke out as apparent arbiters in the ideological dispute and gave their support to the Kremlin. Only the Poles refrained from joining in the new chorus against Belgrade.

The first formal ideological contacts were re-established between the Russians and the Yugoslavs with Marshal Tito's letter of 'comradely greetings' to the February Congress in Moscow acknowledging the 'Leninist consistency' which had (he wrote) contributed to the great achievements of Soviet industrialization. As it proceeded, the Congress gave satisfaction to the Yugoslav Communists not only by its recognition of their own peculiar 'road to Socialism' but by the vindication of the deep-seated hostility which they had always entertained against Stalin. To the Yugoslavs, the Congress seemed to mark the beginning of a substantial liquidation of Stalinist policies, though this, they declared, would not be an easy task since the resistance and opposition of the 'old guard' was by no means weak. They saw themselves as occupying a special role in 'aiding' the process.

Criticism of Russia disappeared from the Yugoslav press and this restraint was explained by the argument that continued public criticism would only hinder the 'liberals'—the 'new people', as the Yugoslavs called them and among whom they saw M. Khrushchev as the strongest champion—and strengthen the 'Stalinists'.

President Tito's travels during the year were not limited to Russia. In January he visited Egypt and, in May, France, where the Yugoslavs warmly approved what they regarded as efforts by the new Government of M. Mollet to promote constructive changes in European policies. The Marshal's visit to Paris was viewed, therefore, as an attempt on his part to revive the traditional ties between France and Yugoslavia. But this renewed warmth was chilled by the violence of Yugoslav criticism of the French adventure in the Middle East in October and November. However, the most significant of the President's journeys

remained that to the U.S.S.R. in midsummer. 'Normalization' of relations made way for friendship; and 'co-existence' between States with different internal systems became full-blooded co-operation in all fields between countries mutually engaged, though their roads might vary, in 'building Socialism'. A flood of delegations passed each way between Moscow and Belgrade. Tito's stay in Russia was described by commentators on both sides as a manifestation of firm friendship and a proof that this would be further developed and cemented. While the Yugoslav leader was being tumultuously greeted in the cities and towns of the Soviet Union, his principal economic advisers were negotiating in Moscow for Russian aid in developing Yugoslavia's vast potentials in aluminium production. Hopeful of obtaining both Eastern and Western help in the exploitation of their rich reserves of bauxite, the Yugoslavs ultimately signed in August—following M. Mikoyan's flying visit to Marshal Tito on Brioni Island the previous month—an agreement with the Soviet Union *and Eastern Germany* for credits of $175 million for the construction of aluminium plant. This, it was said, would expand Yugoslav output by 100,000 tons in five years.

Economic help already granted by the Russians, including $110 million construction credits and the building of an atomic reactor, and by the Poles, Czechs, and Hungarians (including with the last named an $85 million debt settlement effected shortly before M. Rákosi's dismissal) brought the total of all Yugoslav arrangements with the Eastern block to well over $500 million.

It was during this period that Yugoslav stands on international problems, such as the reunification of Germany and disarmament, began more and more to approximate to those of Moscow. But it transpired later that it was in the drafting of the declaration on relations between parties signed there on 20 June that the Yugoslavs encountered the first of their new difficulties with the Russians. The text submitted by Marshal Tito was, in fact, considerably 'watered down' but, none the less, it represented, superficially at least, a victory for the Yugoslavs and their demand for complete equality and independence in dealings between Parties as between States. Thus it had some impact on Russia's satellites and became a magnet attracting the attention of others who were beginning to be concerned with the one-sided nature of their relations with the Kremlin.

But new ties formed with the East Europeans—finally with the Rumanians after Marshal Tito's brief stay in Bucharest on his return journey from the U.S.S.R. at the end of June—were in most cases soon marred by the revelation of a letter sent to the satellite leaders by the Soviet Central Committee early in September. In it the Russians 'warned' their followers to be on their guard against the Yugoslav League of Communists, which, they declared, was not a truly Marxist-Leninist party but had 'social democratic' tendencies. The letter insisted that the East European Communist Governments must still look to Moscow for example and guidance on the 'road to Socialism'. Yugoslav jubilation and optimism following the Marshal's Soviet tour

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gave place to apprehension as Soviet policies in Eastern Europe tightened and fears that M. Khrushchev, although he was still regarded as the most determined mover in 'de-Stalinization', was yielding ground to the 'opposition'.

Yugoslav newspapers continued to ignore the growing coolness and bickering between the two leaderships, but officials left Western diplomatists in no doubt of their annoyance at the whispering campaign the Russians were now conducting behind their backs among the satellites. M. Khrushchev's unexpected arrival in Belgrade on 19 September was clearly designed to repair the harm. 'Liberalization' and the effect of the Moscow joint declaration had rendered it imperative for the Russians to have yet another talk with Marshal Tito. The purpose? How to continue the process, yet control it and prevent it from getting out of hand as it showed signs of doing in Poland.

Press reports of happy hunting expeditions, first in Yugoslavia and later in the Crimea, whither Marshal Tito flew with M. Khrushchev on 27 September, could not conceal the evidence that disagreements were mounting instead of being reduced. Marshal Tito returned from Yalta on 5 October in thoughtful mood and the conviction grew—and was not contradicted in Yugoslav circles—that Belgrade was realizing that the Moscow declaration was something that the Kremlin was prepared to concede to Yugoslavia but not to extend to other Communist-governed countries.

October, in the event, was the month which saw Belgrade's relations with the Soviet block begin to crumple under the impact of events in Hungary, while once more the West came forward with help to sustain an independent position which again seemed to be threatened.

On 7 October it was announced that party contacts had been established with the Bulgarians whom hitherto Marshal Tito had condemned as out-and-out 'Stalinists'. Soon afterwards, the Hungarians, headed by M. Rákosi's successor, M. Gerö, visited Belgrade. A delegation from Rumania followed on 20 October. While these talks were proceeding, President Eisenhower announced, on 15 October, his decision to continue economic aid—military aid, except on a very small scale, was suspended for further review—on terms unpalatable to the Yugoslavs but none the less accepted. The problem—that of ensuring the nation's food supplies, which required a minimum of 1·4 million tons of wheat from American surpluses—was too grave for refusal however much Marshal Tito might deem it necessary to refute President Eisenhower's explanatory statement that Yugoslavia was still 'threatened' by the Soviet Union.

A few days later, M. Gerö signed a declaration on party contacts and returned to Budapest: the Hungarian uprising was already beginning. Meanwhile M. Khrushchev had made—and failed in—his bid to curb M. Gomulka's assertion of Polish independence. The Poles' successful resistance evoked warm and immediate sympathy among the Yugoslav leaders. By contrast the Hungarian revolution encountered mixed reactions in Belgrade from the outset and fears that the revolution might go 'too far' and that 'old parties' might be

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enabled to return to the scene were characteristic of the Yugoslav leaders' qualified approval of M. Nagy's shortlived tenure of office.

Prior to the Soviet army's second intervention on 4 November, Marshal Tito addressed a letter to M. Nagy *and* M. Kádár, the new party leader, appealing to the Hungarians not to 'lose faith in Socialism'. It seemed as though, in return for some satisfaction regarding their own special position in the Communist world, the Yugoslavs on their side had agreed, in the talks with M. Khrushchev, at least not to press for too far-reaching changes in the Soviet block countries or to make the process of 'democratization' 'more difficult' for the Russians.

The protracted nature of Hungarian resistance and the failure of the Russians and the Kádár puppet Government to restore order and re-activate the country's economic life only increased the torrent of suspicion and blame falling upon the Titoists for the disarray into which Eastern Europe had fallen. Satellite spokesmen and newspapers inveighed against those who, for example, had 'prided themselves on having invented differing roads to Socialism'.

Hungary, it was evident, placed Belgrade in an awkward situation. The Yugoslavs' leaders welcomed the uprising so long as it proceeded along lines of reform within the Communist régime but enthusiasm waned as it threatened to move away from the path even of 'national Communism' in the direction of the wider democracy, for a second advocacy of which M. Milovan Djilas, Marshal Tito's former associate, was, on 12 December, destined to appear again before the Yugoslav courts. (A sentence of three years imprisonment was confirmed early in the New Year.)

On 15 November Marshal Tito published the text of a speech delivered four days earlier to party workers at Pula in which he condoned Soviet intervention in Hungary as the 'lesser evil' to the liquidation of the Communist régime, called for radical changes within the Soviet and Communist systems as such, and publicly proclaimed that the Soviet leadership was 'divided' and threatened by Stalinism. The pressure on the Yugoslavs was such, however, that a fortnight later, M. Kardelj went further and bluntly claimed that the Soviet army had intervened not to 'save Hungarian Socialism' but to preserve the balance of power in Europe.

Both speeches touched off angry reactions, first with *Pravda's* tart criticisms of Marshal Tito and subsequently throughout the East European parties with the exception of the Polish. The latter, until the end of the year, had published fully the arguments on both sides and, following the visit to Warsaw of a Yugoslav delegation—the second in the year—showed clearly their sympathy with the Yugoslav position.

The year closed with a final rebuff from the Chinese Communists, whose concern over Russian actions in Hungary had encouraged Belgrade to feel it had a possible staunch friend in the Far East. A lengthy statement in Peking on 28 December showed, however, that the Chinese, conscious of their dependence on Russian aid, felt the

necessity for 'closing the ranks' and placed them on the side of Communist orthodoxy. But for the Poles Marshal Tito and his friends were, in a sense, almost as isolated as in 1948 and the close links forged with the West since that date had inevitably declined as Belgrade showed itself more interested in its new Eastern ties.

A pale reminder of this pro-Western past was the visit to Belgrade of the Greek Premier, M. Karamanlis, on 4 December. But the spirit of the Balkan pact—sundered by the tensions between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus—had not, as the year closed, been revived, though to the Yugoslavs, in their present unhappy situation between two worlds, it might still represent a useful indirect link with the West for the future.

Domestically, Yugoslavia's affairs had been overshadowed by the crisis in its relations with the Soviet block. But two old problems persisted—the condition of the Party and the economic situation. Thanks to the confusion caused by reluctance, on one hand, to 'decentralize' the Party on the lines laid down by the 1952 congress and, on the other, the realization that a rigidly centralized Party was incompatible with 'liberalization' in other spheres, Party life has further stagnated. A happy medium between the relaxations of 1953 and the 'necessity', as it is seen now, for a 'monolithic' Party as well as a means of appealing to youth—which the Central Committee at its meeting in March found had 'slipped' from Communist hands and succumbed to 'destructive western influences'—has yet to be found.

And youth meanwhile, far from being attracted by the 'Socialist education' promised by the re-introduction of 'voluntary brigades' was thinking less about 'Socialism' and harder than ever about better clothes, higher wages, living conditions generally, and wider holiday opportunities—just like youth in Russia and other Communist countries still 'less free' than Yugoslavia.

New economic policies, introduced in March and aimed at a 'gradual rise' in living standards, marked the biggest cuts yet in the country's heavy burden of capital investment. Increased investment in agriculture—which in 1956 had a wheat yield of only 1·6 million tons, 24 per cent. less than the average and 34 per cent. lower than in 1955—and light industry had not yet substantially altered the investment picture, nor had the new policies so far represented any sufficiently drastic departure from previous planning to show real results. Behind the uncertainties of the Yugoslavs' future relationship with the Communist world, loomed the same perplexing problem of living standards at home which had troubled the Government for years.

BULGARIA

Premier Chervenkov, after six years in office, was the first satellite victim of Stalin's fall. A leading figure of the Communist old guard (and a brother-in-law of Demitrov, once Tito's rival for leadership of a

Balkan federation, who died in 1949) he was denounced by the Party Congress in April for indulging in the 'cult of personality' and was replaced by M. Anton Yugov, a former Minister of the Interior restored to favour after dismissal in 1950 for 'negligence' in the matter of the Kostov conspiracy. M. Chervenkov's formal resignation and confession of error in the National Assembly was witnessed by visiting members of a Yugoslav parliamentary delegation, headed by M. Moshe Pijade (President of the Federal People's Assembly); but the new moderation was exemplified by M. Traicho Chervenkov's retention in the post of Vice-Premier. The political calculations behind the re-shuffle were further underlined by the posthumous rehabilitation of M. Kostov six months later, on grounds that the charges of Titoism and treason which led to his execution had been based on false evidence. Nevertheless echoes of the old tension were to be detected in Yugoslav exception to certain members of the proposed Bulgarian parliamentary delegation to Belgrade, with the result that the visit was deferred from April to September.

M. Yugov soon demonstrated that the new licence to criticize the Government was strictly limited. Demands for a free press and for greater intellectual freedom led to the dismissal and expulsion from the party of M. Topencharov, Editor of the Government newspaper, *Otechestven Front*, and of Professor Khristanov, a prominent member of the Academy of Sciences. The need to counteract the effect of 'liberalization' which admittedly had weakened party discipline notably among young people, was a main theme of the speech by the party Secretary, General Bulgaranov, on Bulgaria's National Day (9 September). A significant aspect of M. Yugov's visit to Moscow in the previous month was the publication in the Soviet press of an article by him affirming that Bulgaria had rejected completely any aspiration towards federal union with her neighbours. The death of the Foreign Minister, Dr. Mincho Neichev, also in August, led to the succession of his deputy, M. Lukanov, a former Bulgarian Minister in Moscow.

Security measures were reinforced following the Hungarian uprising, and it was reported that some former members of the Socialist and Agrarian Parties, together with student demonstrators, had been put under preventive arrest. Addressing a youth meeting in Sofia in December M. Yugov made it plain that drastic measures would be taken against young people who might lend themselves to 'anti-national' propaganda; Hungary had shown, he said, the necessity for renewed vigilance against the forces of counter-revolution.

The competing demands of heavy industry and agriculture presented the main economic problem, but the latter achieved the greater publicity. General Bulgaranov claimed in his speech on the National Day that 88 per cent. of all peasants, bringing with them 77 per cent. of the arable land, had joined the collective farms; nearly 18,000 tractors, and some 3,000 combine harvesters were in use. Nevertheless he complained of 'persistent theft and indiscipline'. Wastage of time and materials was another source of official criticism in respect of

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industrial development. The exploration of oil and its limited production continued to be a feature of the ambitious plan to exploit both the mineral and industrial as well as the agricultural potential of the Dobruja. An entirely new departure was the opening in Sofia of Bulgaria's first atomic experimental centre, equipped with a Soviet-supplied 22,000 kilowatt reactor.

The pattern of Bulgaria's foreign trade conformed to the political directives from Moscow; for example, the agreement signed in February to take Egyptian cotton in exchange for tobacco; at the same time it was announced that President Nasser had been invited to visit Bulgaria during his projected European tour (postponed by subsequent events in the Middle East). The protracted efforts to effect a diplomatic *rapprochement* with Greece were again inconclusive.

The question mark before Bulgaria as the year ended was whether the upsurge of independence in Eastern Europe, stimulated in the first place by the Soviet's own policy of de-Stalinization, would still be permitted an outlet in the year ahead, or whether the effect on Russia would be a reversion to the Stalinist methods of which Bulgaria had bitter experience. Beneath the surface calm and the apparent passivity with which Bulgaria witnessed the contrasting shocks in Poland and Hungary, this admixture of hope and fear was common to both the Government and the people.

GREECE

The General Election, which was constitutionally required in the course of 1956 by the approaching expiry of the 4-year term of the Parliament elected in 1952, was fixed at the beginning of the year for Sunday 19 February. As had become usual since the Second World War, the alignment of contending parties bore little resemblance to that at any previous election. The so-called 'Greek Rally', which had won an overwhelming victory in 1952 under Field-Marshal Papagos, disintegrated after his death in October 1955; and M. Karamanlis, who had been appointed to succeed him by King Paul, formed a new party to contest the elections under the name of National Radical Union (E.R.E.).

A new electoral law, promulgated (as was customary) before Parliament was dissolved on 10 January, instituted a highly complicated system of voting designed to ensure stable government in a Parliament dominated by a single victorious party, at the expense of the numerous 'splinter-groups' which were a common feature of the Greek political scene. This led the Opposition parties (which consisted largely of such 'splinter-groups', thanks to the overwhelming victory of the Greek Rally in 1952) to form a combination for the purpose of the election, presenting in each constituency a single list composed of the most heterogeneous political affiliations, but without any intention of forming a coalition government if they were victorious.

This combination, which was known as the Democratic Union (D.E.) was nominally led by two former Liberal Prime Ministers, M. Sophocles Venizelos and M. George Papandreou. It included, among other diverse elements, M. Constantine Tsaldaris, formerly Prime Minister of Greece's most Right-wing post-war government; M. George Kartalis and M. Alexandros Svolos, leaders of the newly-formed Democratic Party and both Left-wing war-time resistance figures; and the United Democratic Front (E.D.A.) which was generally regarded as the successor and 'front' of the outlawed Communist Party of Greece (K.K.E.). There were also a few independent parties and candidates belonging to neither combination, but they won no seats.

In the election on 19 February, the Opposition combination was very nearly successful in its object. It obtained 49·8 per cent. of the votes as against 45·7 per cent. won by E.R.E. and 4·5 per cent. by the remaining candidates. But the complex electoral system transformed the majority of votes into a minority of seats, and M. Karamanlis was returned to power with 155 seats against 145 for the Opposition. This was the first General Election in which women had voted (though they had already both voted and been elected in by-elections since 1952), and it also led to the appointment of the first woman Cabinet Minister, Mme. Tsaldaris, widow of the pre-war Prime Minister Panaghis Tsaldaris (the uncle of his post-war namesake).

The election was fought primarily on issues of foreign policy, and specifically on the issue of the Greek dispute with Great Britain and Turkey about the future status of Cyprus. The Opposition did not oppose the Government's policy of supporting the Greek Cypriots' claim, variously formulated as self-determination or 'union' (*enosis*) with Greece, but criticized the Government for not pursuing this policy vigorously enough. Some opposition leaders (not only those on the Left-wing) maintained that Greece ought to withdraw from NATO and pursue a 'neutralist' foreign policy if the claim to self-determination for Cyprus were not granted. The narrow victory of M. Karamanlis in the election was therefore *pro tanto* an encouragement for the West and a vindication of moderate councils. But satisfaction at this result was modest and brief.

Since shortly before the turn of the year negotiations had been in progress in Cyprus between the British Colonial Government and the Ethnarchy (the controlling committee of the Greek nationalist movement, with Archbishop Makarios as Ethnarch, or 'national leader'). More than once it had been rumoured that these negotiations were on the brink of success. Then, on 9 March, the British authorities broke off the negotiations on the ground that they did not believe in the Archbishop's good faith, and deported him with three other nationalist leaders to the Seychelles. This action led to riots and demonstrations in Athens, followed by a further serious deterioration of Anglo-Greek relations. The Greek Ambassador in London, M. Vasilis Mostras, was recalled as a protest on 10 March, and three days later the Greek Government asked (for the third time in three years) that the subject

of Cyprus should be tabled on the agenda of the 11th General Assembly of the United Nations. (The request was accepted, together with a counter-request of the British Government in which Greece was accused of unwarrantable interference in the affairs of Cyprus.)

Other signs of tension were the British Government's decision in March to 'jam' the broadcasts of Athens Radio to Cyprus, because they incited Greeks to violence; further riots in May when two young Cypriots were executed under the emergency regulations; and the refusal of Greece to attend the international conference convened in London in August to discuss action on the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company by Egypt.

On the other hand, in March Greece resumed participation in NATO manoeuvres, from which she had withdrawn in 1955, and at the opening of Parliament on 2 April, King Paul's speech from the throne, while re-affirming Greek support for *enosis*, deplored the deterioration of Anglo-Greek relations. More than once during the year the situation appeared likely to improve—for instance, when the Greek Cypriot rebel organization announced a truce on 16 August, and when Lord Radcliffe was sent to Cyprus to work out a new Constitution in September; but the truce lasted only a few days, and the new Constitution, when published in December, was almost immediately rejected as unacceptable by the Greek Government as well as by the Greek Cypriot nationalists.

This intractable problem exposed the new Greek Government to severe pressures from many directions. The Opposition criticized it for failing adequately to support Archbishop Makarios, and M. Karamanlis was obliged to sacrifice his Foreign Minister, M. Theotokis, whom he replaced with M. Averoff. He also felt obliged repeatedly to attack British policy in public (notably on 2 June in reply to a speech by Sir Anthony Eden the previous day, which linked Britain's need for Cyprus with her dependence on Middle East oil) while seeking to negotiate in private. He was also embarrassed by Soviet overtures, though when the Soviet Foreign Minister, M. Shepilov, visited Athens at the end of June with an offer of economic aid and an invitation to Moscow, M. Karamanlis politely rebuffed him. *Rapprochement* with the Soviet block went no further than a resumption of diplomatic relations with Rumania on 25 August.

The year was thus a frustrating and inconclusive one for Greece, though at least her economic situation grew no worse (she was even able to go further than was required in the liberalization of trade within O.E.E.C.) and the Communist threat to public security did not increase. Relations with the U.S.A., on whose aid Greece's economy still depended, continued firm, and even led to an expression of 'sympathetic concern' over Cyprus by the U.S. Ambassador in Athens on 13 March. M. Karamanlis visited the U.S.A. in the autumn without achieving spectacular results. In the world at large, and especially at the United Nations, Greece's affairs were naturally over-shadowed in the closing months of the year by the crises in the Middle East and Eastern Europe.

TURKEY

Turkish policy continued to be conditioned, as it has been through the centuries, by the menace of Russia. Turkey's uncompromising attitude with regard to Cyprus was due, not to animosity against Greece, but to the fear that if Cyprus became Greek it might fall into Communist hands and provide Russia with a base on Turkey's southern flank. The Foreign Minister, Mr. Fuad Köprülü, stated on 24 January that for legal, historical, and strategic reasons the Turkish Government denied the applicability to Cyprus of self-determination, and in the event of self-government being granted to the island, he demanded equal rights for the Turkish minority. On 25 February he repeated the consistent Turkish argument that sovereignty over Cyprus could only be changed by the island's reversion to Turkey.

Public opinion was incensed by the Greek agitation for the island which was considered to have scotched the Balkan Pact for the sake of Hellenic expansion and to have played into the hands of Russia. News of the murder of policemen and other Turks in Cyprus further embittered Turco-Greek relations. There was a certain fear lest Britain should settle the Cyprus issue with Greece behind Turkey's back, and it was suggested in the Grand National Assembly and elsewhere that, if the Lausanne settlement were tampered with, the 100,000 Greeks of Istanbul—and the Oecumenical Patriarchate—should be exchanged for the Turks of Western Thrace who were alleged to live under considerable Greek pressure.

At midsummer the British Government put forward a fresh scheme for the future of Cyprus, but the Turkish Government maintained its previous objections, viz. that self-government would lead to Greek predominance, and self-determination to annexation to Greece. In the face of Turkey's flat refusal the British Government dropped the scheme.

In December the British Government proposed yet another solution: first, the Radcliffe constitution, and, secondly, a reconsideration of self-determination when international circumstances permitted. It was to be understood that, if the Turkish community's rights were to be preserved, this might necessitate partition. Mr. Adnan Menderes declared on 30 December that this seemed a fair basis for a settlement.

The activity which Turkey showed in supporting the Baghdad Pact was the measure of her anxiety about Russian penetration into the Middle East. The failure of the U.S.A. to join the Pact as a full member was a disappointment for Turkey, but Sir Anthony Eden declared British loyalty to the Pact in unequivocal terms on 7 March, and the Prime Minister of Pakistan joined Mr. Adnan Menderes on 24 March in issuing a promise to do their utmost to make the Pact effective.

Turkish opinion condemned President Nasser's dictatorial nationalization of the Suez Canal but objected equally to any proposal to encroach on Egyptian sovereignty. Turkey, whose one desire was peace, was represented at both London conferences on Suez and she

supported the plan for international operation of the Canal and that for a Suez Canal Users' Association.

The Israel and Anglo-French military actions in Egypt almost caused the end of the Baghdad Pact, and to the diplomacy of Mr. Menderes was attributed the credit for averting this disaster. He at once foregathered at Teheran with the Prime Ministers of Pakistan, Iraq, and Persia and frustrated a move to exclude Britain from the Pact. While condemning the Israel attack, therefore, the four Prime Ministers called on Britain and France to withdraw their forces from Egypt at once. The worsening situation and especially the increase of Russian influence in Syria caused a further meeting at which it was agreed to take all measures consonant with the United Nations Charter to counter the rising tide of subversion in the Middle East. In deference to Arab feeling Turkey withdrew her Minister from Israel, while maintaining relations through a chargé d'affaires.

The menace of Communist subversion in Syria and the Middle East generally brought the acting Turkish Foreign Minister, Mr. Ethem Menderes, to London on 29 November and the Turkish Prime Minister to the Atlantic Council a few days later. Both were understood to have insisted on the need to strengthen NATO and the Baghdad Pact. The Soviet action in Hungary was strongly condemned in the Turkish press.

Internally 1956 was another year of consolidation for the Republic. There was indeed bitter criticism in the Grand National Assembly and in most of the press of the arbitrary rule of the Democratic Party. But its parliamentary majority was so crushing that Mr. Adnan Menderes, the Prime Minister, was able to put his own interpretation on democratic rights. Liberty, he claimed, had been turned to licence and would degenerate into anarchy. Laws were therefore passed severely restricting the freedom of the press, the right of public assembly, and the independence of judges and professors. The Freedom Party, which had seceded from the Democratic Party, proposed a working alliance to the other two main Opposition parties (People's Republican Party and Republican National Party) but the three failed to agree.

Several members of the Cabinet resigned during the year, as a result, it was generally said, of Mr. Adnan Menderes' domineering ways. Mr. Fuad Köprülü, who had always been the Democratic Party's Foreign Minister, was the most important of these.

What aroused most public and parliamentary criticism was continued inflation and rising prices. The grain harvest unfortunately was spoilt by drought. The Government made laws to control prices and check hoarding and profiteering, and introduced in October a special rate for the lira (£T15·40 = £1 sterling) to benefit foreigners receiving interest from Turkey, Turkish industrialists importing machinery, and others. Mr. Menderes' usual reply to critics was to insist that time must be allowed for new irrigation dams, power stations, sugar, cement, and other factories, and means of transport, to fructify. Justifiably or not, high hopes were centred on the efforts of 12 foreign companies prospecting for oil.

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CHAPTER VII

THE ARAB WORLD IN GENERAL—EGYPT—THE SUDAN—LIBYA—THE YEMEN—ISRAEL—JORDAN—SYRIA—THE LEBANON—IRAQ—PERSIA

THE ARAB WORLD IN GENERAL

As a result of the formation of the Baghdad Pact and of the rival Egyptian-Saudi-Syrian block (see A.R. 1955, pp. 268-9), the Arab League as such had virtually ceased to function. As a matter of form a low-level meeting was held in April 1956 but merely, it would seem, to vote a number of conventional resolutions against various aspects of Western 'imperialism'.

Much more significant was the continuing tension between the Egyptian and Iraqi Governments, which was accentuated in January when an Egyptian employed ostensibly as a messenger by the Egyptian Military Attaché was expelled from Iraq on charges of subversive activities. When the British Foreign Secretary, returning from a meeting of the S.E.A.T.O. Council, called at Cairo early in March Colonel Nasser was reported to have sought an undertaking that the Baghdad Pact should not be extended to States not already members, in return for which the Egyptian Government would cease their attacks upon it; but the British reply was that while they did not intend to force any government into joining, they could not agree to veto any who might voluntarily do so.

The Egyptian-directed block had good reason to be satisfied with the progress made by their anti-British machinations in Jordan (see pp. 297-300) and, to a lesser degree, in Bahrain where demonstrations had been organized against the visit of the British Foreign Secretary; but no comparable progress could be registered with respect to Lebanon whose educated classes are the most politically mature element in the entire Arab world. Efforts sponsored by Egypt to bring about a military agreement between Lebanon and Syria broke down in January, since the former was unwilling to disturb the quiet prevailing on her border with Israel by consenting to admit Syrian troops to Lebanese territory, except in time of war; and she likewise insisted on verbal changes in a communiqué issued on 2 March at the conclusion of a visit of the Lebanese Premier to King Saud, because the first draft seemed to limit Lebanon's freedom of manoeuvre between the two competing Middle Eastern blocks. The Lebanese President was accordingly not invited to a meeting of the Heads of State of the Egyptian-directed block in Cairo (6-11 March) at which military pacts with the West were declared to be directed against Arab national aspirations.

Meanwhile the accumulation of evidence about the size of Egypt's arms purchases from the Soviet block, avowedly for eventual use against Israel, the evident risk that the Israel Government might be tempted to launch an anticipatory and preventive war, and the

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stridency of Egyptian propaganda and incitement against Western 'imperialism', had caused the British and French Governments to propose to Washington a reassessment of their joint obligations under the Tripartite Declaration on Palestine of May 1950. But the United States Government were unwilling to take any positive step at this time for a variety of reasons. President Eisenhower was no more than convalescent, and Secretary of State Dulles was perhaps already affected by the illness which was to demand a major operation in the autumn. The Administration was already fully engaged in its pre-election campaign, in which its platform contained an anodyne reference to 'impartial friendship for the Arab States and Israel'. More specifically, although Mr. Dulles's discovery in 1953 of the 'northern tier' Governments' antipathy for the U.S.S.R. had been the origin of the Baghdad Pact, the hostility of Saudi Arabia for the Pact had deterred the United States from becoming associated with it more closely than by sending observers to its periodical meetings. Some officials of the State Department were reported to be confident that Egypt, despite her flirtation with the Soviet block, could yet be won over to the West and to making peace with Israel, some circles apparently hoped to secure Soviet collaboration in checking the Middle Eastern arms-race, and Mr. Dulles himself expressed the view on 3 April that the Egyptian military régime's behaviour was actuated primarily by a desire to maintain the genuine independence of the Arab world. Consequently, British insistence that plans should be concerted for an immediate tripartite intervention in the event of a major Israeli-Arab conflict [1] found no response in Washington; and when a serious local clash between Israeli and Egyptian forces did break out on 5 April, President Eisenhower's only move was to invoke the good offices of the U.N. Secretary-General.

Mr. Hammarskjöld's subsequent visit to the Middle East, however, secured from the Arab and Israeli Governments no more than a 'façade of pacific intention', to use the words of the Cairo correspondent of *The Economist* of 19 May, which 'covered the desire of each side to manipulate the truce in the manner which suited it'. When the British Government, with the support of the U.S. and other Governments, submitted to the Security Council on 28 May a resolution concerning Palestine, they were constrained by the opposition of the Arab States and the prospect of a Soviet veto to withdraw a clause looking forward to 'a peaceful settlement on a mutually acceptable basis'. The revolutionary elements in the Arab world were encouraged by the Soviet Foreign Minister's repeated verbal attacks on the Baghdad Pact during his Middle Eastern tour in June, and these more than compensated in official Egyptian and Syrian eyes for recent Soviet reticence concerning Palestine.

During the Egyptian celebrations of the departure of the last British troops from Egyptian territory in June, Colonel Nasser sounded

[1] See the important dispatch from Drew Middleton, the London correspondent of the *New York Times*, 22 March 1956, p. 1, with its pregnant opening sentence, 'Britain has completed a plan for "effective" military action within twenty-four hours of the outbreak of a war between the Arab states and Israel'.

the clarion call of 'liberating the entire Arab world from Morocco to Baghdad'. Consequently his dramatic nationalization of the Suez Canal Company a month later quickened the hearts of all Arabs except that small minority who were sufficiently in touch with the wider world to have outgrown the adolescent yearning for the latchkey of 'complete independence'. The Iraqi Government were reported in mid-August to have offered their mediation between Egypt and the Powers most interested in the canal, but were rebuffed by Cairo, and as the weeks passed without resolving the deadlock, the economic and political dangers of the situation (with Egypt relying more and more on Soviet diplomatic support) became increasingly evident to those Arab States whose large revenues from oil-royalties depended in part on the undisturbed passage of tankers through the canal. Their common concern occasioned the meeting on 20 September of the Kings of Saudi Arabia and Iraq, heirs to a traditional rivalry that had kept them and their predecessors apart for the past 30 years; and though this meeting was promptly followed (22-24 September) by one between the Heads of State of the Egyptian-directed block, observers noted that Saudi support for Egyptian political agitation had practically ceased. This loss to Egypt of financial backing was far from being compensated by a Syrian Left-wing clamour for federal union with Egypt, the patent purpose of which was to isolate those important Syrian circles who were trying to oppose Syria's steady drift into the position of a Soviet satellite.

Meanwhile, at a U.N. conference held at Geneva in August to revise the Anti-Slavery Convention of 1926, the delegates of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the Sudan had successfully opposed, in the sacred name of national sovereignty, a British proposal to treat slavery on a par with piracy and authorize the warships and military aircraft of all signatory Powers to stop and search vessels suspected of carrying slaves in the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and western Indian Ocean. There were estimated to be still half-a-million slaves in the Arabian peninsula.

The Anglo-French ultimatum to Egypt and Israel and military intervention against Egypt at the end of October won for Egypt the sympathy of the entire Arab world, since were not the two Western Powers supporting the Israeli 'aggressors'? Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Syria broke off diplomatic relations with Britain and France, Iraq and Jordan with France only. Lebanon, as usual, was divided between pan-Arab and westernizing impulses. A conference of the Heads of the Arab States held in Beirut on the invitation of the Lebanese President in mid-November revealed the differences in outlook between the conservative Governments of Saudi Arabia and Iraq, on the one hand, and revolutionary Egypt and Syria on the other; and the only outcome was the resignation of the already tottering Lebanese Cabinet and its replacement by a more stable one (see p. 305).

The consent of the British and French Governments to withdraw from the canal in favour of a U.N. international force relieved the most acute tension, and the Egyptian military régime filled the partial vacuum thus created on the emotional front by launching at the end

of November a renewed propaganda attack on the Iraqi Government, alleging *inter alia* that they had allowed British aircraft to refuel in Iraq after bombing Egyptian airfields. The Syrian Government, under pressure for its acceptance of Soviet armaments, joined in with revelations of an alleged conspiracy (detected just when the Syrian army had been about to go to Egypt's support!) to overthrow the existing Leftward-tending government in favour of a 'reactionary' régime; some of the conspirators were allegedly being harboured on Lebanese territory and the conspiracy furnished with Iraqi arms; in the background lurked the sinister figures of Britain, France, and Israel. To these charges, which were coupled with allegations that the 'freedom-loving' Iraqi people were being prevented from a general revolt only by an iron tyranny, the Iraqi Premier responded by a lengthy broadcast on 16 December, in which he claimed that he had entered the pact with Turkey (the hub of the Baghdad Pact) only after first Pandit Nehru, and then President Nasser, had rejected his proposals in 1954 for forming a strong defensive block to embrace the Arab States and all the 'northern tier' countries from Turkey to India inclusive.

EGYPT

The year 1956 was climactic in Anglo-Egyptian relations. It began acrimoniously with a dispute over Jordan and concluded with a complete rupture of all connexions. The Egyptian Government's purchase of Czech arms with Russia as intermediary gave an uneasy close to 1955 (A.R. 1955, p. 273) and the increasing trade between Egypt and the Soviet block caused some anxiety to the Western Powers. Nevertheless Britain and the United States together had in November 1955 offered Egypt $70 million for the first stage of the important High Dam scheme which was the cornerstone of Colonel Nasser's economic planning and the International Bank had offered an agreement to lend $200 million for the same scheme. Britain released £20 million of Egypt's blocked sterling on 1 January in accordance with the sterling agreement of 1955.

The mission of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff to Jordan in December 1955 had failed in its aim of bringing Jordan into the Baghdad Pact and in Britain the subsequent disorders were blamed largely upon Egyptian propaganda. When in January Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Syria jointly offered Jordan financial aid to relieve her from dependence on Britain, this was seen as further evidence of Egypt's anti-British intentions. Colonel Nasser on the other hand regarded the mission to Jordan as a deliberate attempt to break his Arab policy at a time when his command of Arab nationalism was at its peak. Egyptian radio propaganda to East Africa and to the Arabs was hostile to British interests. It contributed to further disorders in Jordan in January and led to a formal protest by the British Ambassador to the Prime Minister of Egypt himself in March. The tone of the Egyptian broadcasts was modified as a result but the relations

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between Britain and Egypt remained cold. The aide-mémoires which formed the draft agreement with the International Bank, the British Government, and the United States Government for the financing of the High Dam lay in suspense because of the unacceptable amendments submitted by Egypt in February, despite the visit to Cairo of Mr. Eugene Black, President of the World Bank, in January and the announcement on 9 February of a 'substantial agreement'.

The Revolutionary Command Council had in 1953 promised a Constitution for the country after a three-year transitional period and on 16 January 1956 Colonel Nasser went some way towards fulfilling the promise by presenting to the people a draft Constitution to be approved by plebiscite in June. He also promised a referendum for the election of the first President to be held at the same time. The Constitution provided for the formation of a National Union which would select the candidates for an Assembly to be elected in October. The provision for government by a president and council of ministers gave the Constitution some similarity to that of the United States but the executive power given to the President was much greater and was almost authoritarian. It laid down that Islam was the State religion, and for the first time in any Egyptian Constitution, that Egypt was part of 'the Arab Nation'.

Colonel Nasser was, of course, the only nominee for President. As the referendum approached he seemed inclined to iron out some problems, one of which was his difficult relations with Britain. In May he sent for the British Ambassador, whom he had not seen for ten weeks, and although the meeting could not resolve the difficulties it did start a brief *détente*. The last contingent of British troops left the Suez Canal base in June in accordance with the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1954 and the Constitution was approved and Colonel Nasser elected President, in each case by 99 per cent. of the votes cast. Newspaper comment and the speeches connected with the British evacuation were conciliatory by Egyptian standards and Colonel Nasser paid tribute to the honourable fulfilment by Britain of her obligations. M. Shepilov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, who had been invited earlier as editor of *Pravda*, attended the June celebrations and there is little doubt that it was to balance this high-powered visitor from the Soviet block that Colonel Nasser secured by personal invitation the attendance of Sir Brian Robertson. (Sir Brian had taken a leading part in negotiating the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement.)

But suspicion of the Western Powers were not allayed. President Nasser became convinced (on ill-founded information) that the Western Powers were planning to institute through the United Nations an embargo on arms to the Middle East, designed to obstruct his own rearmament programme. Without warning he recognized Communist China on 16 May in order to have an opening to Soviet arms through a nation not a member of the U.N. A large trade mission from the Peking Government was already established in Cairo and in view of Egypt's substantial cotton sales to China there was every likelihood of recognition. Nevertheless the United States Congress, already

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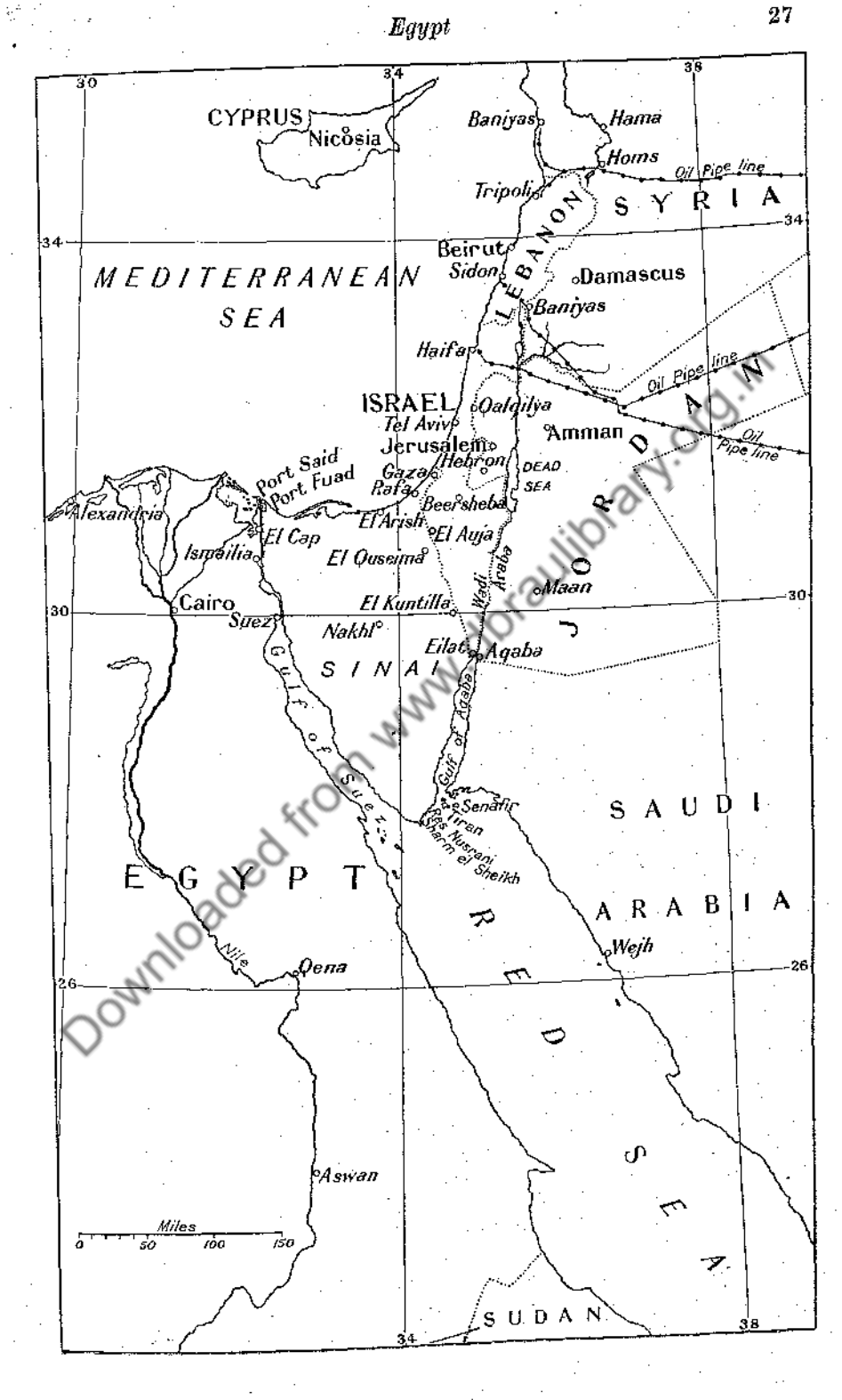
looking askance at President Nasser's relations with Russia, was affronted. Ahmed Hussein, Egyptian Ambassador to the United States, emphasized to the President in Cairo the increasing antagonism of American opinion and secured from him permission to withdraw Egyptian amendments to the aides-mémoires regarding financial aid for the High Dam. By this act Egypt hoped to bring Britain and the United States into a vital, long-term project and so demonstrate the sincerity of her neutralism. When he returned to Washington in July, Ahmed Hussein announced immediately that Egypt would accept aid for the High Dam. Meanwhile President Nasser flew to Belgrade to join President Tito and Mr. Nehru in a reaffirmation of neutralism or, as the communiqué called it, ' positive coexistence '.

A few hours before President Nasser made his triumphal re-entry from Belgrade, the United States Government announced the withdrawal of its offer of financial aid for the dam. Two main reasons were given for this decision : the unstable condition of the Egyptian economy and the lack of agreement with riparian territories south of Egypt. Next day the British Government withdrew its offer, giving as reason Egypt's economic plight and, as the three parts of the original offer were interdependent, the International Bank withdrew its offer of a loan.

President Nasser was unquestionably angered by the affront to himself and to the economy of Egypt. This became apparent in a speech for the opening of the new Suez-Cairo oil pipeline at Mosorod on 24 July. He was coldly and bitterly critical of the United States in particular and promised plans to finance the dam without western aid. He announced these plans at Alexandria two days later at the conclusion of a speech of unrelenting scorn and abuse of the Western Powers. He read a law nationalizing the Suez Canal Company and quoted revenue figures to show that he could finance the dam from the profits of the company. The law transferred the company with all its assets and commitments to the State, undertook to compensate shareholders, created an independent board subject to the Ministry of Commerce to run the canal, froze the funds of the company in Egypt and abroad, undertook to retain the employees and instructed them to continue to discharge their duties, and declared that any infringement of the law would be punished by fines and imprisonment (see p. 450). Even as he was reading the law the Council of Administration of the national company met at the Ministry of Commerce in Cairo and the police and army took possession of the Company's offices and installations in Cairo and on the canal. The nationalization was hailed with joy by the Egyptian people and any anxieties felt by the Governments elsewhere in the Arab world were swept aside by the tide of triumphant nationalist opinion. President Nasser's stock had never stood higher.

The Western Powers, particularly Britain and France, were incensed by the act. They denied Nasser's claim to legality, contending that the seizure of the company's foreign-held assets was not comparable with British acts of domestic nationalization which President



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Nasser had cited in justification. They said the nationalization was an unwarranted breach of international commitments, notably of the 1888 Constantinople Convention which guaranteed freedom of navigation through the canal. They held that a waterway so vital to the economic well-being of many nations in Europe and Asia could not be left in the unfettered control of one country. The British and French Governments presented diplomatic notes of protest on 27 July (which Egypt refused to accept). Next day Britain brought all Egypt's sterling operations under exchange control and France followed suit. This had the effect of removing Egypt from the 'transferable account area' and brought no less than 60 per cent. of Egypt's current foreign trade under the supervision of the Bank of England. On 29 July the British and French Foreign Ministers met Mr. Murphy, the United States Under-Secretary of State, in London, to concert action. Sir Anthony Eden told the House of Commons on 30 July that the export of war materials to Egypt had been stopped and next day the War Office announced 'precautionary measures' to strengthen Britain's position in the eastern Mediterranean. The remainder of 1956 was a period of unrelieved crisis in Egypt.

The American Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, who was reported to be alarmed by Anglo-French military preparations, flew to London on 31 July and after daylong discussions it was decided next night to call a conference of Powers which were signatories of the 1888 Convention and other countries specially interested in free navigation of the canal, a total of 24 countries including the three inviting Powers and Egypt. Egypt and Greece refused to attend. President Nasser told reporters on 12 August that he would maintain freedom of navigation and be willing to sponsor a wider conference to revise the 1888 Convention and conclude another. When the London Conference met on 16 August a general strike took place in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Libya in protest. (Libya had already refused on 9 August to allow the First Battalion of the Royal Berkshire Regiment to take its station at the British base in Libya as part of the eastern Mediterranean build-up.) Mr. Dulles tabled at the conference the Western proposal for a Suez Canal Board which would provide international operation of the canal and be responsible for ensuring co-operation between Egypt and the user-nations. Mr. Krishna Menon, the Indian delegate, tabled an alternative plan which approximately formulated the suggestions made by President Nasser. The essential difference between the two proposals was that Mr. Dulles advocated international control of canal operations while Mr. Menon proposed international guarantees and co-operation. There were 18 nations in support of a slightly modified version of the Dulles plan and the only decision was to send Mr. Menzies, the Australian Prime Minister, and representatives from Ethiopia, Persia, Sweden, and the United States on a mission to present the plan to President Nasser.

The Menzies Mission was not received by President Nasser until 3 September and there was never any doubt of his intention to refuse the plan. In his final letter to the President, on 7 September, Mr.

Menzies pointed to two crucial aspects of the proposals: firstly that the operation of the canal should be insulated from the politics of any one nation and, secondly, that there should be established by international convention a body charged with the operation, maintenance, and development of the canal. He argued that Egypt's ownership of the canal would be recognized and she alone would draw profits from it and, furthermore, future financial burdens of the canal would be borne by the controlling body and not by Egypt. President Nasser replied by letter that nothing could be more provocative to the people of Egypt than the 18-Power plan and that 'the real insulation of the canal from politics would best be guaranteed by a solemn and internationally binding commitment in the form of a reaffirmation or a renewal of the 1888 Convention'. Egypt, he said, was willing to negotiate a settlement in conformity with the U.N. Charter but rejected the proposals as a hostile infringement of Egyptian sovereignty. He declared Egyptian policy to be: (1) freedom of passage through the Suez Canal and its secure use without discrimination; (2) the development of the canal to meet future requirements of navigation; (3) the establishment of just and equitable tolls and charges; (4) technical efficiency.

Mr. Menzies, reporting failure in London, said the situation was very grave and the belief that force might be used against Egypt revived. British reservists were being recalled to the colours by a proclamation issued by the Queen on 3 August. Ships were being requisitioned as transports and the build-up of forces continued at Malta and Cyprus. France had been given permission to station troops on Cyprus. But on 12 September Sir Anthony Eden announced a new plan agreed by France, the United States, and Britain for a Suez Canal Users' Association, which would employ pilots, co-ordinate traffic and exercise the rights of canal users. It would require the co-operation of Egypt and if this were not forthcoming the British Government and others concerned would, Sir Anthony said, be free to take such further steps as might be required. The 18 nations which had supported the Dulles plan were invited to another conference in London.

The Egyptian Government made known its intention not to co-operate with the proposed association and Mr. Dulles, sponsor of the plan, stated that no United States ship would be allowed 'to shoot its way' through the canal. Almost the entire complement of European pilots employed on the canal resigned and were allowed by the Government to leave Egypt. Egypt was compelled to handle the canal traffic with about 70 pilots, almost all Egyptian and nearly half lacking training or experience, as against a normal complement of about 215 trained men, and did so successfully for three days before the London conference assembled. (Reinforced by recruits from Russia, Yugoslavia, the United States, and other countries the Egyptian administration successfully maintained pilotage on the canal until it was blocked.) When the conference assembled on 19 September, several of the Governments represented expressed the view that

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the matter should be referred to the United Nations. The association which emerged in the final communiqué was much weaker than the original concept, and so reflected the reluctance of most of the 18 States. In particular members of the association were left free to pay their dues to Egypt should they so desire. France, chagrined by this result, withheld its support from the association and on 23 September the British and French Governments called for a meeting of the Security Council to consider the situation caused by the nationalization of the Suez Canal.

The Egyptian Government was 'sitting tight'. It did not insist that dues should be paid to the national administration and did not discriminate against any nation's shipping. It was able to secure the testimony of shipmasters that the canal was being run efficiently. It had the support of the entire Soviet block, the Arab States, and all the other nations of the Afro-Asian group. Nevertheless President Nasser was under pressure from friendly States to contribute to a compromise settlement. The Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, using Mr Krishna Menon as emissary, worked for a settlement based on international co-operation and supervision of canal operations. Iraq and Saudi Arabia were so worried by the threat to their oil revenues that their monarchs met with unwonted friendliness, forcing President Nasser to fly to Riyadh to reassure his Arabian ally. It was in this atmosphere that Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi, the Egyptian Foreign Minister, flew to New York for the Security Council discussions and was joined there by Wing Commander Aly Sabry, the President's chief of Cabinet.

As backcloth to this international problem, the Arab-Israeli problem was rumbling dangerously. The Secretary-General of the United Nations had intervened twice during the year, securing as far back as January Egypt's acceptance of proposals for easing tension and in April the agreement of both Israel and Egypt to honour the armistice clauses forbidding warlike acts. The agreement was honoured more in the breach than the observance by both sides and again in May Egypt and all the Arab States accepted the cease fire. The situation was worse than it had ever been in August and September: over 100 people lost their lives and more than half that number were wounded in attack and counter-attack across the Israeli-Jordan borders. Attack and reprisal also continued on the Israeli-Egyptian frontier and had it not been for the Suez crisis the gravity of the situation would have received more attention.

The main debates on the Suez crisis took place at the Security Council between 5 and 13 October. The U.N. Secretary-General brought the Foreign Ministers of Egypt, Britain, and France together in private discussions which evolved six principles for a settlement. These were: free and open transit through the canal without discrimination; recognition of Egypt's sovereignty; 'insulation' of the canal from politics; agreement between Egypt and the users regarding tolls; allotment of a fair proportion of dues for canal development; settlement of disputes by arbitration;

The six principles were unanimously approved by the Security Council when presented as part of an Anglo-French proposal but the second part providing for a Suez Canal Users' Association was rejected by Russia and Yugoslavia, the Russian vote constituting a veto. The British and French Governments held that it was now up to Egypt to submit detailed bases for a settlement. Egypt contended that the six principles provided the bases and as October dragged to a close there was a deadlock. Then, on 27 October, the Israeli Government announced partial mobilization, on 29 October the Israeli army invaded Egypt, crossing into Sinai at several points and dropping parachutists at a vital desert crossroads, and the British and American Governments urged their nationals to leave Egypt and the Arab States immediately. The Israeli Government later said its objective was to destroy the *fedayeen* bases and break the blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba which closed the Israeli port of Eilat, but at the outset the Israeli forces seemed to be advancing on the canal.

M. Mollet and M. Pineau flew to London on 30 October and that afternoon the British Prime Minister told the House of Commons that the two Governments had called on Israel and Egypt to cease fighting and withdraw their forces 10 miles from the canal. He added that they had also asked the Egyptian Government to agree that Anglo-French forces should move temporarily into key positions at Port Said, Ismailia, and Suez. If one or both of the combatants failed to comply with the requirements within 12 hours, British and French forces would 'intervene in whatever strength may be necessary to secure compliance' (see p. 459). President Nasser promptly rejected the ultimatum and began to withdraw from Sinai forces he had begun to send over the canal to reinforce his troops there. From their Cyprus base British and French planes began the systematic bombing of Egyptian airfields and other targets on 31 October. Next day the U.N. General Assembly began to debate the situation and in the early hours of 2 November called on Britain, France, and Israel to cease fire immediately by 64 votes to 5 (Britain, France, Israel, Australia, and New Zealand). The bombing nevertheless continued. Egypt blocked the canal by sinking ships in it and on 5 November Anglo-French forces invaded the Port Said region.

The British Government was under considerable pressure from the United Nations and opposition in Parliament. On 4 November the U.N. instructed Mr. Hammarskjöld to prepare plans at once for an emergency international police force to secure and supervise a cease-fire. He reported on this to the Assembly on 5 November, saying that the force would enter Egypt with Egypt's permission to establish the cease-fire and secure compliance with other terms of the resolution of 2 November. The vital clauses provided for the withdrawal of the invading forces and for effective steps to restore free navigation of the canal. That same day Mr. Hammarskjöld negotiated the cease-fire with Britain and France, and Israel announced two days later that she would withdraw her forces from Sinai after the arrival of the U.N. international force in the Suez Canal area. President Nasser accepted

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the landing of the international force but refused to have a contingent from Canada, although General Burns, a Canadian, commanded the force. Within a matter of days contingents of the force began to arrive by air. Egypt received the full support of the Arab States. The Syrian Army severely sabotaged the British-controlled oil pipelines from the Iraq Petroleum Company's Kirkuk oil field to the Mediterranean. Jordan and Libya refused to allow British bases to be used. Syria and Saudi Arabia followed Egypt's example in breaking off diplomatic relations with Britain and France, and Iraq broke off relations with France and refused to participate in Baghdad Pact meetings if Britain attended. In Egypt it was firmly believed that Britain and France had only agreed to withdraw from fear of the Soviet Union, which had threatened to allow volunteers to go to Egypt's aid and hinted at rockets on London. British and French troops did not complete their withdrawal from Egypt until 22 December and, as President Nasser had insisted that the clearing of the canal could not be started until the Anglo-French evacuation was completed, a U.N. salvage force did not begin clearing the canal until 30 December. It was estimated that the work would take several months. In the meantime Anglo-French salvage ships had cleared a channel through Port Said as far as El Cap, the limit to which the British and French troops had penetrated.

The Israel withdrawal was barely under way at the turn of the year and there was some doubt whether the Israeli army was prepared to evacuate the Gaza strip and the shores of the Aqaba Gulf until the United Nations gave adequate guarantees against Egyptian *fedayeen* activity and assured the right of ships to sail up the gulf to the Israeli port of Eilat.

Egypt suffered heavily in the invasion. The casualties in Sinai are unknown but a very large quantity of heavy equipment was lost and, except for the Armoured Group which was withdrawn after some losses at an early stage in the battle, the very considerable forces engaged took severe punishment. (Egypt seized British military stocks and installations in the canal zone base and interned, until late December, the civilian contractors.) The Israeli forces also sabotaged Egyptian oilfields in Sinai. Egyptian casualties in the Port Said region, as a result of the Anglo-French landings, were estimated at 650 dead and 2,100 wounded. The native quarter of Port Said was destroyed and there was some damage in the business centre. The Anglo-French bombing did serious damage to all Egyptian airfields and airstrips and their installations and a large part of the Egyptian Air Force were destroyed (some of the air force was evacuated to the safety of Syria).

The Egyptian Government sequestered all British firms and funds on 3 November, interned some British citizens and later in the month confined all British and French citizens to their homes or hotels. Towards the end of the month it began to expel the British and the French and stateless Jews. The Egyptians stated they only expelled about 3,000 of a total of about 30,000 but there was little doubt that

some thousands more were ' persuaded ' to leave and many others left because their livelihoods and security had gone. Perhaps the most hard hit were Maltese with British passports, some of whom had known no other country but Egypt, and the stateless Jews. There were some cases of rough treatment but they affected a very small part of the Anglo-French-Jewish people. The main hardship was caused by the expulsions which forced people to leave all their possessions behind in Egypt. Excellent security was preserved by the Egyptian Government throughout the period, except for some incidents during the Anglo-French evacuation of Port Said. The year closed with virtually nothing left of the long Anglo-French connexion: the schools, the firms, the professional offices, the religious institutions, were all either closed or Egyptianized.

President Nasser seemed just as firmly in the saddle and the problem of Suez Canal control which began the crisis was still unsolved. The crisis and the invasion had, however, put a severe strain on his economy which was already in difficulties before the crisis started. There was an estimated deficit on Egyptian balance of payments of more than £20 million by mid-July but in fact the deficit on payments to the free world was much higher and there was a surplus in trading with the Eastern block. The year saw a further extension of trade with the Eastern block: by mid-May Egypt had sold two-thirds of her cotton crop to Communist China, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia. An internal loan of £25 million was raised in April for productive purposes. The National Production Council courageously ' allotted ' £200 million for the first stage of its development programme. Nearly £46 million was set aside in the July Budget for the Board's programme. The ordinary Budget was balanced at £280·5 million, the most notable point in it being the increase of £23 million in the defence estimates. Plans for elections and a parliament in the autumn were, naturally, never executed and there was no indication by the year's end as to the date of the elections. Four British citizens, arrested in August on charges of espionage, were still in gaol in Cairo awaiting trial when 1956 closed.

THE SUDAN

At 8.00 a.m. on 1 January 1956 the then Prime Minister of the Sudan, Sayed Ismail el Azhari, read out at a joint sitting of Parliament the British and Egyptian dispatches recognizing the Sudan's independence. The Speaker of the House of Representatives then proceeded to swear in the five-member Supreme Commission who were to exercise the powers of the Head of the State. An hour later, at an impressive ceremony at the Republican Palace, the flags of Egypt and Britain were lowered and the tricolour flag of the new Republic of the Sudan (blue, yellow, and green in that order) was hoisted jointly by the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition.

The way in which independent Sudan came into existence was remarkable in many ways. The transition from a status of dependence

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to that of independence was orderly and well-planned. Self-governing institutions had already been in existence when full sovereignty was attained, and the Transitional Constitution which was promulgated did little more than perpetuate the constitutional machinery already in existence. The termination of the Condominium and the establishment of the new Republic were the result of provisions agreed to by the parties concerned: the speed with which Britain and Egypt had recognized Sudanese independence was itself a testimony to the smoothness with which the transition had been effected. Finally, the smoothness with which the political and constitutional changes were effected helped to reduce their impact on the country's advance in the economic and social fields.

With these advantages attending its emergence as a sovereign State it is not surprising that the Sudan's first year of independence was one of stability and progress. Within a few days of attaining recognition the Sudan sought to occupy its place in the international sphere. Its application for membership of the Arab League was unanimously accepted by the other members of that body on 19 January 1956, and on 6 February 1956 the Security Council decided unanimously to recommend to the General Assembly the Sudan's application, lodged as early as 12 January 1956, for membership of the United Nations. At the same time the Sudan sought and obtained full membership of several United Nations agencies. Thus it became a full member of W.H.O. on 8 May 1956, of I.L.O. on 12 June 1956, and of F.A.O. on 13 September 1956. On 12 November 1956 came the General Assembly's unanimous election of the Sudan to the membership of U.N. The Sudan's membership of Unesco and of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development awaited the implementation of a few formal and legal steps. Diplomatic representation at various levels was established between the Sudan and several other countries including Britain, Egypt, India, Pakistan, the United States, and the U.S.S.R. The Sudan's first ambassadors to other countries were sworn in on 24 July 1956 before the Supreme Commission.

The Sudan's foreign policy, as defined by the Prime Minister, Sayed Abdulla Khalil, who was elected on 5 July, was 'friendship with all nations and governments . . . the strengthening of relations between us and the governments and peoples of the Arab League . . . and of the neighbouring African countries'. Moreover, 'the resolutions of the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian Countries will continue to receive our attention and regard'.

During the canal crisis the Sudan was unequivocally on Egypt's side, 'recognizing its right to nationalize the Suez Canal Company', and when Britain and France attacked Egypt in November 1956, the Sudan felt profoundly sympathetic with Egypt. The Government regarded the Anglo-French offensive against Egypt as 'an act of aggression and a breach of the U.N. Charter' and conveyed its views on the matter to Britain, Egypt, France, Russia, and the U.N. It further declared all Sudanese airports out of bounds to British and

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French military aircraft, made financial and other help available to voluntary bodies engaged in the recruitment of Sudanese volunteers, and gave a donation of 10,000 head of cattle to Egypt. The Government did not, however, deem it in the interests of either Egypt or the Sudan to sever diplomatic relations with Britain and France. At the November session of the U.N. General Assembly the Sudanese delegation worked in close co-operation with the Afro-Asian block.

The internal political scene saw two governmental changes in 1956. The year opened with the National Unionist Party (N.U.P.) in power, and with Sayed Ismail el Azhari, its leader, as Prime Minister. The Opposition consisted primarily of a coalition made up of the Umma, the Southern Liberal, the Socialist Republican, and the Republican Independence Parties. The demand for an all-party Government, blessed by Sayed Ali el Mirghani and Sayed Abdel Rahman el Mahdi in a joint statement dated 3 December 1955 was, however, gathering momentum both in the country as a whole and among the *Khatmia* members of the N.U.P. The protracted negotiations between the N.U.P. and the Opposition parties bore no immediate results owing to differences about the distribution of Cabinet seats. On 19 January 1956 el Azhari's Government was defeated by 49 votes to 46 during a sudden vote on the third reading of the Budget. The Government's defeat was due to the fact that three of its supporters were away in the Senate answering questions, while a fourth was indisposed. The following day the Government asked for and received a vote of confidence. The incident resulted, however, in the intensification of the public demand for a national or all-party Government. This was achieved when a number of N.U.P. Ministers resigned and an equivalent number of Opposition leaders joined the Cabinet on 2 February 1956. Sayed el Azhari retained his position as Prime Minister. The national Government thus created continued to function with a certain measure of success for the following five months. Meanwhile the N.U.P. was showing signs of yet another split—this time between the *Khatmia* and the leaders of the old *Ashigga* party. The split came into the open when the *Khatmia* finally broke away towards the end of June 1956 and formed their own People's Democratic Party. With this split the anti-N.U.P. parties held the parliamentary majority and felt that the national Government as then constituted did not do justice to their parliamentary position. Consequently a vote of no confidence in the Prime Minister, Sayed el Azhari, was passed on 4 July 1956 by a majority of 60 votes to 31. On 5 July 1956 Sayed Abdulla Khalil, leader of the Umma Party, was elected Prime Minister by the same majority. His Government, still in power as the year 1956 ended, consisted of all the previous Opposition parties in proportion to their representation in the House of Representatives. The Government's coalition showed a remarkable degree of cohesion; this was no doubt due to the close co-operation between the two Sayeds, and their followers, the *Khatmia* and the *Ansar*. Despite the governmental changes described above steps were taken to resolve the question of

the future Constitution of the Sudan. As early as 28 February 1956 the then Council of Ministers decided to entrust the problem to a Cabinet sub-committee. This sub-committee recommended that a National Constitution Committee be set up on which all shades of political opinions would be represented, and whose duty would be to submit a draft Constitution to a Constituent Assembly to be elected in 1957. This Committee met for the first time on 22 September 1956 and as 1956 came to an end was still busy at its momentous task. The Attorney-General's office was also still busy drafting a Nationality Bill and a draft Electoral Law. The results of the Sudan's first population census were also being analysed so that the new constituencies might be delimited on the basis of accurate population figures. Determination was shown in dealing with the problems remaining in the relations between the Muslim North and the non-Muslim South, one decision being to replace northern by southern administrators. The stage was thus being set for ending the transitional state under which the country had been living since January 1956. Meanwhile the present Parliament had been given an extra lease of life which would take it into July 1957.

Economically 1956 was a good year for the Sudan. Thus the Sudan's holdings of foreign exchange other than Pounds Egyptian had increased by £E12·4 million to £E32·7 million in the first nine months of the year. This was partly due to increased exports of groundnuts, gum, cotton seed, and animal products and to reduced imports, but the largest factor was a considerable reduction in the carry-forward of cotton from the previous season. At the same time cotton marketing proceeded well and the whole of the 1955-56 crops of the Gezira Board and of the Government had been sold. The management of certain cotton schemes under the legislation controlling owner-tenant partnerships came in for strong criticism early in the year. This was accentuated by a disastrous incident at Kosti on the White Nile where, following a clash with the police after making demands for an increased share in the management and profits of the privately-owned Guda Agricultural Scheme, 192 tenant farmers, who with others had been locked up in a room too small for the purpose, died of asphyxia from heat and overcrowding during the night of 21-22 February.

In January the Sudan expressed anxiety about the Egyptian Aswan High Dam project and asked for a revision of the 1929 Nile Waters Agreement in its favour before work on the dam began. As a basis for discussion Sudanese technicians, assisted by foreign experts, were appointed to prepare a co-ordinated plan for the utilization of the Nile Waters for the benefit of all the riparian territories. Negotiations with Egypt about the repatriation of Egyptian currency were still going on when 1956 ended, though the differences in the views of the two countries were said to have been narrowed.

Work on the Managil Extension, which will bring some 800,000 acres under irrigation by July 1961, progressed satisfactorily in the second half of 1956. The blueprint of the Roseiris Dam, which forms an important part of the Sudan's economic development programme,

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was completed, but its implementation must await the revision of the 1929 Nile Waters Agreement.

The most important event in the educational field was the assumption of full university status on 24 July 1956 by the University College of Khartoum.

LIBYA

The General Elections of 7 January 1956 produced a House of Representatives differing little from its predecessor. A Senussi Family law was promulgated in April, making it possible to limit the place of residence and the movements of any member of a Senussi family. In November a Royal Order was issued, appointing the King's nephew, Prince al-Hasan Ridha, as Crown Prince.

The first Soviet Ambassador to Libya, M. Generalov, arrived on 6 January. It was reported in March that the Libyan Government had declined a Soviet offer of economic and technical aid. In August the King paid official visits to Turkey and Lebanon. In accordance with the Treaty of 1955 (see A.R. 1955, p. 279) the last French troops left the Fezzan by the end of November. Ratification of the Treaty was approved by the French Assembly on 22 November, with the proviso that the instruments of ratification should not be deposited until the Algiers-Libya frontier had been delimited. There were many reports that arms from Egypt were being smuggled through Libya to Algeria.

A British gift of arms, including armoured cars, was handed over on 1 February, and on 2 July the Libyan Government, after discussions in London, announced that the British Government had agreed to create the nucleus of a Libyan Air Force and Navy, and to provide, free, arms and equipment for 10,000 troops. In April the United States Government offered equipment for 1,000 more troops, $12 million as additional aid, and 30,000 tons of wheat as a gift for famine relief. It was rumoured that in view of the reported unwillingness of the new Moroccan Government to renew the Franco-American Agreement of December 1950, under which the United States built three large air bases in Morocco, the United States Government hoped to be able to transfer the Air Force Headquarters in Rabat to Wheelus Airfield in Libya.

The Prime Minister told the Lower House in March that, as a member of the Arab League, Libya would give every possible assistance to any Arab State which was the victim of Israeli aggression, and that the Libyan Government would never allow British or American bases in Libya to be used directly or indirectly in an attack on any Arab State. When Britain and France attacked Egypt the Libyan Government protested strongly, and the Libyan Prime Minister announced that the Libyan Government had persuaded the British Government not to use Libyan bases against Egypt. He added that the Government wished to seek the speedy revision of the treaty with Britain.

In November the Libyan Government asked the Egyptian Government to withdraw their Military Attaché, and at the same time, without giving any reason, requested the British Government to withdraw the Oriental Counsellor of the British Embassy. At the end of the year the Libyan Government were preparing for negotiations, to which they said the British Government had consented, for the revision of the Anglo-Libyan Treaty.

THE YEMEN

The renewal of the 1928 treaty of friendship and commerce with the Soviet Union which had been signed on 1 November 1955 was followed by the conclusion of a trade agreement in March 1956. In the controversy about the Baghdad Pact the Yemen sided with Egypt, and on 21 April the Yemen Government signed a mutual defence pact, providing for a unified command, with Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The Crown Prince, Muhammad al Badr, visited the Soviet Union in June. It was announced that diplomatic representatives would be exchanged, and that the Prince had declared that the Yemen would pursue a policy of non-participation in aggressive military pacts. On 30 June and 5 July trade and friendship agreements with Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia were concluded respectively.

Relations with the Aden Protectorate continued to be disturbed. The Yemen Government objected to the policy of the Protectorate Government in encouraging some of the rulers to enter into some sort of association for their mutual benefit, alleging that the provisions of the Anglo-Yemeni Treaty of 1934 about the maintenance of the *status quo* applied also to the internal affairs of the Protectorate: a claim held by the Protectorate Government to be completely unfounded. The Yemen in March laid claim to the island of Kamaran,[1] in the Red Sea, and in April declared the whole of the Aden Protectorate to be part of the ancestral territory of Yemen. The immediate cause of the assertion of the claim to Kamaran was the grant of a concession to drill for oil given by the British authorities to the D'Arcy Exploration Company Ltd., the prospecting company of British Petroleum.

Two particularly audacious raids from Yemen into the Aden Protectorate, on 24 and 25 December, were the subject of a protest by the British Government, who denied Yemeni allegations that British forces had raided into Yemen on Christmas Day.

ISRAEL

In the last months of 1955 Israel was passing to the centre, the storm centre, of world events, following the Soviet supply of jet aircraft and heavy armament to Egypt and the Arab States, and the consequent

[1] Kamaran Island, where there was a quarantine station in Turkish times, was captured from the Turks by the British Navy in 1915. It was declared to be British territory in 1949. Under the provisions of the Kamaran Order-in-Council, 1949, the Governor of Aden is also Governor of Kamaran.

unbalance of arms in relation to Israel. Throughout 1956 she stayed in that unwanted position. The tension with her neighbours was unbroken. Security was her main concern, and she was living dangerously every day. At the end of October, after a series of raids by the Egyptians, which the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization was unable to check, she launched a full-scale invasion of the Sinai Peninsula. In five breathless days her army routed the enemy's land forces and occupied the greater part of the peninsula. Two days after she started her attack, British and French forces, after delivering an ultimatum to Israel and Egypt, intervened in order to prevent a general conflagration in the Middle East, and destroyed the Egyptian air force. Then followed the world crisis.

To start chronologically with the developments which culminated in this crisis, in January the Security Council, which was seised of a complaint against Israel for a reprisal attack on Syrian posts north-east of the Sea of Galilee (Lake Tiberias), unanimously condemned Israel. In the same month the Secretary-General of the United Nations made the first of three tours in the Middle East with the purpose of relieving the tension. The first was a kind of preview, but he made some proposals about the demilitarized area on the Israel-Egyptian frontier at Nitzana (Auja-Hafir) which Israel on 4 January, and Egypt later, accepted. The second visit, in April, was made at the behest of the Security Council, which was concerned over the threat of war by reason of daily incidents on the eastern and southern frontiers of Israel. General Glubb's dismissal on 2 March from the command of the Jordan Arab Legion was the prelude to the growing domination of Egyptian influence and the multiplication of murderous activities of Egyptian *fedayeen* (irregulars) from Jordan as well as from the Gaza strip and Sinai. In that month Israel protested to the Security Council against 80 raids within the last quarter. And the freedom from serious raidings on the Jordan frontier in 1955 gave place to constant infiltration. The main Egyptian attacks were from the Gaza strip, and led to a major reprisal against Gaza itself by Israel on 5 April, involving 140 Egyptian casualties.

The Secretary-General had limited terms of reference. They were to get all parties to undertake a cease-fire and to comply strictly with the terms of the 1949 Armistice agreements. In that effort he appeared to have succeeded. On 18 April he could announce an unconditional cease-fire between Israel and Egypt, and, later, similar cease-fires between Israel and the other Arab States. They agreed that 'no military or paramilitary forces, including non-regular forces, may shoot across the demarcation line or pass over that line for any purpose whatsoever'. Israel reserved the right to act in self-defence. Within a few days, however, of the agreement with Egypt incidents were renewed. In May a Greek ship seeking to pass the Suez Canal for Eilat (Israel's port on the Gulf of Aqaba) was arrested by the Egyptians. The Security Council, after protracted debates over the Secretary-General's report, passed a resolution that he should continue his efforts to keep the peace; but a clause calling for peaceful settlement of the

problems by negotiation between the parties was cut out on Soviet insistence. The Secretary-General's third visit was made in July with the purpose of easing the situation, which was again getting out of hand, but was not attended with any positive improvement.

During the first half-year the three Western Powers, Britain, the United States and France, despite several efforts, failed to concert a united policy for implementing the Tripartite Declaration of 1950 about preserving an arms balance between Israel and the Arab States, and resisting any aggression by either side. In February, following the visit of the British Prime Minister to President Eisenhower, talks on the Middle East situation began at the State Department with the British and French Ambassadors. Though no official statement was issued it was understood that various suggestions for easing tension in the area were considered. In April France supplied Israel with 12 Mystère IV jet fighters, and in May announced that she would send a further 12; later Canada acceded to a request for fighter aircraft, but suspended export on the Israeli invasion of Sinai. On the other hand, the Soviet Union, which continued to supply arms to the Arabs, stated that it would take part in the effort to secure peace in the Middle East.

The final evacuation of the Suez Canal base by British troops in June ushered in a fresh phase of trouble. Following President Nasser's announcement in July of the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company, there were more frontier incidents in which three U.N. observers were wounded and a U.N. radio operator was killed. Israel for a time exercised restraint and did not launch any big-scale reprisal, while pressing with the international conference of canal-user States her claim to free passage of her ships through the canal. Mr. Ben Gurion, the Prime Minister, in a Jewish New Year's message in September, noted the deep concern for the peace of Israel, and mentioned that anxiety had been intensified in the last weeks by the Canal controversy. At the end of this month his restraint was exhausted by the shooting from the Jordan lines south of Jerusalem of a large party of archaeologists, visiting the ruins at Ramat Rachel, near the border, with fatal casualties. A day later Israeli forces attacked and destroyed a Jordan police-station. And when the Mixed Armistice Commission failed to find Jordan responsible for the provocative shooting, Israel announced that she would no longer participate in the Commission.

The situation on all fronts was more and more menacing, and the elections for the Jordan Parliament in October marked further Egyptian influence. Support from the United States and British Governments to the proposal that Iraqi troops should be stationed in Jordan, in order to assure order and prevent a coup from Syria or Egypt, provoked violent opposition from Israel who regarded it as a threat. Egypt and the Arab States were united in a chorus of hatred and pronouncements of impending attack on Israel, when suddenly, on 27 October, Israel mobilized her forces, calling up her quarter million reservists, and on 29 October started the invasion of Sinai.

Within five days her army was master of Gaza, Rafa, and El Arish, had occupied also the greater part of the Peninsula of Sinai east of

the Suez Canal, including the Egyptian bases of El Quesima, El Kuntilla, Nakhl, and Abu Aweigila, and taken prisoner the Egyptian garrisons at Sharm el-Sheikh and on the island of Tiran commanding the entrance of the Gulf of Aqaba. The objectives of the Sinai operation were declared to be to wipe out the Egyptian outposts and the bases of the suicide commandos (*fedayeen*) in the Sinai Desert; to open sea communications through the Gulf of Aqaba with Eilat, and to destroy the Egyptian batteries which prevented free access; to eliminate the Egyptian salient, known as the Gaza strip, which stretched along the coast some 25 miles, was part of Western Palestine of the Mandate, and had been occupied by the Egyptians since the day the State of Israel came into existence; and lastly, to put pressure on Egypt to negotiate a peace treaty. In the first three objects Israel was immediately successful; and her army captured war booty, a large part consisting of Russian arms, to the estimated value of £30 million.

On 7 November, Mr. Ben Gurion, who had directed the operations from a sick-bed, gave a report to the Knesset, and declared that Israel would hold on to her conquests and would not withdraw her forces till Egypt made a settlement. She treated the armistice agreement with Egypt as cancelled, and did not regard the Sinai Peninsula as part of Egypt. The next day, however, having received strong representation from President Eisenhower, and severe warning in the most menacing terms from Marshal Bulganin, he gave a broadcast address to the people stating that Israel would withdraw her forces from Egyptian territory when satisfactory arrangements had been made with the United Nations in connexion with the International Force which the General Assembly had decided to send to Egypt. Only the Heruth Party (Nationalists) challenged his action in the Knesset, and he had a vote of confidence with a large majority. The campaign had made the United Nations and the Western Powers realize the urgency of putting an end to the cold war which recurrently became red hot and threatened the peace of the world. To that extent Israel had attained her principal aim.

The Israeli forces were quickly withdrawn from the greater part of the Sinai Peninsula, but remained for the time in the Gaza strip. That territory was placed under military administration; and the Israeli Governor took urgent and energetic steps to link it with the rest of Israel. The coastal railway line was extended to Rafa, the old frontier, Israel's currency and stamps were introduced, and a municipal Council with an Arab Mayor was installed in Gaza. A big problem was caused by the presence of 200,000 Arab refugees and some 90,000 Arab inhabitants in the strip. Israel came to an agreement with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (U.N.R.W.A.) for the maintenance of their feeding of the refugees. On 12 November there was trouble with the refugees in Rafa because of looting of stores, and some were killed in an affray with the police. But order was immediately restored, and till the end of the year there was no further trouble.

An amazing incident of the five-day operation was that an Egyptian destroyer, which was shelling Haifa, was captured intact with its

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company by the Israeli Navy. Israel took immediate steps to establish her hold in the Gulf of Aqaba and sent two frigates of her little navy round the cape to Eilat. She insisted that she must have guarantees of freedom of navigation before she withdrew from the positions at the southern tip of Sinai. Israel's Mercantile Marine could at last bring cargos to Eilat from Africa. The first ship brought Israel, in November, a cargo of meat from Jibuti, and Mr. Ben Gurion called for an urgent effort to develop the port of Eilat.

Another surprising feature of the operation was that the Arab States did not come to the help of Egypt, although the armies of Syria and Jordan were under Egyptian supreme command. It was not till Israel's victory was complete that Syria made a threatening move of troops on Israel's frontier and the Russians poured arms into Syria. That caused apprehension and protests from Israel, and Syria on her part denounced Israel for massing troops on the borders. Before the end of the year Israel addressed a Note to the three Western Powers about the alarming increase of border raids from Jordan.

In December Mr. Ben Gurion made a statement in the Knesset about a deplorable incident in which 49 Arab villagers on the Israel border were shot and killed by Jewish guards for breach of a curfew regulation imposed immediately before the operations began. He expressed his deep regret, and announced that the guards would be tried.

Diplomatic Relations. Israel's relations with the Western Powers were disturbed by the changing and sometimes conflicting policies in the Middle East. She had completely friendly relations only with France who was described by Mr. Ben Gurion as a true ally. Her relations with the Soviet Union were still more chequered. In April the Russian declaration that they were concerned with making peace in the Middle East was welcomed by Dr. Goldmann, the President of the Zionist Congress. It was noted hopefully that the Soviet Foreign Minister visited Israel's Embassy in Moscow on the celebration of Independence Day, and that the Czechs released a former Israel member of parliament who had been imprisoned for four and a half years on a charge of espionage. But the violent Soviet reaction to Israel's invasion of Sinai took the form of the withdrawal of her Ambassador. She left no doubt of her backing of the Arab States in their attempt to destroy Israel.

In March Mr. Selwyn Lloyd spent a day in Israel on his return from the meeting of the S.E.A.T.O. Council at Karachi, and saw the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary. Later it was announced that the British Ambassador, Sir John Nicholls, was being transferred. A minor mark of friendly Anglo-Israel relations was the signing in July of a convention about national insurance, by which a citizen of one country was entitled to the benefit of insurance in the other, and an immigrant from England to Israel would be credited with the period of his insurance in England.

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Internal Politics. The most dramatic political change was the forced retirement in June of the Foreign Secretary, Moshe Sharett, who had held that office from the foundation of the State, and for years before directed the international relations of the Jewish Agency. Temperamental differences between him and the Prime Minister were the motive. His place was taken by the Minister of Labour, another member of the Mapai Party, Mrs. Golda Myerson (later Meir). She in turn was succeeded in the Labour Ministry by Mr. Namir, the secretary-general of the General Confederation of Labour (Histadruth). All parties, except the Communists, backed Ben Gurion's invasion of Sinai. The Coalition Government, based on the three wings of Labour, held together. The legislative programme mainly concerned taxation. A Defence Levy Law was passed, a Bill repealing the Ottoman Law governing the maximum legal rate of interest, and allowing the Finance Minister to prescribe the rate, and Bills about arbitration in labour disputes and on the constitution and rights of the Knesset (Parliament) were introduced. A statute empowered local authorities to prohibit the breeding of pigs and sale of pork. Another statute was enacted to extend the territorial waters of Israel from three to six miles.

In municipal politics a rift occurred between the Religious and the Labour (Mapai) Parties, who formed the ruling coalition in Jerusalem, over a permit to build a Reform synagogue in an archaeological school founded by an American-Jewish institution. The Religious members left the Coalition which was, however, able to carry on without them. Serious disturbances were later caused in Jerusalem by the demonstration of religious groups against motorists who drove through the streets on the Sabbath. The Government appointed a commission to enquire into the happenings and the conduct of the police, and the incident had repercussions over the Jewish world.

A proposal to reduce the military administration in Arab areas was examined by a Government commission but not approved. The commission advised that the existing system, with small amendments, should be maintained for security reasons. Subsequently a convention was held by the Mapam (Left-wing Socialist Workers') Party at Haifa to form a Jewish-Arab association for equality of rights and peace with the Arab States. It was attended by leading persons of several parties and by an Arab deputy to the Knesset.

Immigration. During the first half year immigration, principally from North Africa, was considerably greater than in the corresponding period of the previous years. It was expected that the total of the year would reach 50,000, as against 36,000 in 1955. The Moroccan Government forbade mass emigration of Jews, and the pace slowed down. Nevertheless, the total immigration for the first ten months was 46,260. The events in Poland and Hungary in the autumn led to a resumption of Jewish immigration from those countries on a small scale. And the expulsion of Jews from Egypt at the end of November started a fresh stream. A small but notable group came from Ethiopia, 14 boys and 4 girls of the Falashas, the Jewish tribe, to be trained as teachers.

Economic Development. The economic progress towards a balanced Budget and a less adverse balance of trade, which had been marked in 1954, and in less measure in 1955, was checked in 1956 by the inescapable demands for defence and more armament. The nation had to be throughout in a state of war-preparedness. Special taxes and levies for defence were imposed in addition to those of the regular Budget, which amounted to a total of I£770 million. The foreign currency requirement was $480 million, as against $420 million in the previous year. Although exports rose by 25 per cent. and imports only by 18 per cent., the trade gap was increased because the value of imports was three times greater than that of exports. The gap was closed partly by loans, partly by contributions of Jewish communities abroad, which were roused to meet the need, partly by reparations from Germany to the amount of $60 million. Home consumption was increased as a result of improving the standard of life and housing conditions of immigrants. Despite warnings of the economic advisers and the Finance Ministry, wages were raised all round by 10 per cent. and the cost-of-living allowance went up. Fortunately it was a year of exceptionally good harvest of cereals and citrus, and the value of agricultural production increased. Industrial production slightly declined because of the demands of defence. The cotton crop was much bigger than before, but pests attacked the plants. The big irrigation scheme for the use of the waters of the Jordan, worked out by the American emissary, Mr. Eric Johnston, for the benefit of the Kingdom of Jordan and of Israel, was held up by the obstinate obstruction of Syria. In deference to the appeal of the United Nations and the Secretary-General, Mr. Ben Gurion held his hand in the demilitarized zone of Huleh; but a water tunnel in Galilee, which was part of the scheme, was completed, so that, when the political obstacle was removed, things would be ready. The development of the Lachish project for close settlement of the southern foothills and the country between them and the coast went ahead. British Jews were particularly interested in the project, and an agreement was made between the Government and the British Zionist Federation for its execution. At the edge of the area was Israel's productive oilfield. The Heletz wells struck in 1955 were exploited, and it was estimated that they would give this year one-tenth of Israel's demands. Another development in the southern area was the opening of the railway from the coastal plain to Beersheba. Plans were considered for extending the railway to Eilat. A French company, which was interested in that enterprise, began work on an underground railway in Haifa to connect the port and town with the residential suburbs on the Carmel. The troubles over the Suez Canal encouraged a suggestion for an oil pipe-line from Eilat to Haifa on the Mediterranean coast: and in December it was announced that work would begin on it.

Israel's economy stood up well to the strain of the Sinai operation, though the need of continuous purchases of arms before and after the operation was a heavy burden. The Government introduced in November new indirect taxes and floated an internal loan of I£40

million (the equivalent of £8 million). An emergency appeal for funds was also sent to the Jewish communities abroad and had an immediate response. A loan of $14½ million was raised in America to pay for the aircraft to be bought by Israel from the Canadian Government.

Cultural Development. As in previous years, Israel, now recognized as the intellectual centre of the Jewish people, was the scene of several conferences, some Jewish, some international. The 24th Zionist Congress was held in Jerusalem in April: the General Confederation of Labour (Histadruth) held in May a convention to survey social progress since 1950. In September a joint Israel-American exhibition of Atoms for Peace near Tel-Aviv attracted great attention: and in the summer an industrial fair was held in Haifa. Two international scientific conferences were assembled, one of the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization in Tel-Aviv to consider problems of settlement, and the other of molecular chemists at Rehovot, the seat of the Weizmann Institute for Science, in which 200 scientists took part.

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem made great strides with its building programme in Jewish Jerusalem, so that for the academic year beginning in November, 2,000 of the 4,000 students could pursue their studies in the halls and laboratories of the new site. Progress, too, was made by the Haifa Technological Institute with its buildings on a fine site outside the town. A much appreciated cultural link with Britain was the presentation by members of the British Parliament to the Knesset of a monumental seven-branched candelabra (Menorah) sculpted with scenes of Jewish history. Lastly, archaeological expeditions continued to attract immense popular interest. Notable finds were made in the vast Canaanite Tel of Hatzor in Northern Galilee, in early Jewish catacombs of Beth Shearim in the Galilean hills, in the excavation of Roman and Byzantine Cæsarea, and in the Herodian stronghold of Massada by the shores of the Dead Sea, near the caves of the Scrolls.

JORDAN

The upsurge of extreme nationalism—stimulated from Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Syria—which had been demonstrated in December 1955 against proposals that Jordan should join the Baghdad Pact (see A.R. 1955, pp. 286-7) gained fresh force in the New Year. One of the demonstrators' demands was for a dissolution of the Parliament whose election in 1954 had taken place allegedly under official pressure; and when the High Court ruled that such a dissolution would be unconstitutional, a fresh outbreak of rioting began on 6 January and did serious damage to foreign property for three days, until the army restored order and a new Government, pledged not to join the Baghdad Pact, was formed by the conservative Samir el-Rifai. The new Government requested the Egyptian and Saudi Governments to stop their inflammatory propaganda and expelled some 600 Syrian, Egyptian, and Saudi agitators from Jordan.

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During these demonstrations some elements of the army, notably those recruited from settled Arabs and not among the Bedouin, had disobeyed orders to quell the rioting mobs. For some five years, in fact, a secret society numbering some 35 officers, resentful of the army's higher command being largely British, had been directed by a young major Ali Abu Nawar whose work as Military Attaché in Paris in 1955 had commended him to the young King Hussein when visiting that city. The King had appointed him as his senior A.D.C. with accelerated promotion to lieutenant-colonel, and had come to prefer his military views concerning Israel to the more sober strategic advice offered by the Chief of Staff, General J. B. Glubb. The struggle for influence came to a head on 2 March, when General Glubb was notified that he was dismissed and must leave the country within six hours, together with a number of other senior British officers. This summary termination of over 25 years' devoted service to Jordan was greeted with exultation by thousands of extremist Arab throats, to which the young King gave his official approval while unofficial reports were put about that the dismissals had only just prevented a military *coup* planned by General Glubb and his staff. H.M. Queen Elizabeth promptly appointed General Glubb a K.C.B., and some 15 officers on the active list of the British army were recalled from the Jordan army. Arrangements were later made between the two Governments to reduce the number of British officers remaining to those necessary to fill certain technical and training posts until they could be replaced by Arab officers. In June the Jordan Government dispensed after 20 years with the services of Mr. Gerald Harding as director of the Department of Antiquities.

The young King paid an official visit to Damascus, where he and the Syrian President took an oath together before Saladin's tomb that they would pursue the common cause of Arab liberation; and in May agreement was reached for the closer co-ordination of the Jordan army with the Egyptian. On 20 May Samir el-Rifai offered his Cabinet's resignation, and five days later the elderly Arab officer who had succeeded General Glubb as Chief of Staff was compelled to resign in favour of the 33-year-old Ali Abu Nawar, now promoted to the rank of Major-General. Meanwhile, a number of senior officers who disliked his ascendancy were being tried *in camera* for alleged conspiracy, and large-scale desertions of Bedouin troops were reported. Parliament was dissolved by Royal decree on 26 June so that a General Election might be held. Five days later Tawfiq Abu'l-Huda, a former Prime Minister who had enjoyed the late King Abdullah's confidence, hanged himself, ostensibly suffering from an incurable disease.

At the beginning of July Jordan's inexperienced new rulers were wildly disturbed by apprehensions of an Israeli invasion, due apparently to a threatening statement which the Israeli Prime Minister had made to the U.N. chief supervisor of the Israeli-Jordanian Mixed Armistice Commission, and communicated by the latter to the Jordan Government. Since General Glubb's expulsion there had been an increase in the number of murderous raids into Israeli territory by small commando

units from Jordan (allegedly recruited there by the Egyptian military attaché, who was killed in June by a bomb sent in a parcel) with the usual Israeli counter-action. After six Israeli soldiers had been killed in a frontier clash near Hebron, Israeli troops on 11 September demolished a Jordanian police barracks in the vicinity, killing some 15 Arabs. Two days later the Israelis demolished another police barracks, this time in the Wadi Araba in retaliation for the killing of three guards in this locality. On 25 September, after four Israelis had been killed when fire was opened on a group of 800 persons attending an archaeological outing close to the armistice line near Bethlehem, the Israeli forces launched another heavy reprisal attack. After the U.N. chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission had accepted, against Israeli evidence, a Jordanian excuse attributing the firing on the archaeologists to an insane soldier, the Israel Government withdrew their representative from the commission. On 10 October, after an Arab band had killed two Israelis in central Israel and five in the Beersheba area, Israel forces heavily attacked the Jordanian police barracks at Qalqilya, and a pitched battle was fought with Jordanian troops directed by the young Chief of Staff in the presence of the young King. The British Government then warned Israel that aggression against Jordan would bring the Anglo-Jordan Treaty of 1948 into operation; but a Foreign Office spokesman, questioned about an assertion made by General Abu Nawar that 'so far as the Treaty is concerned' British jet aircraft in Jordan could be 'called upon to help Jordan within the hour', confirmed that any decision would lie with London.

Meanwhile the Jordanian Foreign Minister M. Abdelhadi (a veteran but ineffectual Palestinian nationalist) had visited Baghdad (26 September–1 October) to seek additional military support, both material and financial, under the terms of the Iraqi-Jordan treaty of 1947. The Qalqilya fighting increased the expectation that Iraqi supporting troops would be sent to Jordan, but they were halted short of the frontier. This was partly because of Israeli threats, partly because of disagreement whether the troops should be commanded by an Iraqi or by the young Jordanian Chief of Staff; but also because 'progressive' political circles in Jordan and other Arab States (including Egypt's Major Salah Salem) suspected that their presence might be used to influence the Jordanian elections.

Held on 21 October in orderly conditions, these returned a clear majority of anti-Western members of the Right or the Left-wing, most of them elected for the first time, with only some half-dozen reputed moderates in a House of 40. Suleiman Nabulsi formed a nationalist Cabinet drawn predominantly from his National-Socialist Party. On the 23rd an Egyptian military mission arrived in Russian-built transport aircraft, and negotiated the unification (in the event of war) of the command of the Jordanian, Syrian, and Egyptian armies in the person of the Egyptian Commander-in-Chief. Mobs demonstrating against the French arrest of five Algerian nationalist leaders burnt down the French Consulate-General in Jerusalem on the 28th.

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When the Israeli army was launched into Egyptian Sinai, and the British and French Governments delivered their ultimatum to the two belligerents and made their armed intervention against Egypt, all British subjects and American citizens were promptly withdrawn from Jordan. The Jordan Parliament on 6 November passed a resolution thanking the Soviet Government for their diplomatic efforts on Egypt's behalf and, having already broken off diplomatic relations with France, unanimously approved on 20 November a motion recommending the abrogation of the Treaty with Britain. Those British forces which, under the provision of the Treaty, had been stationed at the Amman airfield were withdrawn to the desert airbase of Mafraq where Arab contractors refused to supply them with water. It was announced on 8 December that Iraqi troops, which had been moved to Mafraq on 3 November to assist Jordan against a possible Israeli invasion, would be withdrawn at the request of the Jordan Government; but nothing was said about Syrian troops which had moved to the northern town of Irbid at the same time.

Throughout the summer the question of Arab subventions to replace the British annual subsidy of £12 million, which had hitherto kept Jordan solvent, was being explored. At the end of the year, however, the Jordan Government had evidently still not secured firm guarantees from other Arab Governments to replace the British subsidy (since the Saudi Government, which would be the principal likely paymaster, was no longer agreeing with the Leftward inclinations of Syrian and Egyptian policies—see p. 275); and the British Government had announced on 18 December that, pending negotiations concerning the future of the Treaty, there was no change of British policy with respect to the subsidy, which was being paid as usual.

SYRIA

The year began with Syria arrayed on the side of Egypt and Saudi Arabia against the Baghdad Pact, an alignment confirmed by the meeting of the three heads of State in Cairo on 6-11 March. The coalition Cabinet which Said Ghazzi had formed in September 1955 was still in power but was not fully representative of the new trends in Syrian politics, containing as it did no members of the Nationalist Party, or, more important, of the Left-wing Arab Socialist Renaissance (Baath) Party. The latter, inclining strongly towards Egypt and the Soviet block, was well organized and exerted a certain agrarian as well as intellectual appeal; it was in close contact with the most influential political elements in the army and was becoming an increasingly powerful force in Syrian politics. In February President Quwatli supported the growing demand for a genuinely national Government and by the beginning of March the various political groups had agreed on a national charter on which any future Government were to base their policy. No agreement, however, was reached on the leader of

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such a Government and underlying rivalries and hostilities produced an atmosphere of instability and tension.

On 2 June there were disturbances over the export of wheat to France and French troops in Algeria and the Government offered their resignation. On 15 June Sabri al-Asali, leader of the Nationalist party, formed a 'Government of National Union' representing all political groups, the first to contain members of the Baath Party. On 27 June they delivered a statement of policy in conformity with the new national charter, by the terms of which they specifically undertook to abide: it promised neutrality between the Eastern and Western blocks, rejection of foreign military alliances, refusal to make peace with Israel or acknowledge her existence, pursuit of Arab unity and independence with particular reference to Jordan and the Maghreb, widening the military agreement with Egypt to cover political, economic, and cultural relations, and acceptance of foreign economic, technical, and military aid provided no political conditions were attached. Despite outward unity there were tensions within the Cabinet, chiefly between the representatives of the Baath and Shaab (Popular) Parties; the latter viewed Egypt and the Soviet block much less favourably, and Iraq and the West more favourably than the Baath. On 3 August disagreement between the President and the army on the execution of Colonel Malki's assailants (see A.R. 1955, p. 288) led to a report, subsequently denied by the Premier, that the President had resigned and that the Government was under military control.

The dominant tendencies of the new Cabinet were quickly displayed. The contacts—including an arms agreement—made by its predecessor with the Soviet block were intensified. A visit by M. Shepilov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, during his Middle East tour in June resulted in the Syrian recognition of Communist China on 3 July, a cultural agreement on 20 August, and a cordial visit of President Quwatli to the Soviet Union on 30 October-4 November. In August a Czechoslovak economic mission arrived in the country. A Cabinet decision to negotiate a federal union with Egypt was approved unanimously by the Chamber on 5 July. With Jordan close relations continued. In January Syria had joined Egypt and Saudi Arabia in offering replacement of the British subsidy to Jordan, and offers of assistance were repeated after the dismissal of General Glubb and during the Cairo summit conference in March. In the course of an exchange of visits between King Hussein and President Quwatli in April and May there was agreement to co-ordinate their defensive plans against Israel, to abstain from foreign pacts, and to promote closer economic and cultural co-operation. With Lebanon, under the sympathetic Government of Abdullah Yafi, relations improved. But increasing cordiality with these Arab States and with the Soviet block could not dissipate uneasiness at sharing frontiers with Israel and two Baghdad Pact countries, with one of which—Turkey—as also with Israel, there was continuous frontier tension, involving clashes and loss of life. For the uneasy relations with Iraq see page 305.

With the Israeli invasion of Sinai Syria organized herself to go to the assistance of Egypt and to defend herself and Jordan against possible Israeli attack, and troops were sent into Jordan. On 3 November units of the Syrian army—the Government denied responsibility—did serious damage to the three Syrian pumping stations on the oil pipelines from North Iraq to the Mediterranean coast and made further throughput impossible.

On 30 October martial law and general mobilization had been declared and the army thereupon assumed a considerable measure of administrative control, the nature and extent of which the very existence of martial law, censorship, and restrictions on movement made it impossible to assess with accuracy. There was no formal military dictatorship; power was exercised from behind the façade of national government by a combination of the Baath politicians and the Left-wing nationalists who dominated the army, of whom the most influential was the chief of military intelligence, Colonel Abdul-Hamid Sarraj. The ruling combination enjoyed wide popular support and strengthened its position by repressing its political opponents, a number of whom fled the country, and imposing restraint on critical Deputies. Repression was only partial, however; there were divisions within the Government and the army, between the Government and the army, the army and the Chamber, and the major centres of Damascus and Aleppo.

The relations between the controlling group and the Soviet block—the cause of much anxiety on the part equally of Middle Eastern and Western States—was, like the rest of the crisis situation, obscure. The fear that Syria had been converted into a Soviet satellite or base was unfounded. A considerable quantity of military equipment had been received from the Soviet block before the crisis, in accordance with negotiations believed to have been concluded in April, and during the crisis itself deliveries increased; but throughout it was ground arms that were mainly supplied, with no considerable delivery of aircraft. A certain number of technicians and instructors were received, but they were neither numerous nor accompanied by 'volunteers'. Soviet political influence was considerable but not complete.

At the beginning of December Syria began to resume relations with the outside world after a month of self-imposed segregation. A statement of American policy in the Middle East was received with cautious approval and in a broadcast on 6 December President Quwatli thanked the United States as well as Russia for helping the Arab cause. By the end of the year the Government had discussed with the Iraq Petroleum Company the question of repairing the pumping stations, which was to be permitted only after the withdrawal of British, French, and Israeli forces from Egypt, Sinai, and the Gaza strip; on 14 December the American Government protested against delay in allowing immediate emergency repairs. Relations with Iraq had reached an unprecedented state of tension because of the stoppage of oil, combined with the incessant attacks of Damascus Radio and, in particular, the allegation that Iraq was pumping oil to Israel and had attempted to foment armed insurrection in Syria. At the end of December the latter

accusation was enlarged to include Great Britain, France, and the former President Adib Chichekli as joint-conspirators, as well as 46 other Syrians.

With Jordan, under the new Government of Suleiman Nabulsi, increasingly close ties were established. On 25 October an agreement was signed in Amman establishing a joint Egyptian-Jordanain-Syrian was military command. On 5 December an economic agreement ratified between the two countries which provided for customs and monetary union and a free trade area and would, in effect, oblige Jordan to withdraw from the sterling area and sever her financial ties with Great Britain. At the end of the year the 6,000 Syrian troops dispatched in early November were still stationed in Jordan.

As the international crisis passed the direct influence of the army lessened and political differences were again becoming acute, the Left-wing elements meeting opposition from the President, the Premier, and the Chamber. On 9 December a new political block was formed from all parties except the Shaab; it reaffirmed its devotion to the national charter, now given an even more markedly anti-Iraqi bias, and demanded a Government pledged to uphold it. On 22 December the Premier offered his resignation, and on 31 December formed a Government acceptable to the new block, dropping the Shaabists and members of the Constitutional block who had sat in the previous Cabinet. On 28 December the Baath and Communist Parties had called for the dissolution of the Chamber on the grounds that it was incapable of producing an effective Government.

In the economic sphere the planning and execution of development schemes continued, including those of the Ghab marshes and Lattakia port, railway construction in Northern Syria, and public housing. The greater part of the year's export of grain was destined for the Soviet block in exchange mainly for agricultural machinery. In February, to conserve Syria's dwindling foreign exchange, the Government announced a substantial reduction of imports and extension of local production. The exploration for oil continued, new concessions being granted to several German companies. Oil of undetermined commercial value was struck in the Jezira area. The allocation of a contract for a Government oil refinery near Homs became a political issue, the Baathists favouring tenders from the Soviet block, especially Czechoslovakia, others preferring tenders from the West; no formal decision had been given by the end of the year. In July Syria gained full monetary and financial independence by transferring the issue of notes from the Banque de Syrie et du Liban to a new Central Bank. The Budget for 1956 was approved at some 320 million liras; that for 1957 was estimated at some 500 million.

At the end of the year, in consequence of the stoppage of oil throughput, Syria's economy, and particularly her agriculture, was seriously threatened by the lack of oil; and the Lebanese Government had warned her that, once the stocks of crude oil in the Tripoli refinery were exhausted in January, they would be unable to continue supplying refined products.

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THE LEBANON

The year began with the Government of Rashid Karameh not very firmly in power. Since they assumed office in September 1955 their conduct of both domestic and foreign affairs had been considered too weak for the troubled circumstances of the Middle East and they were criticized particularly for failure to reach agreement with the Iraq Petroleum Company on payment for the right to pump oil across Lebanese territory. The Company proposed to share the profitability of pipelines as against tankers equally with the Government, applying in practice the ton-mile formula that had been accepted by Syria; the rate of payment would be the same as for Syria, though the total paid, in view of the vast difference in mileage across the two countries, would be less. The Government, on the other hand, maintained that the total payment should equal that made to Syria, and on 22 January suspended negotiations.

On 15 March the Government resigned, the immediate cause being a ministerial disagreement over subsidies to private schools, and on 20 March Abdullah Yafi formed a Cabinet which accepted more forcefully than its predecessor the current tenets of Arab nationalism, including co-operation with the Egyptian-Syrian-Saudi block, avoidance of foreign entanglements, especially the Baghdad Pact, and hostility to Israel.

An immediate task of the new Government was to deal with the aftermath of an earthquake which occurred on the night of 16-17 March, most seriously in South Lebanon, causing death and injury and depriving some 25,000 persons of their homes. A Cabinet dispute over the Government's consequent programme of rehabilitation led on 5 June to the resignation of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defence. On 8 June Mr. Yafi formed a new Cabinet identical in policy and, with the exception of two members, in composition with the last.

Both Yafi Governments contained as Minister of State Saib Salam, whose function was to reach a suitable agreement with the Iraq Petroleum Company. At the beginning of May negotiations were resumed but again reached deadlock, both sides maintaining their previous position. On 27 June the Government decided to impose income tax and other dues on companies exempted under special agreements; this measure was directed specifically against the Iraq Petroleum Company. At the beginning of October, in the absence of agreement with the Lebanese Government, the Company decided to direct the new 24-inch pipeline it was laying from North Iraq to a Syrian instead of a Lebanese coastal terminal. Since May parallel negotiations had been proceeding with the Transarabian Pipeline Company (Tapline), whose agreement with the Government was also under review. Tapline, too, proposed to share the profitability of its pipeline equally with the four Governments concerned, but left it to them to determine among themselves the division of their half share. The year ended without formal agreement.

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The Yafi Governments maintained closer relations with Syria than their predecessor, under which there had been a certain friction over matters of civil aviation and commercial transit; in particular it was announced in September that the main obstacles to a much discussed military agreement had been overcome and that signature would soon follow. Relations with Jordan were also close: on 22 May it was announced that the two countries had agreed to co-ordinate their military effort against the Israeli danger. On the Israeli frontier there were intermittent incidents and in April it was announced that the army had uncovered an Israeli spy network centred in South Lebanon.

The nationalization of the Suez Canal received both governmental and public support. The Anglo-French intervention in Egypt was almost universally condemned but it underlined political and sectarian divisions which were reflected in the Cabinet itself, the Premier and Saib Salam pressing for a diplomatic breach with Great Britain and France, the Foreign Minister, Selim Lahoud, supported by the President, opposing it. This disagreement led on 16 November to the resignation of the Premier and Mr. Salam. On 18 November a Government less critical of Iraq, Turkey, and the West was formed under Sami es-Solh. On 20 November the army was called out to restore order when incidents of bomb-throwing occurred in Beirut; there was some reason, despite official denials, for connecting these attacks and caches of arms which were discovered with the Egyptian Embassy. On the same day, as earlier in the month, there was sabotage to oil pipelines in Lebanese territory.

The development schemes for which planning or execution continued included the Litani and Nabatiyeh projects and others for afforestation, sericulture, the extension of Beirut and Tripoli ports, communications, and housing. The Budget for 1956 amounted to some 150 million liras and, with special allocations, to nearly 180 million.

IRAQ

The year imposed a severe strain on the Government of Nuri es-Said in their relations both with other States and with the Iraqi people. Relations with Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia, rarely cordial in recent years, had deteriorated sharply since the conclusion of the Baghdad Pact. In January the Syrian Government demanded the recall of the Iraqi military attaché and the Iraqi Government the recall of the Egyptian military attaché, in both cases for subversive activity; Damascus radio joined Cairo in attacking Iraq, while the Soviet leanings of the Syrian Government were watched in Baghdad with increasing disapproval. With Jordan relations were initially good, despite Jordan's refusal to adhere to the Baghdad Pact. Iraq offered Jordan political, military, and economic support, there was continuous royal or governmental consultation, and in June the Iraqi-Jordanian friendship treaty of 1947 was renewed for five years.

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Before the November crisis the Government co-operated with Great Britain and the United States in developing the scope of the Baghdad Pact and expressed the hope that the United States might eventually join. With Great Britain during the same period relations were cordial. In April the last British forces withdrew and on 16-19 July King Feisal paid a highly successful State visit to Great Britain. Arms continued to arrive from Great Britain and the United States. Friendly relations were maintained with Spain and Morocco through a visit paid by King Feisal in May.

The nationalization of the Suez Canal was received with popular enthusiasm and the Government declared their support for Egypt and requested the British Government to respect Egyptian rights. In September and October the Government were particularly concerned with co-ordinating resistance to a possible Israeli attack on Jordan and with preserving the oil pipelines through Syria against unofficial Syrian retaliation for any Western offensive against Egypt. To the first of these ends there were consultations with Jordan; because of disagreement over the command and the fear of provoking Israeli attack Iraqi forces were not at this stage moved into Jordan but kept ready on the frontier. Saudi Arabia was consulted on the protection of oil, the two kings themselves meeting in the Persian Gulf, and their Governments were reported to have requested Syria to safeguard the pipelines.

Upon the Israeli invasion of Sinai the Government reiterated their readiness to assist any Arab country against Israeli aggression and called on Great Britain and France to intervene against Israel. The problem of reconciling their British connexions with nationalist sentiment inside and outside Iraq, already complicated by the British attitude after the nationalization of the Suez Canal, was made practically insoluble by the Anglo-French action against Egypt. They did, however, succeed in affirming brotherly support for Egypt and condemnation for Great Britain and France while striving to prevent a complete breach between those countries and the Arab world and preserving the Baghdad Pact. On 9 November they severed diplomatic relations with France and declared that they would attend no Baghdad Pact meetings with British representatives; and in conformity with this declaration they were active in sponsoring meetings of the Muslim members of the Pact, which condemned Israeli aggression and called on Great Britain and France to end their intervention. On 13-15 November King Feisal attended the meeting of Arab heads of State called on President Chamoun's initiative in Beirut and, with his new associate King Saud, was believed to have supported the President's refusal to break off diplomatic relations with the two Western Powers. On 13 November the Government declared that the Jews must be expelled from Palestine and the Arab refugees restored; this was in marked contrast with a suggestion by the Premier on 7 October that the Palestine problem should be settled urgently on the basis of the United Nations proposals of 1947, and constituted an essential concession to Arab nationalist feeling.

During the crisis relations with Syria and Jordan deteriorated. Resentment at the calamitous sabotage of the oil pipelines on 3 November was exacerbated by minor acts of unfriendliness on the part of Syria and by the continuous attacks of Damascus radio, its virtual incitement to revolt, and particularly by its allegation that Iraq was pumping oil to Haifa and had smuggled arms into Syria to effect a *coup d'état*. On 26 November the Government warned Syria officially that unless these attacks ceased Iraq would use all possible means to defend her dignity. Political elements in Jordan, too, attacked the Iraqi Government through resolutions in the Chamber and petitions to King Feisal, and attempted to provoke labour strikes in Iraq. The Jordanian Government pressed for the withdrawal of Iraqi troops, which had been dispatched to Jordan on 4 November; they were reluctantly removed from 12 December onwards.

The internal situation grew tense during the period of crisis. The discontented political classes had come almost unanimously to accept President Nasser as the symbol of Arab progress and independence and the action of Great Britain and France against him accentuated their anger against those countries and against their own Government, whom they accused of reaction, repression, and traitorous association with the West, and, in the present crisis, downright collusion. In July opposition to the Government had crystallized in an unsuccessful application of the Independence and National Democratic Parties, formally dissolved but still in unofficial operation, to form a National Congress Party pledged to neutralism, Arab independence, and democratic liberties, with particular reference to the rights of the Kurdish minority. In September there had been disorders in Mosul. Now, on 21 November, disorders occurred in Baghdad, in which 60 police and 9 civilians were officially reported to have been injured, and also in other centres, particularly Nejef and Mosul, and it was rumoured that an attempt to assassinate the Premier had been foiled. The police were able to maintain order; there were numerous arrests and colleges were temporarily closed. On 1 December Parliament was both opened and suspended for one month. On 19 December Kamil Chadirchi, leader of the dissolved Left-wing National Democratic Party, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment under martial law which had been imposed on 1 November; he was charged with publishing false reports calculated to undermine public security. At the end of the year the situation was quiet.

Economically, until the sabotage of the Mediterranean oil pipelines, the country continued to prosper. Oil revenues had been estimated for the year at some 80 million dinars, a figure which was shortly to be increased by the completion of a new 24-inch pipeline to the Mediterranean coast. In March another extension to the Government's development programme was approved, expanding it into a 500 million dinar plan to cover six years. Some 400 million dinars of this total was expected to accrue from oil revenues; the increased allocations were not only for irrigation but also for projects with more popular

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appeal and, in particular, housing. In April barrages were officially inaugurated across the Tigris and Euphrates, being part of a flood control scheme which had already proved its value. Other projects in hand included those for afforestation, sugar and cement factories, hospitals and technical institutes and, in its early stages of planning, a sulphur plant utilizing the natural gas of the Kirkuk oilfield.

The sabotage in Syria stopped the throughput of oil from Northern Iraq, which represented some three-quarters of Iraq's total oil exports and was to have been increased still further. At the end of the year the Syrian Government had agreed to discuss but not yet to permit repair, and the extent of the damage and the time required to repair it were still being determined. Faced with this threat to their development programme and so to the standard of living, directly or indirectly, of the greater part of the public, the Government decided to continue for the time with major projects under construction and to postpone lesser projects and those on which construction had not yet begun.

The Budget for the fiscal year 1956-57 was passed at some 65 million dinars.

PERSIA

The assassin of General Razmara (see A.R. 1951, p. 306) and the assailant of M. Ala (see A.R. 1955, p. 296) were executed in January, as were Navab Safavi (see A.R. 1955, p. 296) and another member of the Fadayin-i-Islam. In October a military court sentenced twelve alleged members of the outlawed Tudeh Party, four to death, the rest to imprisonment. In August Dr. Musaddiq was released on the expiry of his sentence (see A.R. 1953, p. 286). The new Chamber of Deputies met in June. On resigning, as required by the Constitution, the Prime Minister, M. Ala, was asked by the Shah to form a new Cabinet. Dr. Manouchehr Eghbal, who had been very successful as Chancellor of Tehran University, became Minister of Court. The Shah, supported by the army, continued to exercise considerable personal power. Military governments were maintained in Tehran and in part of Kurdistan. Successful punitive action against 'defiant elements' of the Javanrud tribe of Kurds was announced in February, but the cause of the trouble remained obscure. For attacks on Bahais which resulted in seven deaths (see A.R. 1955, p. 296) 21 villagers were sentenced to terms of imprisonment. Agitation which was said to enjoy the Shah's sympathy was carried out by some Persian women who alleged that in the matter of the treatment of women Persia lagged behind not only Turkey but even some of the Arab States, particularly in the lack of restrictions on polygamy and in proper means of redress for divorced women.

Population estimates were: for the whole country, 21 million; for Tehran, 1½ million (as against 750,000 in 1949). A law of April, designed perhaps to amend the unworkable decrees of Dr. Musaddiq (see A.R. 1952, p. 309), provided for the creation of village, district, and provincial councils, an Institute of Social Reform and Village

Development, and an Advisory Council. Funds to be spent by local bodies on public works were to be provided by a 5 per cent. levy on income from the ownership of land. In addition, under the Income Tax Law the land tax was raised to a basic 10 per cent. on the net profit of the land, with a tax-free allowance and, above a certain level, a supertax.

At the request of the Persian Government, faced with the prospect of a Budget deficit, the Oil Consortium, which was expected to provide the Government with a revenue of £90 million in any case, agreed to export more oil than the quantity prescribed by the 1954 agreement. As a result of the closing of the Suez Canal the production of oil in Persia was cut down by one-quarter. On the other hand the Persian Government were encouraged by the discovery of a 'gusher' at Qum, where the National Iranian Oil Company had been drilling.

The President of the International Bank visited Persia in June for discussions with the Director of the Development Plan. He recommended a redistribution of the items of the Plan, with fewer at the beginning and more towards the end, to correspond with the growing revenue from oil. At the end of the year the Chamber of Deputies had before it proposals for a loan from the International Bank. The loan was granted early in 1957. The Seven-year Plan of 1956 provided for a total expenditure of about £350 million, of which 32 per cent. was for communications, 27 for municipal development, 26 for agriculture, and 15 for industry and mines.

The Shah and the Queen visited India in February. They received a warm welcome, particularly from the Parsis whose ancestors migrated from Persia twelve centuries ago. A royal visit paid to Turkey had a strong military character, but the economic side of the Baghdad Pact was also stressed, and there was talk of linking up the Turkish and Persian railways. Relations with the U.S.S.R. began badly with members of the Persian parliamentary delegation to Moscow denying Soviet allegations that they were hostile to the Baghdad Pact; and feeling was exacerbated when the Soviet Assistant Military Attaché was arrested, with no proof of diplomatic status on him, in the act of receiving maps, etc., of Persian airfields. The Shah returned from a State visit to Russia without making any concession on the Baghdad Pact. In November a 12-months barter trade agreement with the U.S.S.R. was signed, for a total of 2,000 million rials (£9·4 million).

It was reported that the United States had promised to Persia, as part of the military aid, one submarine and four destroyers. Military and economic aid granted by the United States to Persia in four years up to April 1955 was reported to have amounted to some $400 million. A report to Congress spoke of irregularities in the handling of these funds, and there were criticisms of particular projects. It was, however, admitted that the operations had been of significant value to the United States as well as to Persia. The report stated that foreign aid met with little enthusiasm in Persia.

On the Suez Canal issue the Persian Government could not logically refuse to support the nationalization of the canal, but as important

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users they joined the 18-Power group on the question of management and administration, and the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs was a member of the Menzies Mission to Cairo. After the Anglo-French attack on Egypt the Persian Government joined with the other Muslim members of the Baghdad Pact in putting on Britain pressure whose efficacy was admitted by the British Government, but they had no sympathy with the reluctance of the Egyptian Government to have the canal cleared. On 9 December the Foreign Minister announced that the other Muslim States of the Middle East were being invited to a conference to try to settle differences and to establish lasting peace in the Middle East. Turkey and Iran accepted, but no other replies were reported.

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CHAPTER VIII

BURMA—CHINA—JAPAN—KOREA—THAILAND—VIETNAM—CAMBODIA—LAOS—INDONESIA—THE PHILIPPINES

BURMA

GENERAL Elections held on 27 April confirmed the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League in office, with 144 seats in a House of Representatives of 250; the League was assured also of the support of 45 members from the hill areas. The Opposition, however, increased its strength from 16 to 53. Though the League secured 48 per cent. of votes cast the opposition National United Front, dominated by the crypto-Communist Workers' and Peasants' Party, secured 30 per cent. Fear of a continued swing of the electoral pendulum led U Nu to resign the office of Premier so as to devote himself to improving the League's organization. He was succeeded by U Ba Swe, formerly Minister for Defence and Mines.

The Communist rebellion continued throughout the year and the Chinese Nationalist forces were still in the field in the Shan States, but neither group proved more than a nuisance.

At the end of July it was announced that Chinese Communist forces had made inroads into territory long regarded as Burmese. In the area of the Wa head-hunters, east of the Salween river, the line had been agreed on the map in 1941 but not marked on the ground; farther north, in the Kachin area, the line had not even been agreed for the British and, as their successors, the Burmese claimed the Irrawaddy-Salween watershed as the frontier, whereas the Chinese had at no time accepted this principle. In both sectors detachments of Chinese Communist troops had now installed themselves. On 9 November a joint statement issued when U Nu visited Peking stated that he and Chou En-lai had agreed to recommend the withdrawal of Chinese forces from west of the 1941 line in the Wa sector and of Burmese forces from the Hpimaw area in the Kachin sector. On his return to Rangoon, U Nu stated that the Chinese had tentatively

accepted the Burmese view of the frontier apart from the Hpimaw area, and that Burma would renounce the permanent lease of the Namwan Assigned Tract through which ran part of the road from Bhamo to the northern Shan State. Discussions were continued during a visit by Chou En-lai to Rangoon in December, but owing to Kachin opposition to the cession of Hpimaw, no definitive agreement emerged.

Opinion in Burma was sympathetic to Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal and condemnatory of British and French action after the Israeli inroad into Sinai; but the friendship felt in Burma towards Israel, realization of the importance of the canal in international trade, and resentment at violent demonstrations directed in November against the British Embassy by Indian and Pakistani Muslims, moderated the initial emotion. On the other hand Russian intervention in Hungary was strongly criticized, and at a press conference on 15 November U Nu expressed regret that the late arrival of instructions had prevented Burma's representative from supporting the General Assembly resolution calling for a Russian withdrawal.

Communist block economic penetration continued. M. Mikoyan, visiting Rangoon in March, signed a trade agreement under which Russia would take 400,000 tons of rice a year for five years and in return would supply machinery and equipment. Similar rice agreements were made with other Communist States during the year, and a Burmese trade mission visited eastern Europe in the spring. There was, however, much disappointment with the results of barter agreements with Communist countries, especially as alarm lest Burma should fail to sell her rice, which had been responsible for these agreements, proved during the year to be unfounded.

CHINA

During the year the Chinese People's Republic remained largely preoccupied with the drive for greater industrialization and for the 'socialization' of agriculture. On 12 January President Mao Tse-tung declared that the rapid progress of peasants' co-operatives would ensure the complete 'semi-socialization' of agriculture during 1956 and that full socialization would be achieved by 1959 or 1960. During the same month a Twelve-year Development Plan for agriculture was approved; this included the transference of peasants' co-operatives into full-blown collective farms on the Soviet model, a programme for the training of agricultural specialists, for the abolition of illiteracy among the peasantry and the introduction of compulsory education throughout China in five to seven years, and schemes for increased agricultural production. An afforestation programme was also introduced, while the campaign for the elimination of the 'four evils'—flies, mosquitoes, sparrows, and rats—was to be vigorously pursued.

From the opening of the year Chinese Communist newspapers appeared with their characters printed horizontally instead of vertically and reading from left to right, instead of from right to left in the

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traditional fashion. On 10 February it was reported that a horizontal alphabet, which had been some time in preparation, had received official approval. For the time being, however, the new alphabet and the old characters would both be used.

Early in April Mr. Mikoyan, the Soviet Deputy Premier, visited Peking and on the 7th concluded an economic agreement whereby the Soviet Government were to provide equipment and technical aid for the construction of 55 new industrial enterprises, including chemical factories, engineering plants, and power stations. This was in addition to the 156 enterprises which the Soviet Union was already helping to construct (see A.R. 1955, p. 304). The cost of the new plants, which was estimated at 2,500 million roubles, would be repaid by supplies of Chinese raw materials over a term of years. It was also agreed that the U.S.S.R. would help China to complete the railway from Lanchow through Sinkiang to the Soviet frontier near Alma Ata by 1960 (see A.R. 1955, p. 305). On 4 January the railway connecting China with the U.S.S.R. via Ulan Bator, the Outer Mongolian capital, was officially declared open.

The Eighth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party met in Peking during 15-27 September. The Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, reported to the Congress that the first Five-year Plan of industrial expansion would be duly fulfilled by the target date, 1957, and indeed that some of the planned figures had already been surpassed (see A.R. 1955, p. 303). A second Five-year Plan, for the period 1958-62, was submitted to the Congress. The planned industrial output for 1957 was to be doubled—steel production, for example, was to rise from 5½ million tons to 11 or 12 million metric tons; electric power was to be almost trebled. The main emphasis was to remain on the expansion of 'heavy' industry, although the production of consumer goods was to be raised by 60 per cent. The new industrial bases were to be in the interior, but the existing coastal ones were not to be neglected or transferred, which indicated some modification of the formerly unfavourable attitude to the industrial complex in Shanghai. The agricultural picture was less favourable because of natural calamities and the lack of modern agricultural machines. Some very ambitious schemes for flood prevention on the Yellow River and the harnessing of its water-power potential were, however, envisaged.

The year was marked by some relaxation of the stringent measures hitherto adopted by the Communist Party against actual, or prospective, opponents. On 22 June the Minister of Public Security, Mr. Lo Jui-ching, told the National People's Congress that the struggle against counter-revolutionary elements had in the past been accompanied by arbitrary arrests, forced confessions, and unjust sentences; he promised that these practices would be stopped. The humanist and scientific world was told by Mr. Lu Ting-yi on 14 June that variety of opinions was not only permitted but desired, although it remained uncertain how much latitude in this respect would be tolerated. The press, too, became more openly critical of shortcomings in the bureaucracy, though this did not extend to any questioning of doctrines.

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At the Eighth Communist Party Congress in September, President Mao Tse-tung, Mr. Liu Shao-chi, and other high Party and Government officials took the line that the revolution was now finally victorious and that its enemies had no hope of ever reversing the new order of things. Therefore, while not lessening its vigilance, the Government could afford to be more lenient towards disaffected elements. Praise was accorded the minor non-Government parties and the private capitalists who were co-operating with the Government. So long as they operated within the general pattern of Communist Party policy and objectives their contributions and criticisms would be valuable and welcome.

In general the Communist Party Congress, the first to be held since 1945, was marked by an understandable feeling of pride in the great achievements of the Chinese Communist Party since that date, coupled with a certain complacency in its attitude towards the state of affairs in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe. The personality cult was duly condemned and the principle of collective leadership re-affirmed. But at the same time it was claimed that this had not been violated in the Chinese Communist Party, except by Kao Kang and his associates (see A.R. 1955, p. 302). The Congress paid due tribute to the leadership and great achievements of President Mao Tse-tung, and it was pointed out that he had always rejected the slavish adulation demanded by Stalin and had refused to countenance anything of the sort by other high Party officials. The Congress duly confirmed Mao Tse-tung's position as head of the Party and of the State. It passed resolutions against undue hauteur on the part of lesser officials towards the people and against any tendency to adopt a superior or exploitive attitude to the non-Chinese minorities. It also decided that there should in future be annual Party Congresses.

While the Congress reaffirmed the indestructible bond of friendship with the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. and gratitude for the economic and technical aid which China was receiving from the U.S.S.R., there was clearly no disposition to accept any subordination. The stands made by Mr. Gomulka in Poland and by Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia were greeted with approval in Peking. The Nagy régime in Hungary was also initially welcomed. The tragic sequel apparently caused bewilderment in Peking, but after some hesitation the Chinese Communists echoed the Soviet claim that military intervention had been necessary to suppress a counter-revolution.

The conversations between Mr. Alexis Johnson and Mr. Wang Ping-nan (see A.R. 1955, p. 306) continued at intervals but made no appreciable headway. The main stumbling-block was the American insistence that the Chinese People's Government should renounce the use of force in their efforts to bring Formosa under their control, and the Chinese reply that this was a Chinese domestic affair with which the United States had properly nothing to do. However, while there were reports of steadily increasing military preparations in Chekiang and Fukien, and occasional small-scale clashes took place between Communist and Nationalist forces, the region in general remained unwontedly calm. On 22 August a U.S. aircraft was shot down near the

Chinese coast. The Chinese Government expressed regret for this but said that the machine had violated Chinese airspace and was taken for a Nationalist raider. Therefore they refused compensation on the ground that U.S. air manoeuvres near Chinese territory amounted to 'planned provocation'. The Vice-President, General Chu Teh, reiterated to the Communist Party Congress that Formosa would be liberated. But, for the time being at least, Peking appeared to rely less upon force that on its repeated blandishments and promises of pardon and office to induce an eventual Nationalist defection.

The Chinese policy of cultivating good relations with the Arab-Asian States was steadily pursued throughout the year. On 16 May Egypt accorded diplomatic recognition to Communist China and Syria followed suit on 3 July. Peking staunchly supported the action of President Nasser in seizing the Suez Canal Company's properties and denounced the policies of Great Britain and France. The Anglo-French armed intervention in November was followed by threats from Peking that 250,000 Chinese 'volunteers' were preparing to come to the aid of Egypt.

The Prime Minister of Laos visited Peking in August and on the 23rd signed an agreement with the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, whereby Laos reaffirmed her policy of neutrality and both countries undertook to observe the 'five principles of peaceful co-existence' which had been enunciated in Chinese relations with other countries, including respect for sovereignty, non-interference, and economic co-operation. On 28 November Mr. Chou arrived in Delhi in the course of a goodwill visit to India and the countries of South East Asia. He was accorded a great welcome. It was admitted, however, that in the ensuing conversations with Mr. Nehru the two leaders differed on some points, especially about the events in Hungary. But the generally cordial relations between China and India were illustrated by the fact that in November the two chief Tibetan religious dignitaries, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, were allowed to visit India.

JAPAN

During 1956 the political scene in Japan was marked by bitter strife between the Liberal-Democratic Party and its Socialist opponents as well as between contending factions in the ranks of the Government's supporters. In December 1955 the Prime Minister, Mr. Ichiro Hatoyama, had indicated that he would introduce into the Diet legislation to pave the way for a revision of the Constitution and also for electoral and administrative reform. On 9 March the Government submitted to the Lower House a Bill to set up a Council for Constitutional Research of some 50 members to recommend changes in the Constitution. On 29 March the measure passed the Lower House by a majority of 100 and was then submitted to the Upper House (the House of Councillors). The Socialists fiercely opposed it since they believed that it would be packed by supporters of the Government who would

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simply underwrite the changes in the Constitution which the Government desired.

The Socialists were even more vehement in opposition to two other measures. One was a Bill to replace the local elected school boards by appointees of the prefectoral governments and to increase the powers of the Ministry of Education. This measure was considered by the Government to be needed in order to secure greater cohesion and uniformity in the administration and curricula of the schools and to eliminate what the Liberal-Democrats termed subversive leftist influences. The Socialists condemned the measure as reactionary and authoritarian. They were equally infuriated by an electoral reform Bill. This planned to replace the existing 117 multiple-member districts by 477 smaller ones, the bulk of which were to be single-member constituencies, and to increase the Lower House by 30 members. There was a case for electoral reform, but the Socialists contended that the Government's scheme was planned to weaken the position of the Socialist Party and to ensure a two-thirds majority for supporters of the Government when a general election should next be held. That would clear the way for the passage of a measure to revise the Constitution on the lines desired by the Government.

The Government's majority ensured the passage of these measures in the Lower House and seemed likely to do the same in the Upper House. There the Socialists, finding that constitutional methods of obstruction would not avail, resorted to violence. Four days of rioting at the end of June and beginning of July caused injury to many members and necessitated police intervention to restore order. The Socialists were able to block the passage of the electoral reform measure, though not of the others. But the prestige of both parties suffered in consequence of the tactics they had employed.

Of the two the Government appeared to have suffered most in popular estimation, for when, on 8 July elections for half of the seats in the Upper House were held, the Liberal-Democrats, contrary to their expectations, gained nothing. The Socialists, however, secured 12 additional seats at the expense of the Ryokufukai or Green Breeze Society, which had supported the policies of the Government.

Mr. Taketora Ogata, who had been for a while head of the Liberal Party and one of the four directors of the Liberal-Democratic Party (see A.R. 1955, p. 308) died on 28 January. On 5 April Mr. Hatoyama was elected Party President. But his age and ill-health made it unlikely that he would be able to retain leadership for long. Consequently the party was rent by rivalries for the succession, especially between the Foreign Minister, Mr. Shigemitsu, and the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Kono. Moreover, although the former Prime Minister, Mr. Yoshida, had elected to stay outside of the Liberal-Democratic fold, he still had his following among the Liberals and appeared ready to pursue his long-standing quarrel with Mr. Hatoyama (see A.R. 1954, p. 311).

This domestic political imbroglio had its effect upon the Japanese-Soviet negotiations for a treaty of peace. These had been suspended

in September 1955 over the territorial issue (see A.R. 1955, p. 310). They were resumed on 17 January 1956. The Soviet Government were now willing 'as a favour' to return to Japan the Habomai Islands and the island of Shikotan. But they refused to heed the Japanese plea that Kunashiri and Etorofu, the two southernmost of the Kurile Islands, had always been Japanese territory, had not been taken by Japan from Russia in 1905, and should therefore also be given up. The Soviet Government declared that these islands, together with the rest of the Kuriles, had been awarded them at Yalta, and that defeated Japan must accept the decision of the victorious Powers. They also refused to release such Japanese prisoners-of-war as they still held prior to the conclusion of a treaty, although they set free a few. So on 20 March the negotiations were again suspended.

The next day Moscow announced that for purposes of conservation stringent restrictions would be placed upon salmon fishing in large areas of the Japan, Okhotsk, and Bering Seas. This threatened disaster to Japanese fishing interests and a month later, 29 April, Mr. Kono arrived in Moscow to discuss fisheries and related matters. The result was an interim agreement of 15 May whereby Japanese fishermen were allowed a maximum annual catch of 65,000 tons of salmon in the waters under Soviet regulation. A ten-year fisheries treaty and a three-year air-sea rescue convention were also concluded. But the last two were to come into effect only after the conclusion of a Soviet-Japanese treaty of peace or, at all events, after the resumption of diplomatic relations. Mr. Kono was also compelled to agree that the negotiations for a peace treaty should be resumed, in either Tokyo or Moscow, by 31 July.

Accordingly, on that date the negotiations were resumed in Moscow by Mr. Shigemitsu, the Japanese Foreign Minister, and Mr. Shepilov, the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs. But although Mr. Shigemitsu did his best to secure the return of the two southern Kurile Islands he found the Soviet Government adamant in refusal, nor were they willing to concede the Japanese request for the prior repatriation of prisoners. On 13 August the talks were suspended in order that the two Foreign Ministers might attend the Suez Canal Conference in London. Mr. Shigemitsu on the same day indicated that he was in favour of yielding to the Soviet terms, but the Japanese Cabinet forbade him to do so, which resulted in strained relations between Mr. Shigemitsu and some of his colleagues in Tokyo. A large group in the Liberal-Democratic Party, led by Mr. Kono, now proposed that Mr. Hatoyama, accompanied by Mr. Kono, should go to Moscow to conclude an arrangement for the resumption of Soviet-Japanese diplomatic relations, while leaving the territorial question open. This was strongly opposed by the followers of Mr. Shigemitsu and Mr. Yoshida. However on 11 September Mr. Hatoyama, in a personal message to Marshal Bulganin, submitted this plan. On 29 September it was agreed that the proposed interim arrangement would be followed by negotiations for a formal treaty at some later date.

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Mr. Hatoyama arrived in Moscow on 12 October and began discussions three days later. On 19 October he signed with Marshal Bulganin a joint declaration. This ended the technical state of war between Japan and the U.S.S.R. and provided for the resumption of diplomatic relations between them. The U.S.S.R. agreed to support Japan's candidature for admission to the United Nations (which it had previously vetoed) and both sides pledged non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Each side also waived all claims for reparations or war damages. The fishery and rescue conventions were to come into force simultaneously with the joint declaration, which was subject to ratification. Japanese prisoners-of-war serving sentences for 'war crimes' were also to be repatriated at the same time and the U.S.S.R. promised to investigate the fate of some 11,000 others whom the Japanese Government declared to be still in Soviet custody. The Habomai and Shikotan Islands were to be returned to Japan, but only after the conclusion of a formal treaty of peace. A protocol on trade relations providing for most-favoured nation treatment was also signed. The news of this agreement provoked strong protest from dissident groups in the Liberal-Democratic Party and Mr. Hatoyama returned to Tokyo via London to face a situation in which both the continued unity of the Party and his own political position seemed in jeopardy. However, on 27 November the Lower House ratified the Treaty, the members who objected absenting themselves, and the Upper House gave its consent on 5 December.

On 12 December instruments of ratification of the agreement were formally exchanged between the Soviet Union and Japan at Tokyo. On the same day the Security Council of the United Nations recommended Japan's admission to that body. This was duly endorsed by the General Assembly, and Japan became the eightieth member.

On 13 December Mr. Hatoyama, as he had announced his intention to do a week earlier, resigned as President of the Liberal-Democratic Party. A Party vote resulted in the election of Mr. Tanzan Ishibashi, the Minister of International Trade and Industry, and a former editor of *The Oriental Economist*. On 20 December the Diet elected Mr. Ishibashi Prime Minister by a vote of 291 as against 151 for Mr. Mosaburo Suzuki, the leader of the Socialist Party. Three days later Mr. Ishibashi formed his Cabinet, with Mr. Nobusuke Kishi as Foreign Minister and Mr. Hayato Ikeda as Minister of Finance.

An agreement on reparations between Japan and the Philippine Republic was signed on 9 May in Manila. Japan agreed to provide a total of U.S. $550 million in goods and services over a period of twenty years. The annual average payments were to be equivalent to U.S. $25 million for the first ten years and 30 million for the second ten years. By an accompanying exchange of Notes commercial loans of a total value of U.S. $250 million, spaced over the same period, were to be made by Japanese firms to commercial enterprises in the Philippines. The Reparations Agreement was ratified by the Japanese Diet on 3 June and by the Philippine House of Representatives on 16 July. On 23 July ratifications were exchanged in Tokyo and the two countries

agreed to establish full diplomatic relations on the ambassadorial level. At the same time the Philippine Republic ratified the Japanese Peace Treaty of San Francisco.

On 24 September the Right Honourable the Earl of Selkirk, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, arrived in Japan on a goodwill mission of 11 days. This was the first official goodwill visit of a British Cabinet Minister to Japan since the Second World War and Lord Selkirk was warmly welcomed. On 23 November a ceremony took place at Kure to mark the departure of 200 British troops, the last of the British Commonwealth forces in Japan. The base was formally transferred to the Japanese Naval Defence Force.

In December 1955 the Japanese Diet passed a law establishing an Atomic Energy Commission. It also ratified an Atomic Energy Agreement of 14 November 1955 with the United States, whereby that country was to provide Japan with enriched uranium. Mr. Matsumoto Shoriki, Minister of State, was appointed Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and in November 1956, following a visit of a group of Japanese physicists to Great Britain, he announced that Japan would purchase reactors from that country.

The year saw a considerable expansion of Japanese industry and trade and an improvement in her foreign exchange position. Shipbuilding, mostly on foreign account, was especially active and included the launching of the *Universe Leader*, the largest oil tanker in the world of some 84,000 tons displacement. On 6 October the Ministry of Agriculture estimated that the rice crop would prove the second largest in Japan's history and would total 354 million bushels, 18 million bushels above the average. But in 1956 the Japanese population rose above 90 million which illustrated the need for continued economic expansion.

KOREA

At the end of May 1956 it was revealed that, in a Note of 9 April, the Chinese People's Government had proposed a further conference of all interested States on Korean reunification and on the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the country. After discussions in Washington between representatives of the 16 Powers of the U.N. Command in Korea a reply was delivered on 28 May through the British Chargé d'Affaires in Peking. The answer was that since there had been no apparent change in the Communist attitude to the Korean question since the abortive Geneva Conference of 1954 another conference would be equally unfruitful. It was therefore rejected, although the 16 Powers expressed their readiness to consider any concrete proposals which were in line with the objectives laid down in their Declaration of 1954 (see A.R. 1954, pp. 160-1).

The Chinese proposal was inspired by complaints from Sweden and Switzerland that their representatives on the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission were being prevented from carrying out their duties

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in North Korea by the obstructive tactics of the Communist command, aided by the Czech and Polish members of the Commission. Sweden and Switzerland had therefore asked for the limitation, if not the termination, of the Commission. On 31 May the U.N. Command ordered the removal of the inspection teams of the Commission from South Korea to Panmunjom, in the demilitarized zone. The Communist command protested, but by mid-June the inspection teams from both parts of Korea had withdrawn to the demilitarized zone, which meant that the Commission had ceased to be effective.

The Armistice itself continued in force despite charges and countercharges of breach of its provisions.

On 15 May presidential and vice-presidential elections were held in the Republic of Korea. President Rhee, after an initial refusal, agreed to run for a third term as the Liberal candidate and Mr. Lee Ki Poong was the nominee for vice-president. The major opposing party, the Democrats, put up Mr. P. H. Shinicky for President and Dr. John Chang (Chang Myun) for vice-president. A Progressive Party also entered the lists, with Mr. Cho Bong Am as its choice for president. He had once been a Communist and he was an advocate of peaceful reunification in opposition to President Rhee's desire to overthrow the North Korean régime by force. Mr. Shinicky died suddenly during the campaign and Mr. Cho thought it advisable to go into hiding. So President Rhee was duly re-elected, although a considerable number of 'memorial votes' were cast for Mr. Shinicky and Mr. Cho got some two million. Moreover, to the great and openly expressed chagrin of President Rhee, the Democratic candidate for vice-president Dr. Chang, defeated Mr. Lee. There was thus a Liberal President and a Democratic Vice-President, which promised some fireworks, especially as Dr. Chang was in favour of revising the Constitution to make the Cabinet the effective governing body and the President's office mainly ceremonial, an idea which was anathema to President Rhee.

In December 1955 the North Korean Government announced the trial and execution of a former Foreign Minister, Mr. Pak Hen Yen, on charges of espionage and treason. In the same month an East German delegation headed by the Prime Minister, Herr Grotewohl, visited China, where they concluded a Pact of Friendship. They also visited North Korea and Outer Mongolia. On 21 December Herr Grotewohl and Marshal Kim Il-sung issued a joint declaration in which they said that the problem of reunification in Germany and in Korea should be solved step by step through mutual contacts between the two States established respectively in Germany and Korea. This idea found no favour with President Rhee. He was encouraged by the troubles in Poland and Hungary to hope that the North Korean régime might yet be overthrown. He also attacked what he regarded as pro-Communist leanings in Japan, with which country fishery and other matters of disagreement remained unsolved.

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THAILAND

On 4 February Field-Marshal Pibul announced that his Party (*Seri Manangkasila*) had dissuaded him from resigning the premiership and his political supremacy was unchallenged throughout the year. The broad lines of Thai foreign policy also showed no change although the slight trend towards a more neutral position, already remarked on in 1955, was again observable in 1956.

On 18 January Field-Marshal Pibul, who since his visit to Europe and the U.S.A. in 1955 had shown a new awareness of the need to 'democratize' Thailand to meet foreign criticism, tried unsuccessfully to introduce an Electoral Bill lowering the age and educational qualifications of candidates for the National Assembly and allowing Chinese born in Thailand to stand for election. These proposals were later withdrawn following threats of resignation by 32 members of the *Seri Manangkasila* Party. Field-Marshal Pibul himself recognized the danger that his belated democratic reforms might be exploited by his political opponents for, on 21 February, he re-imposed various restrictions on civil liberties (including the banning of the much publicized 'Hyde Park experiment') on the ground that pro-Communist groups had abused recent concessions by criticizing the Government 'beyond limit'. Newspapers were warned to be more restrained in their comment. (On 10 October it was announced that the Minister of the Interior had ordered the deportation of 16 Chinese journalists accused of pro-Communist activities.)

On 19 April minor Cabinet changes were announced. Phin Chunhawan was relieved of the Deputy Premiership (he remained Minister of Agriculture) and Lieutenant-General Banyat Devahastin was relieved of the Ministry of Industry and appointed Deputy Premier.

In October the young King of Thailand captured the popular imagination by entering the Buddhist priesthood for a fortnight in accordance with Buddhist custom. The Queen was appointed Regent during his absence.

In the economic field developments in Egypt probably stimulated the campaign against the Shell and Standard Vacuum Oil Companies which developed in the latter part of the year. On 31 August the Prime Minister announced the establishment of a governmental committee to negotiate a revision of the 1947 agreement which he alleged had been 'unfairly' forced on a defeated Thailand. Negotiations with the oil companies opened on 19 September and on 16 October the companies were reported to have agreed in principle to accede to the chief government requests.

Thailand continued to support S.E.A.T.O. (a large scale joint exercise was conducted off the coast of Thailand in February) and the United Nations. Thailand was allotted U.S.$600,000 for U.N. technical assistance during 1956 and the unanimous election of the Thai Foreign Minister, Prince Wan Waithayakon, to the Presidency of the U.N. General Assembly in November was received with satisfaction. The

U.S.A. continued to grant Thailand extensive military and economic aid and Mr. Dulles signed an agreement in Bangkok on 13 March providing for Thai-U.S. co-operation in the peaceful use of atomic energy. Relations with the Commonwealth were likewise friendly and Thailand continued to participate in, and benefit from, the Colombo Plan.

Relations with the Communist block were marked by a slight lessening of hostility. On 21 June the Thai ban on the export of non-strategic goods to China and North Korea was lifted, which meant that trade became virtually unrestricted since rubber was the only Thai export on the U.N. strategic list. Thai markets were flooded with cheap Chinese goods, often sold below cost price for prestige purposes. Visits to China were, however, still discouraged by the Government. Members of an unofficial delegation to China led by Nai Thep Chotinuchit in the beginning of the year were arrested on their return.

On 3 May Prince Wan announced an agreement with the U.S.S.R. to raise their respective Legations to Embassies and proposals for trade were also discussed, although inconclusively, since Thailand was reported to be opposed to barter trade. In June the U.S.S.R. offered scholarships to Thai students and in July invited Thai journalists to visit the U.S.S.R. Neither offer was taken up.

VIETNAM

In southern Vietnam the Government led by Ngo Dinh Diem consolidated its position. Disagreements among leaders of the Cao Dai movement enabled the Government in February to occupy Tay Ninh, the headquarters of the movement. One of the principal Hoa Hao leaders, Tran Van Soai, submitted in February, and another, Ba Cut, who was captured in April, was executed on 13 July after conviction for murder, treason, and desertion. Though small groups of dissidents remained in the jungles they ceased to be a danger, and the Communist dissidents known as the Viet Cong were equally ineffective.

A Constituent Assembly, elected in March, began work on the 15th of that month and evolved a new Constitution which was promulgated on 26 October. It provided for a republic with a presidential executive, the president being elected by universal suffrage, and for a single-chamber Assembly. The dissolution of the French High Command on 28 April marked the completion of Vietnamese independence.

Under the Geneva Agreement of 1954 country-wide elections in both south and north should have been held by 20 July, but Ngo Dinh Diem refused to regard his Government as bound by the Agreement. The matter was considered in May by Lord Reading and M. Gromyko, representing the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference, and their joint statement, while affirming the principle of elections, also stressed the importance of maintaining the Geneva armistice; protests by the Communist Government in the north produced no effect, and the *de facto* partition of Vietnam seemed likely to continue indefinitely.

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While in the south the régime, strengthened by American aid, was stabilizing itself, the Communist régime in the north showed signs of strain. The Laodong (Workers' Party) at its ninth conference in April did little more than approve the decision of the Russian Communist Party Congress in Moscow, on which the Laodong's secretary, Truong Chinh, reported, and the condemnation of Stalin was echoed. In October, however, it was announced by the Laodong that Truong Chinh had been allowed to resign his office as secretary and that two other prominent Communists had also been removed. Ho Chi-minh became secretary, evidently in the hope of rehabilitating the party in the face of popular discontent, for it was admitted that Truong Chinh's resignation arose from serious errors in the execution of the agrarian reform programme. It appeared that much resentment had been caused, especially by oppression of middle and richer peasants who were treated as though they were landlords. Agitation continued, however, and in November disturbances broke out in Nghe An province and troops had to be sent to restore order. The Communist régime in northern Vietnam thus showed signs of weakness not dissimilar to those appearing in some parts of Europe.

CAMBODIA

Cambodia underwent several changes of Ministry during the year. Prince Sihanouk Norodom, the former King, resumed the office of Premier on 1 March but resigned again on 24 March in favour of the former Deputy-Premier, Khim Tit. The latter resigned on 27 July and after an interval Prince Sihanouk resumed office in September, but on 15 October he resigned again and was succeeded on 25 October by San Yun, a former Minister of the Interior. At all times, however, Prince Sihanouk remained the dominant factor in the country's affairs, and under his guidance a strictly neutral policy was maintained. During a visit to the Philippines in February, he declared that Cambodia was not attracted by Communism, but that the country was in no way threatened by Communist aggression and so long as that was the case the neutralist policy would continue; however, if Communist attitudes changed the policy of Cambodia would also change. In the same month he visited Peking, but on his return he said that the visit had been designed to show Cambodia's impartiality. Unlike many visitors to China, he indulged in no eulogistic references to the achievements of Communism, but said that the system would not suit his people. On 24 April, however, an agreement was signed providing for trade with China to the value of £5 million each way over an unspecified period, and on 5 May it was announced that an offer of economic aid to the extent of £8 million had been accepted from China. In May and June Prince Sihanouk went to Europe, and after his visit to Warsaw it was stated that Poland would grant £5 million of aid. Later in the year trade delegations from the Soviet Union, China, and Czechoslovakia came to Cambodia. On his return from Europe,

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however, the Prince again said, on 20 August, that while foreign help, if unconditional, was welcome, no interference in Cambodia's affairs would be allowed; and on more than one occasion he expressed his appreciation of American aid.

On 22 November Chou En-lai arrived in Phnom Penh for a five days' visit, during which, when addressing the Legislature, he attacked 'colonialism' and praised the Egyptian people for their heroic struggle against aggression.

LAOS

On 7 January the International Commission for Laos adopted a resolution calling for the restoration of the Government's authority in Sam Neua and Phong Saly provinces, still held by the Communist-dominated Pathet Lao forces. As the Pathet Lao leaders rejected the resolution, the issue was referred to the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference, and was discussed in London by Lord Reading and the Soviet Ambassador, without result. On 26 June the Laotian Premier, Prince Souvanna Phouma, agreed to further direct negotiations with the Pathet Laos on the basis of the Commission's resolution, and talks began in Vientiane on 1 August. A joint communiqué of 5 August announced that it had been agreed that the two provinces should accept the authority of the Government and that the Pathet Lao forces should come under the command of the Royal Army; details of the process of transfer of control were left to two joint committees. The Pathet Lao asked for new General Elections and for their admission to ministerial office; these concessions were not at that stage granted, but they were assured that supplementary elections for the National Assembly would be held in 1957 and that they might participate in them. The two joint committees made little progress and in October their meetings were adjourned to allow the Premier and Prince Souphannouvong, the Pathet Lao leader, to discuss outstanding problems. On 30 December it was announced that agreement had been reached and that the Pathet Lao would be admitted to the Cabinet.

On 20 August Prince Souvanna Phouma arrived in Peking on an official visit. A statement issued on 25 August said that Laos would maintain a policy of neutrality, would negotiate no military alliances so long as the country's security was not threatened, would allow no military bases on its soil except in accordance with the Geneva Agreement, and reaffirmed the five principles of co-existence. But in October, during a visit to Paris, Prince Souvanna Phouma said that though friendly relations with China were desired, no Communist infiltration or subversion would be tolerated.

INDONESIA

On 1 March the results of the parliamentary elections held in September 1955 were announced: the Nationalist Party secured 57 seats

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out of 257, the Masjumi (Muslim) group 57, the Nahdlatul Ulema (orthodox Muslim group) 45, the Communist Party 39, and minor parties 59. A reconstitution of the Cabinet ensued and on 20 March Ali Sastroamidjojo, of the Nationalist Party, resumed office as Premier of a coalition Ministry which included nearly all parties except the Communists. The results of elections for a Constituent Assembly, held in December 1955 and announced on 16 July, reflected very closely the distribution of seats in the parliamentary elections. When the Constituent Assembly met on 10 November, Dr. Hatta, Vice-President of the Republic since 1950, resigned his office as from 1 December.

The political situation was uneasy throughout the year. Rumours of a possible military *coup d'état* circulated during the summer, and in August the Foreign Minister, Mr. Ruslan Abdulgani, was nearly prevented from attending the London conference on Suez by an order for his arrest on a charge of corruption, issued by the West Java military district commander; only intervention by the Premier and the Chief of Staff secured the withdrawal of the warrant. In October and November a number of military officers were arrested on a charge of conspiring to overthrow the Government; but despite these arrests in December the military commander in north and central Sumatra repudiated the authority of the central Government.

President Sukarno visited the United States and Canada early in the year and later visited eastern Europe and China. On his return in October he expressed approbation of the achievements of the Communist countries; and when opening the Constituent Assembly on 10 November he declared that Western liberalism was unsuited to Indonesia, which needed a 'guided democracy'.

Negotiations, begun in December 1955, for the solution of outstanding problems with the Netherlands broke off without result on 11 February, and a Bill to dissolve the abortive Netherlands-Indonesian Union was adopted by the Parliament on 21 April. On 4 August the Government repudiated the debt to the Netherlands on the ground that it arose from the cost of Dutch military action against the Republic in 1945-49. This repudiation followed close on President Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal Company.

The problem of Western New Guinea continued to trouble relations with the Netherlands. In May the Cabinet decided to constitute an autonomous West Irian Province with a Government in exile, and in October the New Guinea issue was placed on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly. The prolonged trial of Dutch nationals accused of subversion dragged on: the principal accused, M. Jungschlaeger, after two years under trial, died in prison on 19 April, and in October M. H. C. J. G. Schmidt was sentenced to life imprisonment; other accused were still in custody. The death of M. Jungschlaeger and the sentence on M. Schmidt aroused much indignation in the Netherlands.

British and French action in Egypt was severely criticized by Indonesian opinion. On 3 November the Cabinet denounced it as an

act of aggression, and on 7 November a mob attacked the British Embassy. A not very effective boycott of British commerce was imposed, and some inconvenience was caused by a refusal of fuelling facilities to aircraft. There was also much criticism of Russian action in Hungary. On 16 November the House of Representatives called for the withdrawal of Russian troops from that country, and dock labour boycotted Russian shipping.

THE PHILIPPINES

Although alliance and co-operation with the United States remained the basis of Filipino policy the tendency to assert independence became more evident during the year. In February the Chamber of Commerce advocated trade with Communist countries, and in March a Government Bill for the encouragement of foreign and particularly American investment was strongly criticized on the grounds of the excessive salaries already paid to American experts and alleged American interference in the administration. Complaints were also voiced about the privileged position of the 14 American bases in the country, and in consequence an official American statement issued in August reaffirmed United States recognition of Filipino sovereignty over the bases and declared that all title-papers and title-deeds relating to them would be transferred to the Republic. U.S.–Philippine negotiations on the status of the bases continued until 5 December when they were suspended indefinitely as a result of disagreement on both sides.

On 23 January an agreement was signed with the Chinese Nationalist Embassy recognizing Filipino authority over Chinese schools but providing for this authority to be exercised through a joint committee, and on 18 October a protocol signed at Manila provided for U.S.$2 million worth of trade each way between the Philippines and Formosa. The protracted negotiations with Japan on reparations led to an agreement, signed on 9 May (see p. 317).

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CHAPTER IX

LATIN AMERICA—ARGENTINA—BRAZIL—CHILE

LATIN AMERICA

In 1956 the Latin Americans were—as most of them would have wished to be—on the margin of Northern Hemisphere events; so these 20 republics do not qualify for much space in the present volume. Nevertheless during the year there were signs that the future importance of the sub-continent in world economy and strategy was increasingly recognized. In January, for example, Marshal Bulganin publicly offered Soviet machinery, oil, and technical assistance to Latin America in exchange for agricultural products and raw materials.

One United States diplomat flippantly remarked: 'The Russians will only be a real threat when they become ardent coffee drinkers and the U.S.S.R. corners the Latin-American market'; but other observers knew that Communism was not lacking in appeal for Latin America's under-privileged masses. Moreover, several republics—such as Cuba with its excess of sugar—needed new markets for their agricultural surpluses, and they required machinery from non-dollar sources. In July President Eisenhower, although still not fully recovered from his illness, travelled to Panama for a conference of Pan American heads of State, only those of Colombia and Honduras failing to attend. The 19 Presidents signed a 'Declaration of Panama' in which they emphasized their opposition to 'totalitarian forces alien to the tradition of our peoples' and their determination to co-operate in promoting the economic development of the Americas. In August Mr. Dulles convened a meeting of the diplomatic representatives of the Republics in Washington to discuss the Suez crisis. One particularly troublesome item at that time was the suggestion of the Panamanian Government that 'the Suez Canal has fundamental analogies with the Panama Canal'. Many new projects for investment in Latin-American industrialization were announced by United States, Japanese, West German, French, and other European enterprises; and the Export-Import Bank continued to provide loans for hydro-electric development, etc. The General Assembly of the United Nations was reminded of the voting power of the Latin American block when, in December, 19 of the republics (with Spain) presented a resolution proposing that the Security Council should be enlarged.

Whereas in 1955 the Latin Americans' traditional preference for personal rule by a 'strong man' seemed to be more than holding its own against the conviction of the liberal classes that parliamentary democracy was the appropriate form of government for their countries, whose founders had been inspired by the ideals of the American and French revolutions, during 1956 the tendency was in a certain degree reversed. Thus although it had been foreseen that a Right-wing *coup d'état* would prevent the President-elect of Brazil from assuming office, Senhor Kubitschek was duly installed in the presidency on 31 January. To the general astonishment the Presidents of Peru and Ecuador, their terms of office having ended, meekly withdrew and allowed their newly-elected adversaries to succeed them. In Peru the outgoing President, General Manuel Odría (whose rule had been economically liberal, but politically dictatorial), saw his chosen successor, Dr. Hernando Lavalle, defeated at the polls in June. And although the victorious candidate Dr. Manuel Prado, apparently had received the votes of members of the outlawed Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (A.P.R.A.), General Odría did not prevent his inauguration (which was attended by Mr. Dulles) on 28 July. The new President at once signed a Bill of political amnesty, whereby the ban on A.P.R.A. was lifted. The Ecuadorian elections also occurred in June, when, because the powerful Liberal Party had split into three factions, a Conservative, Señor Ponce Enriquez, headed the poll, with a mere 29

per cent. of the votes. In spite of the fact that the Liberals—who had dominated the country for the past 60 years—were expected to retain the presidency by force, they relinquished it democratically to Sr. Ponce in September.

The increasing influence of anti-*caudillo* sentiment was also apparent in Honduras and Haiti. In Honduras the October elections—at which the dictator, Dr. Julio Lozano, had planned to consolidate his position in the presidency—were so corrupt and were accompanied by so much violence that a group of indignant army officers decided to take matters into their own hands, rightly judging that they would have popular approval. Dr. Lozano was deposed without bloodshed, and a military junta assumed power 'in the name of democracy'. Events in Haiti followed a rather similar course. For six years the President, General Paul E. Magloire, had tried to improve the economic conditions of the poorer classes, who showed their appreciation by nicknaming him 'bon Papa' and singing:

> He gives us jobs and money
> — oh! oh! oh!
> He can stay in the palace
> as long as he wants!

But the economic measures were not as successful as had been hoped, so, when 'bon Papa' revealed that he intended to arrange for his own nominee to win the elections in 1957, the people indicated that they would support a rival candidate. On 6 December Magloire therefore attempted another *manoeuvre*: he resigned the presidency, suspended the Constitution, and announced that he would continue to rule as Chief Executive. In protest, a general strike was organized throughout the country, and it continued until a party of army officers convinced Magloire that he must leave Haiti and seek asylum in Jamaica. After this so-called *coup de langue*, wherein verbal persuasion was used instead of force, the head of the Supreme Court, M. Joseph Nemours Pierre-Louis, became Provisional President on 12 December.

Nevertheless Latin America still did not lack personal rulers. In December the Latin-American Consultative Committee of the Socialist International, meeting in Buenos Aires, denounced as dictatorial the Governments of Colombia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Venezuela. In an Associated Press survey for 1956, published in the United States, it was declared that the President of Colombia, General Rojas Pinilla, manipulated the press censorship to suit his convenience. President Rojas explained that the establishment of a 'new order' in Colombia was necessary because (he said) 'we cannot continue insisting on the romantic principles of freedom when, in our own country, the social problems of the modern era surge from all sides'. The President of Venezuela, General Pérez Jiménez, defended his suppression of political opposition with the argument that because of the country's tremendous economic prosperity (derived from petroleum and, increasingly, from recently discovered deposits of iron ore and other minerals) the people were no longer interested in politics.

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Attempts at the end of November and beginning of December to overthrow President Batista of Cuba by force were thwarted. The assassination of General Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua, who died on 29 September from bullet wounds, had no immediate political consequences, as he was succeeded in the presidency by his son Luis.

Although many Latin Americans now considered *caudillismo* an anachronism, many others accepted it as a normal method of government or as the only means of preventing chaos in politically immature communities.

Latin-American industry was no longer confined to the processing of agricultural and pastoral products and the manufacture of consumer goods. Heavy industry was being established, and the local production of steel (estimated at 3·4 million tons in the year) was five times greater than before the war.

ARGENTINA

The President, General Pedro Aramburu, and the Vice-President, Rear-Admiral Isaac Rojas, delivered speeches which revealed their good intentions and their democratic aims; but in practice their rule was arbitrary, and sometimes ruthless. Indeed an outstanding characteristic of public life in Argentina during 1956 was the marked divergence between, on the one hand, wishes and professions and, on the other hand, the action taken. On 1 May as a token of their democratic sentiments the Government reinstated the liberal Constitution of 1853, whereby the death penalty had been abolished 'for ever'; but when a revolt (led by Peronista army officers) occurred in June a number of the rebels were court-martialled and summarily shot. Whereas one of the objects of the régime was to introduce economic freedom, the national economy continued to be strictly controlled; and although the Government's economic adviser, Dr. Raúl Prebisch, had planned the severe limitation of wage increases, a series of strikes compelled the authorities to permit increases greatly in excess of his recommendations. After the fall of Perón it was stated that the press in future would be free; but during 1956 most of the daily newspapers were under the supervision of federal commissioners, while the remainder adopted a system of 'self-censorship' and refrained from criticizing the Government. Several weekly papers, however, were critical. A particularly outspoken weekly was *Azul y Blanco*, the organ of the Right-wing Catholics (whose figurehead, General Lonardi, died in March). On 10 October, for example, *Azul y Blanco* complained that the prisons in the far south of the Republic were filled with political prisoners 'whose incarceration is being prolonged indefinitely by the very Revolution which was to have restored the rule of liberty and law'. President Aramburu repeated his assurances that free elections would be held in the last quarter of 1957, but the ban on the Peronista Party would remain in force. The political parties which had combined to overthrow Perón were now competing for Peronista votes. All of

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the parties, however, were split by internal dissension. Three factions within the important Radical Party refused to recognize the leadership of Dr. Arturo Frondizi. There was disagreement, too, within the army, and scores of senior officers were removed from their posts, either because they were known to have connived at Perón's rule, or because they sympathized with the Right-wing *Lonardistas*. In November the Government ordered the arrest of two of Lonardi's former ministers, General Bengoa and General Uranga.

In spite of the political plots, the continued inflation, labour disputes, and occasional acts of sabotage on the railways and elsewhere, progress was made in carrying out Prebisch's comprehensive programme for the development of the national economy. A multilateral trade and payments agreement was negotiated with Great Britain and other European countries. Argentina became a member of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. The Export-Import Bank provided a loan of $100 million for the purchase of transport and power equipment. But nationalists in and outside the army still opposed the granting of new concessions to foreign companies for the exploitation of the Republic's oil reserves.

BRAZIL

Evidence of Brazil's enormous wealth and vitality came, in 1956, not so much from Rio de Janeiro as from the interior of the country. Coffee again accounted for about 60 per cent. of the earnings of foreign currency; and as prices on the New York market remained firm, coffee exports (together with the drastic restriction of imports) enabled the Government to achieve a favourable balance of trade month after month. The rich deposits of iron ore, bauxite, etc., in Minas Gerais, where abundant potential sources of hydro-electric power were close at hand, attracted North American, German, and Japanese companies to establish new factories in that state. The Export-Import Bank provided further loans for the development of electricity and transport. Some headway was even made with the long-discussed project for transferring the capital of the Republic from hot, damp, and overcrowded Rio de Janeiro to the cool, grassy (but at present almost inaccessible) plateau of Goiás. President Juscelino Kubitschek hoped that the construction of the essential buildings in the new capital, to be named Brasília, would be completed by January 1961, so that he might instal his successor there.

In spite of the general exuberance, however, many Brazilians were dissatisfied with the state of the nation. They complained that inflation was unchecked (the prices of certain basic commodities doubled during the first seven months of the year). When the Government decreed a substantial increase in minimum wages (operative from 1 August), employers criticized the measure as placing an intolerable burden upon them. Communists and nationalists accused President Kubitschek of being an *entreguista*—i.e. one who sells his country's

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interests—in this case to the United States. And there was a widespread feeling that the army had acquired too much influence in politics. It became apparent during November that this fear was not entirely unjustified. In that month the powerful Minister of War, General Henrique Teixeira Lott, allowed himself to be acclaimed as head of a newly founded movement, the November Front, which had the support of Vice-President João Goulart and a mixed company of army officers, nationalists, labour leaders, and Communists. Its avowed purposes included the defence of the Kubitschek régime against any attempt to overthrow it by violence; the formation of a 'popular democracy'; and the expulsion of foreign companies 'looting' Brazil. General Teixeira Lott expressed approval of the aims of the movement, and the impression was conveyed that he now had political ambitions. A wave of protests compelled President Kubitschek to act. After some hesitation, he issued decrees forbidding military officers to take part in politics and suspending the Front for a period of six months. The Minister of War, who had frequently affirmed his loyalty to the Constitution, accepted the presidential decision.

During 1956 the Government were active in promoting Brazil's economic and political interests in neighbouring republics. Paraguay and Uruguay had always been spheres of Argentine-Brazilian rivalry, and with the fall of Perón the Brazilians reasserted their influence. A commercial treaty was concluded with Paraguay in October, and on the 6th of that month President Kubitschek met the Paraguayan President, General Stroessner, on the banks of the Paraná river, where an international bridge was to be built. The bridge would provide a link between Asunción and the Atlantic Ocean via Brazil, thereby freeing Paraguay from dependence on the usual river and railway systems, both of which ran through Argentine territory. On 28 December Brazil and Uruguay signed a series of agreements on trade and navigation. In the meantime a proposal by President Aramburu of Argentina for the formation of a southern defence alliance aroused little enthusiasm.

CHILE

'The picture has changed.' In this way the Chilean President, in his 21 May message to Congress, described the success of his Government's disinflationary programme. This included such measures as credit control, a price freeze, extra taxation, reduced wage adjustments, the introduction of a free exchange rate, a stabilization loan from the International Monetary Fund and a reduction in the size of the civil service. Sponsored by a group of American experts it represented the first serious effort of the Ibáñez Government which had not been frustrated by congressional wrangling and trades union opposition. The Central Workers' Federation's plan to thwart the wages provisions by means of a general strike on 9 January was broken by the Government's declaration of a state of siege, the arrest of the Federation's

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leaders, and precautionary military measures. As a result the strike was a fiasco, and sufficient support was forthcoming in Congress from Right-wing groups for the Government to implement their policy.

Some opponents joined forces in the re-creation of a Popular Front of six Left-wing parties under Senator Salvador Allende, and the strength of the Government's critics was revealed in congressional by-election results in Valparaiso and Tarapacá and the overthrow of more than half of the Ibañista-controlled councils in the April municipal elections. Strikes in the copper mines in January, in the nitrate fields for three months from June to September, and in the banks in August were further symptoms of dissatisfaction.

Labour unrest, however, was less widespread than in recent years, which was an indication of the Government's achievement in cutting inflationary pressures to at least half of what they had been in 1955. The reorganization of the nitrate industry on lines similar to those adopted in the copper industry in the previous year (see A.R. 1954, p. 328) and the investment of $98 million by American copper firms to develop Chuquicamata and open up the El Salvador mine were other indications of renewed confidence and a more favourable economic climate.

The architect of this change was the Minister of Finance and Economy, Señor Oscar Herrera, who resigned on 27 August because he disagreed with the President over the separation of his two Ministries. This led to no acute political or economic crisis, but a serious break in the price of copper in the second half of the year and the continued intractability of rising Budget deficits with renewed inflationary tendencies revealed that the country's problems were far from solved.

The Galleguillos report, published on 21 June, declared that the Peronista régime had penetrated into Chilean politics, journalism, and trade unions, and accused President Ibáñez of responsibility for permitting this, but, in spite of congressional attacks, an attempt to impeach him never became a serious proposition.

The Antarctic issue again came into prominence with the International Court's decision not to consider the case, and a Chilean protest to the United Kingdom on 17 April over the establishment of two British bases on Graham Land; and on 17 July President Ibáñez signed a decree extending the application of existing Chilean legislation to the Chilean Antarctic sector.

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PART IV

THE YEAR IN SCIENCE

POLITICAL events which shook and divided nations did nothing to stop preparations for the International Geophysical Year which went forward on a scale and with an assurance that could well be described as majestic. By the end of the year nearly 1,000 scientists and explorers were established in camps all over the Antarctic, ready to take their part in the greatest international project in the history of science. Unanimous agreement by 82 nations on the charter for an international atomic agency, and the inauguration of Calder Hall as the first atomic power station in the world were both in their way turning points in history. In biology there were many successes especially in the fields of medical research and treatment, but nothing epoch-making. Public health statistics showed continuing improvements in the mastery over disease but there was concern over lung cancer (with tobacco smoking still suspect) and over the growing immunity of disease-carrying insects to insecticides.

Astronomy. Two outstanding events of the year were an enormous eruption on the sun on 10 February, and the closest approach of the planet Mars to the Earth for 32 years early in September. The solar flare occurred during the hours of darkness in Europe and was best observed from the United States where a motion picture was successfully taken by astronomers at the Observatory in Sacramento Park, New Mexico. It was reported that the outburst was of a violence equivalent to the simultaneous explosion of 100 million hydrogen bombs. It involved the expulsion of 1,000 million tons of hot gas, mainly hydrogen, and the flare reached a distance of 200,000 miles from the surface of the sun. The energy of ultra violet light played havoc with radio transmission and the duration of the radio fade-out coincided with a large increase in the amount of cosmic radiation reaching the Earth. The close approach of Mars to a distance of 35 million miles gave good opportunity for making fresh observations, and excellent conditions favoured the principal study which was made at the Lamont-Hassey observatory at Bloemfontein by the American astronomer, Dr. E. C. Slipher, whose photographic records were taken with the assistance of new British television equipment. Dr. Slipher took more than 20,000 photographs and it was not expected that the full results of interpreting them would be available before 1960. More than a dozen of Russia's leading astronomers made an intensive study of Mars from an observatory in Alma Ata, the capital of Kazakhstan, from the newly built Pulkovo observatory, and at other stations in the Crimea and elsewhere. Dr. N. Kozyrer, head of a group of Crimean astronomers, developed the theory that the planet's red colour was

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determined less by the character of its surface than by the absorption of light by its atmosphere.

In an end of the year assessment of progress in astronomy in the United States, Dr. Harlow Shapley gave pride of place to the completion of prolonged studies of the radial velocities of several hundred galaxies by Dr. Milton L. Humason of Mount Wilson and Palomar Observatories. Astronomers also welcomed publication of the results of Michigan University's great programme of discovery and measurement of visual double stars seen in the Southern Hemisphere. The principal observer for this 30-year undertaking was Dr. R. A. Rossiter who discovered more than 5,000 new double stars.

It was announced in May that, after eight years of argument, the Isaac Newton telescope for the Royal Observatory at Hurstmonceaux had been completely designed and would be erected within two years. The Astronomer Royal, Dr. Richard van der Riet Woolley, said that the telescope, which would have a 98-inch reflecting mirror, would be used to study with greater accuracy the fainter stars in the heavens which had been neglected in the work of larger instruments in the United States.

In radio-astronomy further progress was made with the erection of large radio-telescopes. The Queen of the Netherlands inaugurated an instrument with an 83-ft. reflector at Dwingeloo in Holland in May, and a 60-ft. telescope at Harvard Observatory's Agassiz Station was also brought into successful operation during the year. Plans were announced for a new national radio observatory to be built by the National Science Foundation at Greenbank in the Pocahontas County of West Virginia. The largest instrument was expected to have a reflector of 140-ft. diameter. The great radio-telescope at Jodrell Bank in Cheshire, with its 250-ft. reflecting 'dish', came nearer to completion but at a rate rather slower than had been expected. This was apparently due to major changes in design to take advantage of continuing developments in this young science, and it was fully expected that the final cost would be in the region of £700,000, or more than twice the original estimate. Progress was also made towards the establishment of a new radio-astronomy observatory for the University of Cambridge. One of the important preoccupations of radio astronomers at Jodrell Bank during the year was the building and testing of complex electronic apparatus which left Britain in November for Halley Bay in the Antarctic where it was to be erected in 1957 for the study of the upper reaches of the atmosphere at altitudes between 60 and 300 miles.

During his Reith Lectures on 'Science and the Nation' which he delivered in November, Sir Edward Appleton described the significance of radio stars in current theories concerning the origin of the Universe. It seemed certain that most of the 2,000 radio stars so far observed were beyond the limits of observation by ordinary telescopes and were indeed so far away that the messages reaching the earth through so much space and time were giving information about the Universe when it was very much younger; and the density of the radio stars in space

seemed to favour the evolutionary theory of the universe rather than the 'steady state' theory.

Nuclear Physics. Outstanding achievements in experimental work among the ever growing number of nuclear particles were the detection of the neutrino and the discovery of the anti-neutron. The first of these, the neutrino, a particle of no electric charge and less mass than an electron, had been assumed to exist from theoretical argument. It was experimentally observed for the first time in June, at the Los Alamos laboratory of the United States Atomic Energy Commission where efforts to detect it had been going on for four years. The discovery of the anti-neutron, another particle without electric charge, was made in September by research workers using the Bevatron of the University of California. In comment on this discovery Professor E. O. Lawrence, Director of the University's radiation laboratory, said that no practical application was foreseen but the result had been achieved by skill amounting to technical virtuosity and would be of value in expanding an understanding of the nature of matter. The discovery of anti-particles related to the electron (positron 1936), the proton (anti-proton 1955) and the neutron (anti-neutron 1956), gave reason to believe that an anti-particle to the neutrino must also exist, and experiments with the object of detecting it were planned. The existence of these anti-particles also began to influence thinking about the universe and gave cosmologists a basis for strange speculations such as a theory, suggested by Dr. Maurice Goldhaber of Brookhaven, that there might be an anti-matter universe, a mirror image of the proton universe, at a great distance from it.

The spirit of international co-operation fostered by the great conference on the atom, at Geneva in 1955, was again shown, not only by the political decision to create a World Atomic Agency (which was taken under the auspices of the United Nations on 26 October), but also by a number of gatherings of atomic experts in different countries during the year. Perhaps the most noteworthy of these technical assemblies was a conference in Russia during the third week of May, when some 500 people from many foreign countries, including the United Kingdom and the United States, visited Moscow for discussion of problems in nuclear physics and were shown several of the Russian research establishments including the Institute for Nuclear Problems on the Volga about 100 miles from Moscow. In March at a conference of representatives from 11 Communist countries, it was decided to establish a Joint Institute for Nuclear Research and this decision was made effective in September when the research centre operated by Russia at Dubna passed under the joint sponsorship of Communist countries.

Progress was also made with the establishment of the laboratories of the Council of the European Organization for Nuclear Research (C.E.R.N.) at Meyerin in Switzerland. The first annual report of C.E.R.N. was issued at the end of May and a large international symposium on high energy physics was organized by the Council later in the month. At the end of the conference it was reported that

discussion of technical problems had led to entirely new principles, which would considerably improve the already spectacular performance of high-energy particle accelerators.

At the turn of the year there was news of the British Government's decision to found a national centre for nuclear research near Harwell to house equipment that would be too expensive for universities or industrial firms to acquire for their own use. Construction of the first privately owned atomic reactor in Britain began in June at the Associated Electrical Industries research establishment at Aldermaston. Intended for research in physics and engineering and for training, it was expected to start work at the end of 1957.

The newest and most powerful of reactors at Harwell was inaugurated on 21 November by Sir Cyril Hinshelwood, President of the Royal Society. This was *Dido* and the name was suggested by the symbol DDO for heavy-water utilized to moderate neutrons and carry away heat. *Dido* took 2½ years to build at a cost of about £2 million and great things were expected from it as its neutron intensity, being 40 times that previously available, should enable experiments to be completed in weeks instead of years.

Nuclear Power Stations. On 17 October, at Calder Hall in Cumberland, Queen Elizabeth formally inaugurated the world's first large-scale nuclear power station. The opening words of the Queen's speech were: 'As power from Calder Hall begins to flow into the national grid all of us here know that we are present at the making of history'. By the end of the year the station was supplying 65,000 kilowatts of electricity and its capacity was expected to rise to 90,000 kilowatts by the spring of 1957. Even before it came into regular use, Calder Hall had provided the model for the design of other stations. By the end of the year contracts valued at over £100 million had been placed for three nuclear power stations of broadly the same type, but introducing several novel features. The Central Electricity Authority ordered two stations: one for Bradwell in Essex (300,000 kilowatts) and another for Berkeley in Gloucestershire (275,000 kilowatts). The South of Scotland Electricity Board ordered one for Hunterston in Ayrshire (360,000 kilowatts). Taken together with Calder Hall, these stations were expected to provide over 1 million kilowatts (over 1,000 megawatts) of useful power. The next stage in development was expected to be the building of 12 more stations of improved design and higher output. At Dounreay in Caithness good progress was made with the building of the experimental fast breeder reactor which was expected to show the way towards major improvements in the design of power stations and to reduce the capital and fuel costs considerably. Sir John Cockcroft said that fast reactors were unlikely to produce substantial amounts of power before 1970 but by that time the power stations in sight by the end of 1956 would be using nuclear fuels to do the work of more than 40 million tons of coal a year.

The United States had a very broad programme of nuclear power station development and there were plans for building at least 20

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experimental and demonstration reactors by the end of 1962. By then the installed capacity should be just over 1,000 megawatts or about the same as the British output at that time. In spite of such a large experimental and development programme, nuclear power seemed less likely to play such a large part in the economy of the United States as was forecast for the United Kingdom and this was due to the existence in North America of large reserves of coal, oil, natural gas, and hydro-electric resources. It was reported that American industry was giving attention to the development of portable stations and one such station, being made for Dominica, was described as an installation consisting of reactor with fuel, generating equipment, and maintenance buildings, which could be packed in crates for transport by seven large aircraft or eight heavy lorries. No foundations or additional buildings would be required.

In Canada the 1956 programme for nuclear power was brought to a stage where a beginning was made in September with the construction of a pilot nuclear power station at Des Joachims near the atomic energy project at Chalk River. This station, designed for demonstration purposes, was expected to come into action in 1958 and to produce not more than 20,000 kilowatts.

Russia's 5,000 kilowatt nuclear power station (see A.R. 1954, p. 395) was still the only one producing electric power in 1956 but there seemed no doubt that others were on the way. The Soviet Communist Party Congress was told that during the Five-year Plan ending in 1960 it was planned to build five large atomic electric power plants each with a capacity of between 400,000 and 600,000 kilowatts in the regions of Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, and in the Urals. The leaders of German heavy industry showed keen awareness of the need to make a start in producing nuclear energy as soon as possible and the expectation of experts in the Rheinisch Westfällische electrical combine were that West Germany's first station could be built and working by 1961.

Nuclear Weapons. As in previous years the countries responsible for the development and testing of atomic weapons were the United States, U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom (with the assistance of Australia). Speaking at a press conference at the end of April, President Eisenhower said, 'We go ahead with this hydrogen bomb not to make a bigger bang, not to cause more destruction, but to make it useful in defence'. The American series of tests took place in the Marshall Islands, in the following month when a very powerful bomb carried by aircraft was exploded at a height of about a mile. Pilotless aircraft were sent at various levels into the cloud created by the explosion to measure radio-activity; and arrangements were made for recording fall-out at sea level over more than a quarter of a million square miles. In July the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission announced that the tests had shown that it was possible to reduce the 'widespread fall-out hazard' and that real progress had been made in the development of nuclear weapons for use against attacking aircraft. Also in July an official of

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the U.S. Defense Department gave some information about atomic artillery shells and added, without giving much away, that U.S. inter-continental missiles were much nearer than had once been thought.

Russian explosions took place on four days at the end of August and the early part of September. The devices were exploded in remote testing grounds in Siberia and it was reported that the explosions took place at great heights as in the American tests.

The British tests took place in Australia, the third series at Monte Bello in May and June and the fourth series at Maralinga in September and October. In the fourth series, which was delayed by bad weather, atomic devices were exploded at ground level, in the air after being dropped from aircraft, and at the top of a tower. Samples of radio-active fall-out were collected at various levels. At the end of the series Sir William Penney, who was in charge, said that substantial advance had been made in weapon design and much had been learned that would be useful in both military and civil defence. It was generally supposed that the tests in Australia were also useful preliminaries to the explosion of a hydrogen bomb at Christmas Island in the Pacific in 1957.

Atomic Power for Transportation. Up to 1955 practically all the news about the possibility of developing nuclear reactors to drive ships and planes came from the United States where the reactor-powered submarine *Nautilus* was launched in 1954 and industry was preparing to develop reactors suitable for other forms of transport. By 1956 other countries came into the field though still some way behind. In the first half of the year the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission reported significant progress in the development of naval and aircraft propulsion units: tests with a land-based prototype of an aircraft atomic engine were well ahead and work on a prototype engine for a large ship began in the spring. In February it was announced that the United States Army had awarded a contract for research into the technical, economic, and military desirability of developing nuclear power for railway locomotives, harbour and inland waterways craft, and large land carriers. Later in the year it became generally known that the United States Government had decided to put in hand the construction of a passenger-cargo ship powered by a pressurized water nuclear reactor of a type installed in *Nautilus*.

From Russia there was news that the Institute of Transport Problems was at work on designs for atomic ships, aircraft, and locomotives. The greatest progress was made with a unit for driving marine engines and the first Russian ship destined to be propelled by nuclear energy was on the stocks in Leningrad. It was reported to be an ice-breaker of 16,000 tons displacement which would serve as a mother ship for convoys in northern polar waters. The chief of the Russian atomic energy administration, Mr. E. P. Slavsky, told the Government newspaper *Izvestia* in May, 'We have every basis for developing in the near future an aeroplane powered by atomic energy'.

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In Britain it was explained to Parliament in February that the Naval Estimates included provision for making a practical start on the development of a nuclear power plant for a submarine. In October, when shipbuilders and shipowners attended a conference at Harwell to discuss the results of active studies in this field, they were shown designs for a 10,000 shaft-horse-power nuclear unit for merchant ships which was smaller and lighter than a comparable diesel engine. Towards the end of 1955 the Hawker-Siddeley group of companies announced that they were undertaking research in nuclear aircraft propulsion and they were followed early in 1956 by Rolls-Royce Ltd., who announced in February that they hoped to develop lightweight nuclear reactors 'for air and surface transport'.

Radiation Hazards. On 16 August the World Health Organization stated that the effects of man-made radiation must be regarded as harmful although the harm might not become obvious for some generations. This conclusion was based on the expert opinion of 20 leading scientists whose report pressed for further research in genetics because there were gaps in knowledge about the full effects of radiation on heredity. In mid-June the British Medical Research Committee published a report on medical aspects of nuclear radiation. On the question of long term genetic effects this report stated that there was insufficient knowledge to show exactly what was a safe limit but suggested that twice the natural amount of background radiation might be the permissible limit. The report drew attention to some danger from diagnostic radiation (X-rays) and other sources, and singled out as the greatest danger of all the risk of too great a concentration of radio-active Strontium-90 which was present in the radio-active fall-out of nuclear explosions. This report made no reference to the conviction of Professor H. J. Müller, the distinguished biologist, that each unit of radiation received by a person shortened his life by up to 20 days. Speaking at the annual scientific meeting of the British Medical Association in June, Sir Ernest Rock Carling, consultant adviser to the Ministry of Health and the Home Office, said that man-made sources of radio-activity had increased natural background radiation by 25 per cent. and it was becoming imperative for all doctors to have some knowledge of radiation and its effects. It was announced at the same meeting that the Medical Research Council proposed to start a register of all persons exposed to occupational and diagnostic radiation.

Industrial Applications of Radiation. While interest in the civilian aspects of atomic energy was centred largely on the development of reactors for power production, the increasing number of experimental reactors made possible in two ways an expansion of the applications of high energy radiation in medicine and agriculture and especially in industry. The larger number of reactors increased the production of radio-active isotopes and themselves provided energy for causing changes in the chemical composition and properties of materials.

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Radiation chemists seemed confident that the usefulness of radiations would be extended by further research and were particularly interested in promoting chemical changes which could not be achieved by ordinary chemical means or which were either more expensive or more difficult by ordinary means. In the first quarter of the year the first multi-purpose industrial high energy plant in Europe was brought into use by Tube Investments Ltd., at their laboratories near Cambridge, where it was proposed to carry out a programme of research and development in collaboration with other branches of industry and with experts in biology, medicine, and agriculture. It was proposed to study in detail the effects of radiations on plastics because work at Harwell had shown that useful changes could be produced by irradiating such substances as polyethylene, rubber, and nylon. A development of major importance was reported from Harwell where it was shown that one synthetic polymer could be grafted to another giving a plastic with properties of two different materials. Such plastics could be extremely useful where a wide range of temperature had to be withstood as in the supersonic flight of aircraft. During the year an expansion of this side of the Atomic Energy Research Establishment's work was planned through the development of the Wantage Research Laboratories to use the increasing number of radio-active sources coming forward from reactors.

International Geophysical Year (I.G.Y.). During the year the grand design of this scientifically exciting enterprise unfolded month by month as detailed information became available about the manifold activities which the co-operating nations had offered as their contribution to the work of the largest undertaking in the whole history of science. As was described last year (see A.R. 1955, p. 399), the decision to organize the I.G.Y. was taken in 1950 and its programme, which was developed under the auspices of the International Council of Scientific Unions (I.C.S.U.), involved concerted and inter-related studies of a wide range of phenomena on, around, and beyond the Earth during the period July 1957 to December 1958. In relation to six regions, the Antarctic, the Equator, the Arctic, and three zones stretching from Pole to Pole, it was proposed to study solar activity, phenomena of the upper atmosphere, magnetic storms, aurorae, meteorology, cosmic rays, latitude and longitude, geomagnetism, oceanography, glaciology, and so on. In 1955 some 40 national committees were formed to make arrangements for the work of their countries and by the end of 1956 this number had increased to 50.

Preparations for the I.G.Y. during the year involved not only meetings of national committees but also international conferences which were held in Stockholm, Paris, Rio de Janeiro, and Barcelona, the last being a kind of general round-up, in September, to take stock and make final plans. To give the public some idea of the scale of the enterprise it was estimated that 10,000 scientists and technicians would take some part in the programme and that the cost would be of the order of £100 million. Although the practical preparations

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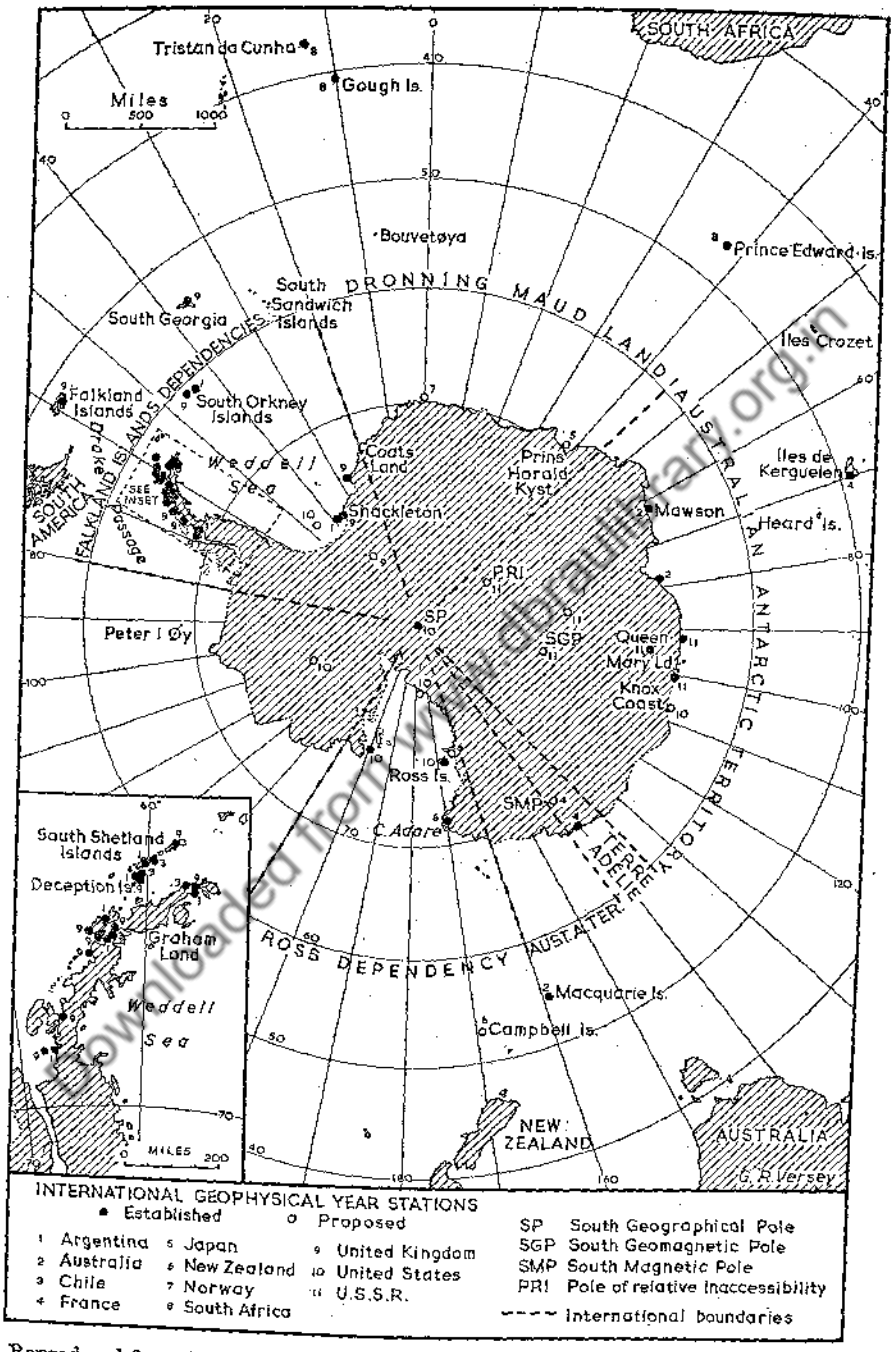
during the year involved a considerable effort on the part of all engaged in I.G.Y. the greatest interest was focused on the Antarctic where the establishment of bases, begun in 1955, was brought nearer completion. The steady build up of men and materials and the movements of a veritable international armada of 22 polar ships across the oceans provided headline news for many months.

By the end of the year it was apparent that Antarctica had attracted seven nations to prepare about 20 new bases which with those already there would make 50 in all and accommodate about 1,000 men from 11 countries. The United Kingdom's two new bases (supplementing permanent ones in Grahamland) were manned by advance parties in March. The main (Shackleton) base of the Trans-antarctic Expedition to be led by Dr. V. E. Fuchs was established at Vahsel Bay in the Weddell Sea and the Royal Society's base a short distance north at a place which was named Halley Bay by approval of the Society. At the other end of the Trans-antarctic Expedition's route at Ross Island in Ross Sea, the main base (Scott) of Sir Edmund Hillary's New Zealand and Australian party was also set up, as were two more New Zealand bases in the same region. Australian parties having a well established permanent base at Mawson in MacRobertson Land, had a flying start and made good progress with their three bases. About 800 miles from Mawson, on the coast of Queen Mary Land, the Russian advance party established the main station of Mirny by the end of February. At Mirny preparations were made to build two other stations in the heart of Antarctica and the first of these, Pionerskaya, was established before the end of June, entirely by air lift. In Adelie Land, the wedge of Antarctica territory adjoining Australian territory, French advance parties prepared two bases the first, called Pointe Géologie, on the coast and the second, called Plateau, at 300 km. inland. Like all the other stations they were partly manned during 1956 and were to be fully manned early in 1957. 'Operation Deepfreeze', as the American advance party's work was called, made good progress and by the end of the year the establishment of seven stations at widely separated points in Marie Byrd Land and New Zealand territory was nearly completed. The main base was named Little America. Lastly a party from Japan, under the leadership of Dr. Takeshi Nagata, set out a year behind all the other parties to establish a foothold on the coast of the Norwegian territory, Queen Maud Land.

Besides preparing their stations, some of the parties found time to begin their scientific work. For example the Australians, in their polar ship *Kista Dan*, explored the coasts of their territory over a period of 3 months and a beginning was made on the considerable task of surveying from the air 10,000 square miles of Australian Antarctica. At other stations equipment was tested and recording started and at the end of October a U.S. aircraft, with a party of seven, landed at the Pole and stayed there for an hour. Americans and Russians were preparing to make shipboard investigations and experiments and it was announced that the Russian ship *Ob*, besides transporting people



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for work at land stations would accommodate 53 scientists in five research laboratories.

The modest preparations for work in the more accessible Arctic regions went on without the publicity given to Antarctic preparations. Russian plans included the addition of a further research station, bringing their arctic total to six. Scientists in Poland described their intentions to study glaciology in Spitzbergen and Danes reported that they would visit Greenland to study seismology, meteorology, the aurora, and cosmic noise. Preparations were also made for an International Glaciological Expedition to the inland ice of Greenland under the leadership of Paul Emile Victor; and an all-French party landed there by parachute in the autumn to test that rapid and economical way of establishing polar stations.

In his presidential address to the British Association on 'Twentieth-century man against Antarctica', Sir Raymond Priestly (who accompanied both Scott and Shackleton on south polar expeditions) described the earlier years as the 'heroic age of Antarctic exploration characterized by a rather attractive blend of adventure, science, individual rivalry, and international good manners' and contrasted this situation with that of the 1950s when exploration and exploitation was becoming more and more the affair of governments rather than individuals or societies and more and more a matter of national prestige. However, he saw in the Antarctic activities of I.G.Y. a resurgence of interest which could claim science as its main drive.

The non-polar and more substantial part of the I.G.Y. programme also went forward during the year. It had less romantic appeal, perhaps, but was not without the promise of dramatic events for it included the launching of artificial satellites from the United States and Russia. Provisional plans for satellite projects were made known in 1955 (see A.R. 1955, p. 400) but more information became available during 1956 as plans matured and designs were modified. In September it was reported that the first Earth satellite then under construction in the United States would be completed in January 1957 and would be launched from Florida as soon as the weather was suitable after 1 July 1957. New estimates of the performance of the launching device and of the satellite were given. The satellite would reach a height of 1,500 miles above the Earth and would be placed in its orbit by a three-stage rocket which would carry it to a height of 40 miles at 4,000 m.p.h., then to 130 miles at 11,000 m.p.h., and finally at an unnamed speed to its maximum height. It was expected that the satellite might stay up from 10 days to a month and circle the Earth about 20 times every 24 hours. At the I.G.Y. conference in Barcelona, the Russian delegates agreed to co-operate with American colleagues in launching and tracking satellites. Theirs, like the American models, were being designed to measure pressures and to observe cosmic rays, micro-meteorites, the geomagnetic field, and solar radiation. Both countries agreed to use similar telemetering systems so that common equipment could be used all round the world for tracking all satellites and recording the messages sent from them.

In addition to the programmes (much too extensive to describe), of countries having highly developed scientific resources, there were others of interest from less well-endowed countries, especially in the tropics. For example it was expected that Nigerians would study equatorial atmospherics and magnetism; in the Gold Coast there would be work on magnetism and cosmic rays; in British East Africa more studies of cosmic rays, and equipment would be taken to considerable heights on Kilimanjaro and Ruwenzori to investigate equatorial glaciers.

Mountain Exploration. There was less activity among Himalayan peaks than in the few preceding years. Mount Everest was climbed twice by members of a Swiss expedition led by Herr Albert Eggler. The South Col (25,854 ft.) was reached on 15 May and, climbing from there, Ernst Schmidt and Jurg Marmet reached the summit (29,002 ft.) on 23 May. On the following day the summit was again reached by two other members of the expedition, Adolf Reist and Hans von Gunten. A few days before, on 18 May another pair of climbers, starting also from the South Col, made the first ascent of Lhotse (27,890 ft.) the highest unclimbed peak in the world. They were Fritz Luchsinger and Ernst Reiss. This left only Dhaulagiri (26,816 ft.) the last of the 'top ten' peaks unclimbed. An expedition from Argentina, under the leadership of Col. Emiliano Huerta, was making attempts to climb it while the Swiss mountaineers were on Everest; the attack was abandoned after a final attempt on 25 May when a height only 500 ft. short of the summit was attained. In September it became known that the Government of Nepal had decided to impose on future expeditions new conditions including the payment of royalties, the inclusion of a Nepalese liaison officer appointed by the Government in all expedition parties, and the submission of reports before leaving the country. It was not expected that those conditions would deter major expeditions but the additional expense might oblige smaller groups to go elsewhere.

Rocket and Guided Missiles. A great deal of previously secret information about rocket development was made public during the year. In Britain the Ministry of Supply's research station at Farnborough was opened to the press in February and, after nine years of close security, the testing grounds of guided missiles at Aberporth were also opened to the press. In February the Fairey Aviation Company announced that the Fire-flash air to air guided missile had successfully passed its tests; and in March it was reported from Aberporth that a ram jet missile, travelling at about 1,300 m.p.h., had reached a record but unnamed height. In June the research station at Farnborough was again open for the display of work on rocket fuels and special materials. In October it was reported that there were firing tests at Aberporth at the rate of about 1,000 a year and this emphasized the need for another rocket range. Objectors to the choice of South Uist for this purpose were vigorous but were neither numerous nor effective

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and did not, apparently, include the people who lived there. Further particulars were given of the estimated performance and the method of launching the high altitude rocket prepared for the Royal Society's exploration of the upper atmosphere.

Although it was generally believed that rocket research was far advanced in the United States the Assistant Air Force Secretary, Mr. Trevor Gardner, resigned his appointment in February in protest against frugal allotments for the ballistic projects for which his department of research and development was responsible. The air force were engaged on two programmes, to develop a supersonic projectile that would travel 5,000 miles at high altitude to its target and intermediate range missiles of 1,000 to 2,000 miles range. At the army's Redstone Arsenal the army and navy together were working on a 1,500 mile rocket known as 'Jupiter' with an extension of techniques developed on the army's 250-mile 'Redstone'. According to a report by the U.S. National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics in October, a rocket-powered research missile launched over the Atlantic from Virginia reached a speed of 6,864 miles per hour and an altitude of 200 miles using four rocket motors fixed in sequence.

Information about Russian rockets was meagre but *Janes' Aircraft 1956-57* listed a medium range artillery rocket, an improved V2, and a jet-propelled medium-range winged missile: claims to have developed an intercontinental ballistic missile were discounted. Early in December Professor Pokorowski, director of the Soviet Experimental Institute of Medicine, told an international congress of rocket experts that, in Russian experiments, dogs had travelled in rockets to a height of 68 miles and descended safely by parachute dressed in space suits.

Astronautics. The physical, chemical, engineering, and medical problems associated with interplanetary flight continued to be studied and discussed. The main forum was again the annual session of the International Astronautical Federation which drew a large number of people to Rome in the third week of September. Technical problems which were then discussed included the design of rocket motors, unconventional fuels, the possibility of using solar energy to raise propellant gases to high temperatures, and so on. A strong contingent from the United States had much to report on the work of the U.S. School of Aviation on biological hazards of space travel. This included accounts of the effects of weightlessness on human beings and the effect of exposing animals to cosmic radiation at heights above 100,000 feet. The two interesting findings of the latter experiments were that no hazard to health was found after exposures up to 24 hours and that the extent of damage to some cells from a single hit by a cosmic particle was ten times greater than theoretical calculations had predicted. There was some discussion of the next stage of space flight after the launching of artificial Earth satellites and this produced, among other bright ideas, the conception of a vehicle that would move in a figure of eight orbit alternately circling the Earth and the Moon, the cross-over point being 83 per cent. of the distance to the Moon.

In spite of all the unsolved problems which continued to face astronautical enthusiasts, several optimistic forecasts were made. In the 9th Blériot Lecture delivered in Paris, the director-general of Technical Development (Air) at the British Ministry of Supply (Mr. E. T. Jones) said that time had proved false many of the limits beyond which it had been predicted that aircraft would never pass and nobody would be rash enough to put a limit to the possibility of space flight. Some of the developments which he listed as likely to bring nearer this great achievement were the application of nuclear power to aircraft; the control of the release of fusion energy; the conquest of the heat barrier. On another occasion De Havilland's chief rocket engineer said that space flight would almost certainly evolve from research on guided missiles, advanced military aircraft, and nuclear power developments. He thought it was generally accepted in the astronautical world that piloted satellite vehicles would be possible by about 1975 and that an unmanned vehicle might carry instruments to the Moon. In the columns of *Nature* there was a lively controversy between scientists on the question whether travellers on long journeys through space would be found on their return to have aged less than those left behind.

Aeronautics. More military planes came off secret lists in several countries and their performances gave some point to a comment by the director of the United States Air Force's flight safety research that designers were producing man-guided missiles which had about reached the limit of human capability. A new model of the R.A.F.'s only fully supersonic fighter flying in Britain, the English Electric P.1, was taken off the restricted list in August and was demonstrated at the aircraft industry's annual display at Farnborough in September. The new version was given added speed by the re-heat device of boosting thrust by spraying fuel into incandescent exhaust gases. Earlier in the year it was reported that a supersonic bomber a generation beyond the V-class aircraft (Vulcan and Victor) had gone into production to bridge the gap between the obsolescence of the V-class bombers and the advent of long-range atomic missiles. The fastest fighter of the U.S. Air Force, the Lockheed F104A Starfighter was publicly displayed in April in California. Among civil aircraft in the news, the Russian Tu104 twin-jet airliner aroused great interest when there was opportunity of seeing it outside Russia, for example in London in March. Comparable in many respects with Britain's Comet IV it was reported to have a cruising speed of 518 m.p.h. at a height of 33,000 ft. and a range of 2,000 miles. At the end of the year it was reported that Bristol Britannia 312, claimed by its makers as the largest, quietest, and most economical airliner in flight, had made its initial flight and would soon be introduced by B.O.A.C. into service on the north Atlantic. Its fuel capacity was designed to give it a range of 6,000 miles.

The air speed record, which had been held by the United States since 1953, returned to Britain on 10 March when Mr. Peter Twiss reached an average speed of 1,132 m.p.h. in level flight in Fairey's

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research aircraft Delta 2. The record run (more than 300 m.p.h. faster than the previous record) was made at a height of 38,000 ft. over a course between Chichester and Ford, during high speed research and development tests for the Ministry of Supply. As the speed of flight of manned aircraft continued to rise, research workers, aeronautical engineers, and designers were considering the problems of producing aircraft for still higher speeds, with special attention for the next main obstacle—the heat barrier. To safeguard aircraft, and men flying in them, from damage by high temperatures due to friction and air compression at supersonic speeds, attention was being given to new structural materials (with titanium to the forefront), new metals for jet engines, new engine blade cooling devices, new fuels, pressurization and insulation of fuel tanks, refrigeration, protective clothing, and so on.

The International Civil Aviation Organization (I.C.A.O.), meeting in Caracas, Venezuela, in June, had before it some far reaching problems caused by the introduction of jet airliners. It was seen that more large airports would be required with adequate runways for the large transports that would come into operation in 1959-60. Speeds of 500 knots rising to 870 knots within 20 years were expected to involve reorganization of air control systems. Cruising altitudes of 30,000 to 40,000 ft. would demand drastic improvements of meteorological services in areas other than North America, Western Europe, and Australia. I.C.A.O. also considered the special requirements of an increase in traffic by rotary-wing and vertical take-off aircraft. Britain's first vertical take-off and landing aircraft, the delta-winged Short SC1, started its taxi-ing trials at Belfast in December. The essential difference between this new aircraft and the 'Flying Bedstead' was its ability to make the transition from hovering to ordinary flight.

Radio and Television. One of the most interesting subjects in scientific radio in 1955 was the possibility of developing a new system of radio communication over long distances by taking advantage of 'forward scatter' of signals by the troposphere, a region of the atmosphere rising to about five miles above the Earth. In 1956 some practical experiments were carried out in Britain by Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company who established a link between Great Bromley in Essex and Sutton Bank in Yorkshire, a distance of some 200 miles, and, later on, a more distant link with Aberdeen (400 miles). A report after six months' practice in the technique of transmitting ultra-high radio frequencies via the troposphere from Essex to Yorkshire and Aberdeen showed that there was a promising future for systems making use of the principle. In particular the report confirmed results previously obtained in the United States where forward scatter was demonstrated as a means of relaying television over single stage distances of great length thus eliminating the large number of relaying stations at line-of-sight intervals of 30 to 40 miles.

There were some interesting developments in radio communication during the year. In May it was announced that a new British long

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range radio navigational aid known as Dectra was being tested to help pilots on the north Atlantic crossing. With 3,000 crossings of the Atlantic each month and 75 aircraft airborne at any hour of the day or night, the need for navigational aids of the greatest possible accuracy was clear. It was claimed for Dectra, which was linked with a pair of stations in Britain and a pair in Newfoundland, that it would give pilots a ranging of 10 miles or better by night and a tracking accuracy of 5 miles over most of the route rising to a very high order of accuracy on approaching the terminal. In October it was announced that a new radio telephony system enabling aircrews to maintain reliable voice contact with a central control point thousands of miles away was undergoing trials in Canada with the object of increasing the range of 3,500 miles attained in earlier tests in the east. The advantage of S.S.B. (single side band) system, as it was known, was that it used a very narrow portion of the radio spectrum permitting strong signals to be received free of interference and background noises.

Speaking at an expert conference in Cambridge towards the end of the year, the Chairman of the Pye Group described the development of radio communication equipment of great promise. The improvement in design of quartz crystal oscillators that maintained a frequency constant to one part in a hundred thousand had made it possible to use radio channels spaced only 15 kilocycles apart with equipment in fixed or mobile situations. Since short-wave radio channels were allocated at intervals of 100 kilocycles this development meant that six times as many channels would be available. It was foreseen that telephones for public use in aircraft and railway and road services would become practicable and that a radio telephone could become a standard piece of equipment in every road vehicle.

In broadcasting, the main items of interest were the extension of very high frequency (v.h.f.) services and the development of television equipment. With the opening of Holme Moss v.h.f. station in December, about 70 per cent. of the population of the United Kingdom was brought within the range of the B.B.C.'s new service which greatly helped to improve reception of programmes. It was expected that 96 per cent. of the country would be covered by the system before the end of 1958. Television was again much in the news and it may be of interest to record that Professor van der Pol, Chairman of the International Telecommunications Union, estimated that there were 43·5 million television sets in use in the world, of which 35 million were in the United States and five million in Britain. In November the first two stations of Australia's national television service were inaugurated, at Sydney and Melbourne and, in October, Canadians completed the first stage in a 'live' service across the whole of the continent by linking Quebec and Winnipeg, a distance of 1,680 miles over a microwave network.

Colour television tests were continued by the B.B.C. on the compatible system similar to that employed in the United States and modified to British picture standards. British work on colour television was demonstrated in April by the Radio Industry Council, in

conjunction with the B.B.C. and the Post Office, to the Radio Consultative Committee of the International Telecommunications Union, which had already seen progress in the United States and France and was going on later to Holland. In October a private industrial laboratory was opened at Enfield, as a joint enterprise of British and American firms, to exploit British skill in fundamental research and American skill in production techniques in order to produce receivers reasonably priced and simple to operate. The National Research Development Corporation's report, published in May, announced that the Corporation was supporting commercial development of Dr. D. Gabor's ingenious invention of a cathode ray tube without the stalk. This seemed to promise television sets of shallow depth which might hang on walls: and it was reported, too, that the new principle involved would make the apparatus more amenable to colour vision techniques.

Fuel Policy. In spite of conservative estimates of the rate at which atomic energy could be brought into effective use and of the percentage of power needs it would supply there was a good deal of unjustified optimism in the public mind (especially in Europe) which O.E.E.C. tried to dispel with a thoughtful report and which those directly concerned with the supply of coal and oil were often at pains to contest. Oil engineers were particularly concerned to show that, until atomic energy became generally available, oil rather than coal would have to bear the burden of satisfying fuel needs and all the ingenuity of science and technology (as well as capital) would be required to make untapped sources of oil available. Meanwhile in the unremitting effort to find new ways of supplementing conventional sources of energy, experiments were continued in many parts of the world, especially in the United States and Russia, to capture and use solar energy; fuel cells capable of converting the energy of fuel into electricity, without the wasteful heat circle, were receiving attention; and space heating by electronics, heat pumps, and car engines to run on low grade mineral and vegetable oils were among the technical projects pushed forward with increasing speed. In Russia it appeared that underground gasification of coal was passing from the pilot stage to industrial operation for a gas turbine power station was being built near Moscow in conjunction with an underground gasification plant. In Britain, a small experiment having proved successful, the Coal Board and the Central Electricity Authority decided to proceed with pilot plant for producing electricity from gas made underground from inferior coal.

The passage of a Clean Air Act, certain provisions of which came into operation on the last day of the year, was welcomed by smoke abatement enthusiasts and by all concerned with public health, but it was realized that its full intention could not be achieved for 10 to 15 years in which time enormous changes would have to be made in domestic and industrial fuel appliances and in the supply of smokeless fuels. It seemed plain that the gas industry was ready to seize a unique opportunity to increase production of coke and that the National Coal Board's Research Establishments were busier than ever trying to

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find new methods of producing smokeless fuels especially for domestic purposes and from non-coking coals.

Health and Disease. Various reports emanating from the World Health Organization (W.H.O.) gave, on the whole, a cheerful picture of improvements in world health but drew attention to one or two disturbing features. On the bright side there was a report of striking decline in the extent and severity of quarantinable diseases (cholera, plague, typhus, smallpox, and yellow fever) which had been brought so much under control as to be pale shadows of their former menace. The annual report of W.H.O. referred to a 'turning point in the outlook on tuberculosis brought about by the advent of new drugs' and they looked forward to continuing improvement in the treatment of patients in their own homes. On the other side of the balance sheet W.H.O. mentioned reports from 32 countries that the development of resistance by disease-carrying insects to insecticides had become a public health problem of the greatest importance calling for a determined effort in research to avoid a catastrophe. The Ministry of Health's annual report on the state of the public health in Britain was published in December. The broad picture of the nation's health was viewed with satisfaction and recorded downward trends in notification of diphtheria and scarlet fever; no cases of smallpox; no set-back in the control of children's diseases; the virtual elimination of infant mortality as one of the causes of diminished expectation of life; practically no epidemic milk or water-borne diseases but an increase in the number of diseases carried by food; support for the abandonment of the idea that the mentally ill must be isolated from the rest of the community.

Throughout the year the medical problems most in the news were those concerned with tuberculosis, cancer, poliomyelitis, rheumatism, and the common cold. In the W.H.O. and Ministry of Health reports already quoted, and in reports from 15 other countries, there was continuing confirmation of the success of modern therapeutic methods of treating *tuberculosis*. In a statistical survey published by the New York Tuberculosis Association the decline in the death rate from tuberculosis in 30 countries between 1947 and 1953 was shown as high as 60 per cent. The drugs to which this remarkable improvement was mainly attributed were streptomycin and isoniazid. *Cancer* continued to be attacked on all fronts. Research into the cause of cancer was described in August by Professor Alexander Haddow, Director of the Chester Beatty Cancer Research Institute, as 'approaching the end of the beginning' when he described some of the work that was being done on the chemical changes in cancer cells and in parts of cancer cells such as the cell walls. He thought that the fundamental problems had been clarified, and the most promising lines of research had been identified, and all the increasing resources of radioactive materials and microscopy would play a dominant part in the next stage of attack. In the treatment of cancer radioactive waste materials from atomic piles were becoming even more important, especially radioactive caesium. Government medical officers in Washington reported early

in the year a claim, based on experiments, that certain viruses might be developed for the treatment of particular kinds of cancer. The debate about the relationship between tobacco smoking and the incidence of cancer of the lung continued throughout the year with the case against cigarette smoking growing more impressive all the time. In the absence of actual proof that tobacco caused cancer, the tobacco manufacturers called for more research: and filter tips to cigarettes were increasingly used. Not unmindful, perhaps, of the cloud of suspicion overhanging the cigarette the doctors attending the annual meeting of the British Medical Association voted against smoking during their session for the first time in many years. *Poliomyelitis* vaccinations were extended in North America during the year and some 200,000 children in Britain were vaccinated in May and June. In all cases the Salk-type vaccines containing three types of inactivated virus in formalin were used. In the United States and Canada where millions of children were vaccinated the immunity given by the vaccine was shown to be about 70 per cent. against one type of the virus and more against the other two. International opinion, however, did not regard the Salk-type as the final answer and work was proceeding in the search for a vaccine containing attenuated live strains of virus which could be safely given through the mouth. In October it was reported that Dr. A. B. Sabin of the University of Cincinnati had developed such a vaccine but the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis was not immediately able to authorize field trials. The *common cold* was investigated with the help of volunteers for the tenth successive year at the Medical Research Council's Research Centre at Salisbury but much remained to be learned and it was seen once again that the outstanding problem was to discover some method by which the virus could be grown in the laboratory. Progress could only be described as slow but sure.

The discovery of a new antibiotic *Sigamycin* was announced simultaneously in the United States and England in October. A combination of two other antibiotic substances tetracycline and oleandomycin, it appeared to show in striking degree the phenomenon of synergistic effect, the action of each of the two partners being greater in combination than in separate use. In the diagnosis of disease an advance of promise was reported at the end of the year to the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Workers at the Harvard Medical School described work which gave a reasonable hope that the blood-levels of enzymes characteristic of particular organs of the body might indicate disease already active but undiscoverable by other means. Another possible diagnostic indicator of a similar kind was reported in October from the laboratory of Professor Theorell in Stockholm, the 1955 winner of the Nobel Prize for Medicine. Tests made on 1,000 mental hospital patients had shown tentatively that mental illness could be diagnosed by the colour effect of adding a chemical reagent to blood serum of a patient.

Recent estimates of the numbers and distribution of mankind were published in the U.N. Statistical Year Book. World population was

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estimated at 2,652 million of whom more than half (1,451 million) lived in Asia. The net rate of increase was estimated at 37 million a year of whom 21 million were in Asia, 4 million in Latin America and 3 million each in North America, Europe, Russia, and Africa, which suggested a world population of 4,000 million by the end of the century unless some change in the rate of increase took place. Expectation of life for England and Wales was 67·3 years for men and 72·4 years for women (in India by comparison, 31·6 and 32·4 years respectively).

Anthropology and Archaeology. It was one of the leanest of recent years so far as items of public interest in the study of prehistoric man were concerned. The only memorable announcement came from China where, in March, Dr. Pei Wen-chung, the discoverer of 'Peking Man', found substantial fossil remains of *Gigantopithecus* an ape-man thought to be about half a million years old. In the United States, radioactive carbon dating established the fact that North America had been inhabited for at least 9,000 years which was a date much earlier than had been previously accepted. Fossil algae were found in datable graphitic limestone in Southern Rhodesia which palaeontologists estimated to be 3,000 million years old as compared with previous estimates of less than 1,000 million years for the age of life on the earth. With the help of aqualungs and special cameras, under-water techniques in the exploration of rock coasts were refined by British archaeologists: and modern methods of dating were used to confirm the authenticity of a remarkable new find of prehistoric cave paintings in the Dordogne, in France. It was a busy year in Egyptology and two of the most important events were the discovery of a great temple of the Pharaoh Amenophis III in the region of Luxor and the finding of the 5,000 year old tomb of Queen Her Nit which proved that Saqqara was the burial place of royal families of the First Dynasty. Chinese archaeologists exploring a site near Chungchow, in Honan, unearthed the oldest known wall in China, estimated to be about 3,300 years old.

Science and Industry. Automation continued to be a subject of general public interest and a cause for concern which several speakers such as Lord Halsbury, managing director of the National Research Development Corporation, described as completely groundless. A report by the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (D.S.I.R.), published in May, put the subject in perspective and gave some idea of its probable impact on industry. It seemed clear, however, that there was a better appreciation of its technical possibilities than of the economic and social results of the progressive introduction of automatic methods of production. There was an important conference in Oxford in July when, under the sponsorship of the Duke of Edinburgh, some 300 workers and employers from most parts of the Commonwealth met in 20 study groups and plenary sessions to consider 'Human Problems in Industrial Communities'.

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The annual report of D.S.I.R. was published in March and contained the usual impressive list of successes by research establishments and associations. On the same day the text of a Government Bill to reorganize D.S.I.R. was published and in due course, on 7 November, the D.S.I.R. Act 1956 came into force establishing a new Research Council, under the chairmanship of Sir Harry Jephcott, with more specific executive control of research departments than the D.S.I.R. Council it replaced.

Perhaps the most memorable development of the whole year was a Government decision to spend £100 million on an expansion of technical education in Britain in addition to promising, through the University Grants Committee, to double the existing rate of University building in the following three years. These decisions reflected growing concern about the need to increase the output of trained scientists and technologists in order to keep pace with developments in other countries. It was reported that the annual addition to the number of engineers in Russia, the United States, and Britain per million of population was 280, 140, and 57 respectively. In a report *Scientific and Engineering Manpower in Great Britain* published in October, the Ministry of Labour and the Advisory Council on Scientific Policy recommended that the existing strength of about 125,000 scientists and engineers should be increased to about 220,000 in the next 10 years. To achieve this it would be necessary to increase the output by more than three-fifths by 1966 and to double it by 1970.

New Instruments. Several interesting new or recently developed pieces of apparatus were reported during the year. There was news of two Ferranti Mercury electronic computers on order. One likely to be delivered first was for the Meteorological Office Research Station at Dunstable and was expected to reduce to about one fifth the best time so far achieved in the use of electronic machines for weather forecasting, which was described in the annual report of the 'Met' Office as being 'the project of greatest current interest'. The other Ferranti Mercury computer was for the University of Oxford where a computer centre under the direction of Professor Coulsdon was to be set up for service to science and arts faculties and to industry. In microscopy there was news from the United States of the development of an ion microscope by Dr. F. W. Müller which gave magnifications up to 2¾ million times the diameter of the object and which could show up individual atoms. High speed cameras of fantastic performance were on view in London, notably a Barr & Stroud instrument taking 50,000 pictures a second and an experimental Mullard device called an image dissector camera capable of taking 10 pictures in one thousand millionth part of a second.

On 23 August it was announced that the Bell Telephone Company had developed a telephonic system that transmitted pictures along with sound, the image of the speaker being controlled by a separate switch. The system has been working on an experimental basis between New York and Los Angeles. On 25 September the transatlantic

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telephone service linking Britain with North America was inaugurated and was welcomed as opening a new era in telecommunications by all who had till then had to rely on the vagaries of radio-telephony.

Records. A speed record of 1,132 m.p.h. for an aircraft in level flight was established by Mr. Peter Twiss in a Fairey Delta 2 plane on 10 March, as reported under aeronautics. On 19 September on Coniston Water, Mr. Donald Campbell reached a speed of over 280 m.p.h. in the *Bluebird*, breaking his own world record of 216 m.p.h. set up in 1955 at Lake Mead, in Nevada, and creating a new record of 225·65 m.p.h. Two days earlier, on 17 September, M. Jacques Piccard descended in the bathyscape *Trieste* to a depth of 300 ft. short of two miles near Naples. On 15 October a new world record for deep sea diving by an individual, was established by a British sailor, Boatswain George Wookey, with a descent of 600 ft. in Norwegian waters which was made in the course of physiological experiments by physicians of the Royal Navy.

Principal Prizes. The 1956 Nobel Prize for Medicine and Physiology was awarded to three heart specialists, Dr. Wetner Forssmann of Bad Kreusnach, Professor André Cournand, and Professor D. W. Richard, both of New York. They were all distinguished for their discoveries in the fields of heart catheterization and pathological changes in the circulatory system. The Nobel Prize for Physics was also shared by three scientists, Dr. John Bardeen, Dr. Walter Brattain, and Dr. William Shockley, for their discovery and development of the transistor eight years earlier when they were colleagues in the Bell Telephone Laboratories. The Nobel Prize for Chemistry was also shared by Professor N. N. Semenov, founder and director of the Institute of Chemical Physics, Moscow, and Sir Cyril Hinshelwood, Professor of Physical Chemistry at the University of Oxford, both of whom were noted for their original work and teaching in chemical kinetics (the study of the rates at which chemical reactions take place). The royal medals of the Royal Society of London were awarded to Dr. Dorothy M. C. Hodgkin and to Dr. O. T. Jones; other medals of the Society were awarded to Professor P. M. S. Blackett, Dr. F. P. Bowden, Professor R. D. Haworth, Dr. J. S. Huxley, and Lord Cherwell. The Kalinga Prize awarded each year by Unesco for distinction in popular science writing went to Professor George Gamow, University of Colorado.

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PART V

LITERATURE, THE ARTS, ECONOMICS, AND LAW, IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

LITERATURE

THE number of books published in the United Kingdom in 1956 was 19,107. This was 855 fewer than in 1955 but not far below the figure for 1954 and 900 above that for 1953. Educational books, one of the largest groups in 1955, showed a decrease in 1956 (— 132); children's books, however, continued to show a high figure (1,450). Fiction, though still the largest category, showed a decrease (— 128), followed by poetry and drama (— 100), and art and architecture (— 79). A record of the year's publications continued to be given in *The Times Literary Supplement* and, as usual, this notice owes much to its reviews.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE. Penguin Books continued their History of Art early in the year with *The Art and Architecture of Japan* by Robert Treat Paine and Alexander Soper. *French Drawing of the XVI Century*, with a text by Jean Adhémar (Thames & Hudson) greatly enlarged our knowledge of the subject. A useful reprint was a translation of the *Ten Books on Architecture* by Leon Battista Alberti (Tiranti). Volume Two of Henry Moore's *Sculpture and Drawings* (Lund Humphries & Zwemmer) covered work done since 1948. Harold F. Wethey's *Alonso Cano* (O.U.P.) was an excellent book about one of the most elusive and important figures in Spanish baroque art. *A General History of Architecture* by Bruce Allsopp (Pitman) was a readable book for the layman. *English Taste in Landscape in the 17th Century* by Henry V. S. and Margaret S. Ogden (O.U.P.) was an important work which may be mentioned under this heading. *Folk Art of Primitive Peoples* by Helmuth T. Bossert (Zwemmer) was a useful picture book. *Rococo Art from Bavaria* (Lund Humphries) was a fine record of the exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum. *Icon and Idea* by Herbert Read (Faber) was an important collection of lectures. *The Englishness of English Art* by Nikolaus Pevsner (Architectural Press) was a reprint of the broadcast Reith Lectures. *Architecture in the Age of Reason* by Emil Kaufmann (O.U.P.) was an important study of baroque and post-baroque architecture in England, Italy, and France. Douglas Cooper's *Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec* (Thames & Hudson) was an authoritative work, heavily illustrated. Messrs. Tiranti were the agents for the *Bibliografia di Bernard Berenson* edited by William Mostyn-Owen. Patrick Heron's *The Changing Forms of Art* (Routledge) was a collection of art criticism written by a well-known painter. *Lorenzo Lotto* (Phaidon) was a reprint of

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Bernard Berenson's classic work, heavily illustrated. Frederick Antal's *Fuseli Studies* (Routledge) was a stimulating and excellent collection of essays. *Roman Mornings* by James Lees-Milne (Wingate) consisted of ten studies of Roman buildings. *The Gothic Cathedral* by Otto von Simson (Routledge) was a study of the origins of Gothic architecture and the medieval concept of order. John Rothenstein's *Modern English Painters* (Eyre & Spottiswoode) was a collection of studies of artists from Wyndham Lewis to Henry Moore. Max J. Friedländer's *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Phaidon) covered the period from Van Eyck to Bruegel. The second volume of the *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum* (O.U.P.) was edited by K. T. Parker and covered the Italian Schools. The second volume of the work of Ben Nicholson (Lund Humphries) covered work done since 1947. *The Art of Sculpture* (Faber) by Herbert Read was a collection of lectures, heavily illustrated.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS. The first volume of *Thackeray* (O.U.P.), Gordon Ray's important biography, covered the years 1811-46. Lord Winterton published his entertaining memoirs under the title *Fifty Tumultuous Years* (Hutchinson). Two important books on John Evelyn were published: W. G. Hiscock's *John Evelyn and his Family Circle* (Routledge) and *The Diary of John Evelyn* (O.U.P.) edited by E. S. de Beer. *Faith without Illusion* (Cape) was the title of the memoirs of Michael Károlyi, the exiled Hungarian leader. *My Father: The True Story* (Allen & Unwin) was a defence of the career of Lord Baldwin, by his son A. W. Baldwin. Claud Cockburn's *In Time of Trouble* (Hart-Davis) was a highly amusing autobiography, set largely in the 1930s. *King James VI and I* (Cape) by D. Harris Willson was a scholarly and readable biography. Tom Driberg's *Beaverbrook* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson) was subtitled 'A Study in Power and Frustration'. *God Protect me from my Friends* (Longmans) by Gavin Maxwell was the story of Giuliano, the Sicilian bandit. *Victor Hugo* (Cape) by André Maurois was a brilliant biography. J. H. Plumb's *Sir Robert Walpole* (Cresset) was one of the most important historical biographies of the year. *Beatrice Webb's Diaries 1924-32* (Longmans) were edited with an introduction by Margaret Cole. *The Desert and the Stars* (Faber) by Flora Armitage was a biography of T. E. Lawrence. *John Clare: his Life and Poetry* (Heinemann) was a careful work by John and Anne Tibble. *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with William Mason* (O.U.P.) edited by W. S. Lewis was a further volume in the great Yale edition of the Letters. *Dylan Thomas in America* (Dent) by John Malcolm Brinnin was a moving account of the poet's adventures in America, and of his death. *The Letters of George Santayana* (Constable) were edited by Daniel Cory. *The Letters of Edward Gibbon* (Cassell) were edited in three volumes by J. E. Norton. Published for the first time were *Ruskin's Letters from Venice 1851-52* (O.U.P.), edited by J. L. Bradley.

The Central Blue (Cassell) was the autobiography of Sir John Slessor. *George Meredith: His Life and Work* (Bodley Head) by Jack

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Lindsay was a study written from a Marxist angle. *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (O.U.P.) was edited, in two volumes, by Earl Leslie Griggs. St. John Ervine's *Bernard Shaw* (Constable) was the most important biography of Shaw to appear so far. *Edward VII and his Circle* (Hamish Hamilton) by Virginia Cowles was an entertaining biography. *An Edwardian Youth* (Macmillan) was the second part of L. E. Jones's delightful autobiography. Volumes IV to VII of *The George Eliot Letters* (O.U.P.) were published under the editorship of Gordon S. Haight. *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens* (O.U.P.) were translated and edited by Ruth Saunders Magurn. Christopher Hollis's *A Study of George Orwell* (Hollis & Carter) was a perceptive work by a school friend of Orwell's. *A Prince of Mantua* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson) by Maria Bellonci was a biography of Vincenzo Gonzaga. A book of strange distinction was J. R. Ackerley's biography of his dog, *My Dog Tulip* (Secker & Warburg). The Duchess of Windsor published her memoirs under the title of *The Heart has its Reasons* (Michael Joseph). Nancy Cunard's *G.M.* (Hart-Davis) was a book of reminiscences of George Moore. An important work of colonial history was Margery Perham's *Lugard: The Years of Adventure 1858-98* (Collins). Lord Strang published his memoirs under the title *Home and Abroad* (Deutsch). *Mazzini* (Cape) was a translation of the important work by Gaetano Salvemini. *The Letters of William Blake* (Hart-Davis) were edited by Geoffrey Keynes. E. M. Butler's *Heinrich Heine* (Hogarth) was an important study. Professor Butler also published *Byron and Goethe* (Bowes & Bowes). *The Life of Arthur Stanley Eddington* (Nelson) was the biography of the great scientist by A. Vibert Douglas. Clive Bell's reminiscences were entitled *Old Friends* (Chatto & Windus). The *Letters* exchanged between Virginia Woolf and Lytton Strachey were edited by Leonard Woolf and James Strachey and published by Chatto & Windus and the Hogarth Press. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Vols. 11 and 12 (O.U.P.) edited by J. P. Boyd covered the years 1787-88. *Low's Autobiography* (Michael Joseph) was by the cartoonist. Royall Tylor's *The Emperor Charles the Fifth* (Allen & Unwin) was the definitive biography. *Christopher Columbus: Mariner* (Faber) by Samuel Eliot Morison was a shorter version of a standard work. *Further Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins* (O.U.P.) was edited by Claude Colleer Abbott.

FICTION. *The Inheritance* (Heinemann) by John Sommerfield was an excellent new novel by a writer who has published little since the 1930s. *The Undoubted Deed* (Chatto & Windus) by Jocelyn Davey was a thriller set in the diplomatic world. *A High-Pitched Buzz* (Faber) by Roger Longrigg was a bright novel about the advertising world. Alberta Murphy's *The Lilac Caprice* (Cape) introduced an interesting American novelist to England. *The Rapids* (Cape) by Basil Davidson was set in Central Africa. Stanford Whitmore's *Solo* (Gollancz) was by a very promising new American novelist. *The Interloper* (Collins) by Doreen Wallace had a Norfolk setting. Richard Church's *The Dangerous Years* (Heinemann) was a novel about late love. Noël

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Adeney's *No Coward Soul* (Hogarth) was about the friendship between a married woman and a young poet. *Red Over Green* (Collins) by Robert Henriques was about Commando operations in the last war. *A Dance in the Sun* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson) by Dan Jacobson was a very promising first novel by a South African writer. James Hanley's *Levine* (Macdonald) was one of the author's most important works. *Island in the Sun* (Cassell) by Alec Waugh was set on an island in the British Caribbean. Paul Scott's *A Male Child* (Eyre & Spottiswoode) enlarged Mr. Scott's growing reputation. Elizabeth Jane Howard's *The Long View* (Cape) was one of the fictional successes of the year. Michael Swan's *The Paradise Garden* (Hamish Hamilton) was a first novel set in Florence. Iris Murdoch published her second novel, *The Flight from the Enchanter* (Chatto & Windus). Rumer Godden's *An Episode of Sparrows* (Macmillan) was a pleasant sentimental novel. Richard Llewellyn's *Mr. Hamish Gleave* (Michael Joseph) was about treachery in the Foreign Office. *The Lost Bay* (Deutsch) by Manes Sperber was the last instalment of a trilogy about Communism in Europe. *The Summer House* (Hamish Hamilton) by Rosemary Harris was an amusing and accomplished first novel. Sybille Bedford's *A Legacy* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson) was a remarkable novel set largely in Germany early in the present century. *The Listening Child* (Barrie) was a collection of three long stories by Rosemary Timperley. *A Charmed Life* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson) by Mary McCarthy was a much admired American novel. Perhaps the most important English novel of the year was Angus Wilson's *Anglo-Saxon Attitudes* (Secker & Warburg). *The Tree of Man* (Eyre & Spottiswoode) by Patrick White was a fine novel of contemporary Australian life. *Retreat to Innocence* (Michael Joseph) by Doris Lessing was about a girl's love for an older man.

Ian Fleming produced another of his excellent thrillers in *Diamonds are Forever* (Cape). *The Great Captains* (Bodley Head) by Henry Treece was a notable historical novel about King Arthur. V. S. Pritchett published his *Collected Stories* (Chatto & Windus). *Six People and Love* (Putman) by Stella Zilliacus was an interesting first novel in six episodes. Honor Tracy's *The Straight and Narrow Path* (Methuen) was a highly entertaining novel about clericalism in Ireland. *The Hound of Earth* (Secker & Warburg) by Vance Bourjaily was published in England after considerable success in the United States. Wolf Mankowitz's *My Old Man's a Dustman* (Deutsch) was another excellent fantasy. *Stranger at the Gate* (Faber) by John Hearne was a second novel by a brilliant Caribbean writer. *A View of the Heath* (Michael Joseph) by David Unwin had a contemporary Hampstead setting. *The Burnt Offering* (Gollancz) by Albrecht Goes was set in Hitler's Germany. *Disquiet and Peace* (Macmillan) by William Cooper was a brilliant political novel set in the Edwardian era. *The Sleepless Moon* (Michael Joseph) by H. E. Bates was set in the English countryside. Lalage Pulvertaft's *No Great Magic* (Secker & Warburg) was a very promising first novel with an archaeological setting. *Suzanne* (Cape) by Isobel Strachey was a sharp and elegant fable about love.

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The Small World (Gollancz) by W. John Morgan was a debut of a new writer in the 'Lucky Jim' school. Compton Mackenzie's *Thin Ice* (Chatto & Windus) was a successful novel about homosexuality. *The Last of the Wine* (Longmans) by Mary Renault was the fictitious autobiography of an Athenian. *Ten North Frederick* (Cresset) was an important new novel by John O'Hara. *Contagion to this World* (Heinemann) by John Lodwick was an exciting story set in Spain. A. J. Cronin published *Crusader's Tomb* (Gollancz). Nadine Gordimer's *Six Feet of the Country* (Gollancz) was a collection of stories set in South Africa. Audrey Erskine Lindop published another Mexican novel, *The Judas Figures* (Heinemann).

Hammond Innes's *The Mary Deare* (Collins) was an excellent sea-adventure story. Brian Glanville's *Along the Arno* (Secker & Warburg) was a study of contemporary footloose society in Florence. *The Secret River* (Secker & Warburg) by C. H. B. Kitchin was a study of the upper-middle classes. . . . *and the Rain my Drink* (Cape) was a new autobiographical novel by Han Suyin. *The Call Home* (Cape) by James Courage was about an expatriate's return to New Zealand. *In Love and War* (Cassell) was an amusing novel by Constantine FitzGibbon. *A Single Pebble* (Hamish Hamilton) by John Hersey described a journey up the Yangtse River. Françoise Sagan's *A Certain Smile* was published by John Murray. *The Towers of Trebizond* (Collins) by Rose Macaulay was highly praised. Julian Fane's *Morning* (Murray) was one of the great successes of the latter part of the year. Nikos Kazantzakis's *Freedom and Death* (Faber) was a novel of outstanding power and range. John Mortimer's *Three Winters* (Collins) was an evocation of a sea-side resort. C. S. Lewis published a new novel, *Till We Have Faces* (Bles). *The Nightwalkers* (Hart-Davis) was an ingenious adventure story by Beverley Cross. *The Dark of Summer* (Cape) was a novel of espionage by Eric Linklater. *The Apprentices* (Hamish Hamilton) was a distinguished first novel by June Hooper. One of the best sellers of the year was *The Tribe that Lost its Head* (Cassell) by Nicholas Monsarrat. Frank Cauldwell's *The Firewalkers* (Murray) was a *roman à clef* of modern Athenian life. *Andersonville* (W. H. Allen) by MacKinlay Kantor was about a prisoner's camp during the American Civil War. William Golding's *Pincher Martin* (Faber) described the fight for existence on a rock in mid-ocean. Pamela Hansford Johnson published perhaps her best novel to date *The Last Resort* (Macmillan). Alejo Carpentier's novel of a journey in the Orinoco hinterland, *The Lost Steps* (Gollancz) was widely acclaimed. William Sansom's *The Loving Eye* (Hogarth) described a love affair in Kensington. *Every Eye* (Deutsch) by Isobel English continued the great promise of *The Key that Rusts*. Roy Fuller's first 'straight' novel, *Image of a Society* (Deutsch) was widely admired. Mouloud Mammeri's *The Sleep of the Just* (Cresset) was a revealing novel by an Algerian. Mary Lee Settle's *O Beulah Land* (Heinemann) was an historical novel set in 18th century North America. *Madame Solario* (Heinemann) was an anonymous novel set in Italy at the beginning of the century.

HISTORY AND WORLD AFFAIRS. *The Restoration of Charles II, 1658-1660* (O.U.P.) by Godfrey Davies was a valuable academic work. Two excellent books on the Roman Republic were R. E. Smith's *The Failure of the Roman Republic* (C.U.P.) and F. R. Cowell's *Cicero and the Roman Republic* (Penguin). Two views of resurgent Germany were published in *Western Germany from Defeat to Rearmament* (Allen & Unwin) by Alfred Grosser, and Alistair Horne's *Back into Power: A Report on the New Germany* (Max Parrish). *Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution* (O.U.P.) by William Haller was a study of the rise of American toleration. Volumes VIII and IX of *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-39* (H.M.S.O.) were edited by E. L. Woodward and Rohan Butler. They covered the years 1938-39 and 1939. An important work, *The Far East, 1942-46* (O.U.P. for R.I.I.A.) by F. C. Jones, Hugh Borton, and B. R. Pearn, appeared in the Chatham House *Survey of International Affairs, 1939-46* series. *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (C.U.P.) by Peter Hunter Blair was a successful study of England before the Conquest. *Britain in Western Europe, W.E.U., and the Atlantic Alliance* (R.I.I.A.) and *Collective Defence in South East Asia: The Manila Treaty and its Implications* (R.I.I.A.) were Reports by Chatham House Study Groups. *A History of Sweden* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson) by Ingvar Andersson covered the period from the Stone Age to modern times. An important collection of historical essays was Geoffrey Barraclough's *History in a Changing World* (Blackwell). *The Rise and Fall of Nazi Germany* (Cresset) by T. L. Jarman was an excellent work of live scholarship. *English Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century* (O.U.P.) by Robert Walcott was primarily about parliamentary politics. *The Pattern of World Conflict* (Allen & Unwin) by G. L. Arnold was an analysis of Soviet policy in the cold war.

Two excellent studies of Latin America were Hubert Herring's *A History of Latin America* (Cape) and William Lytle Schurz's *This New World* (Allen & Unwin). A widely read study of the South African racial situation was *Naught for Your Comfort* (Collins) by Father Trevor Huddleston. *Germany and the North Atlantic Community* (Stevens) by M. E. Bathurst and J. L. Simpson was an examination of legal problems in Germany since the allied occupation. *Continuity and Change in Russian and Soviet Thought* (O.U.P.) was a symposium by a number of American writers, edited by Ernest J. Simmons. An outstanding historical work was Sir Winston Churchill's *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples* (Cassell), the first two volumes of which were published during the year. *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (O.U.P.) by Richard Hofstadter and Walter J. Metzger covered the period from the founding of Harvard to the end of the First World War. Alan Moorehead's *Gallipoli* (Hamish Hamilton) was widely acclaimed. *Defeat into Victory* (Cassell) by Sir William Slim was a brilliant account of the war in Burma. *The Communist International 1919-43: Documents*, Vol. I (O.U.P. for R.I.I.A.) was edited by Jane Degras and consisted of documents covering the years 1919-22. Two other books issued under

the same auspices were *Survey of International Affairs, 1953*, by Peter Calvocoressi, and *Documents on International Affairs, 1953*, edited by Denise Folliot. *A History of Turkey* (Allen & Unwin) by M. Philips Price was a useful guide. *Essays Presented to Sir Lewis Namier* (Macmillan) was edited by Richard Pares and A. J. P. Taylor.

Mutiny at the Curragh (Macmillan) by A. P. Ryan brilliantly told the story of an incident in Ireland's fight for Home Rule. An excellent non-specialist work was T. D. Kendrick's *The Lisbon Earthquake* (Methuen). *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (O.U.P.) by A. D. Alderson was an authoritative work. *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* (O.U.P.) by P. E. Russell covered 'Act II' of the Hundred Years War. *France, 1940-55* (Hale) by Alexander Werth was detailed and valuable. *The Pursuit of Freedom* (Longmans) by Pierre Mendès-France describes personal experiences in 1940-41. Volume VI of *Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-45*, Series D (1937-45) (H.M.S.O.) covered the period March 16-August 8 1939. *A Short History of the West Indies* (Macmillan) was a very useful book by J. H. Parry and P. M. Sherlock. *A History of Early Medieval Europe, 476 to 911* (Methuen) by Margaret Deanesly was an authoritative work. *The Foundations of India's Foreign Policy* (Longmans) by Bisheshwar Prasad was the first volume covering the years 1860-82. *Germany's Eastern Neighbours* (O.U.P. for R.I.I.A.) by Elizabeth Wiskemann discussed problems relating to the Oder-Neisse Line and the Czech Frontier Regions. *Bismarck, Gladstone and the Concert of Europe* (Athlone Press) by W. N. Medlicott was an authoritative work. *Soviet Russian Nationalism* (O.U.P.) by Frederick C. Barghoorn presented a wealth of new material.

Communism and Nationalism in the Middle East (Routledge) by Walter Z. Laqueur was a full, clear study. G. P. Gooch's *Louis XV* (Longmans) was a 'study of monarchy in decline'. *The Chatham Administration, 1766-68* (Macmillan) by John Brooke was confined to the realm of politics, in the Namier manner. *Russia without Stalin* (Michael Joseph) by Edward Crankshaw was subtitled 'the Emerging Pattern'. Lord Beaverbrook's *Men and Power, 1917-18* (Hutchinson) was largely composed of the letters of public figures, connected by a revealing narrative. *The Early Churchills* (Macmillan) by A. L. Rowse was the first of two volumes to be devoted to the Churchill family. *The Growth of Responsible Government* (Routledge) by A. H. Dodd studied constitutional advance from James I to Victoria. *Englishmen and Others* (Hamish Hamilton) was a collection of shorter essays by A. J. P. Taylor. Harold Acton's *The Bourbons of Naples, 1734-1825* (Methuen) was the first volume of an exhaustive and readable study. *The New Japan* (O.U.P.) by Harold S. Quigley and John E. Turner was a study of government and politics in Japan since the war. Two interesting books on the German S.S. were *The S.S.: Alibi of a Nation, 1922-45* (Heinemann) by Gerald Reitlinger, and *The Schellenberg Memoirs* (Deutsch) by Walter Schellenberg. An excellent work of scholarship was John Rosselli's *Lord William Bentinck and the British Occupation of Sicily, 1811-1814* (C.U.P.).

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LITERARY CRITICISM. *The Literary Situation* (Deutsch) was an important discussion of modern American literature by Malcolm Cowley. *A History of Modern Criticism 1750-1950* (Cape) by René Wellek was published in two volumes. *The Marble Threshing Floor* (Vallentine, Mitchell) was a collection of studies in modern Greek poetry by Philip Sherrard. *The Shock of Recognition* (W. H. Allen) was an important anthology of American literary criticism, edited by Edmund Wilson. *Unprofessional Essays* (Cape) was a welcome collection by John Middleton Murry. *The English Sense of Humour* (Constable) was a widely ranging collection by Sir Harold Nicolson. *The Tight-rope Walkers* (Routledge) was a study of mannerism in modern English literature by Giorgio Melchiori. *The Spanish Background of American Literature* (O.U.P.) was an exhaustive work by Stanley T. Williams. *The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance* (C.U.P.) was an anthology of Tudor prose, edited by Elizabeth M. Nugent. *The Hero in Eclipse in Victorian Fiction* (O.U.P.) was a study of the Victorian novel by Mario Praz. David Daiches published a collection of essays, *Literary Essays* (Oliver & Boyd). *The Craft of Letters in England* (Cresset) edited by John Lehmann was concerned with the contemporary literary scene. An important work was Roy Pascal's *The German Novel* (Manchester University Press). Humphry House's *Aristotle's 'Poetics'* (Hart-Davis) was a brilliant study. *An Introduction to the French Poets* (Methuen) by Geoffrey Brereton was an admirable work. *Adonis and the Alphabet* (Chatto & Windus) was Aldous Huxley's best collection of essays for some years. *Lorca and the Spanish Poetic Tradition* (Blackwell) was an excellent and partly autobiographical study by J. B. Trend. *Shelley at Work* (O.U.P.) was an important work by Neville Rogers. A condensed and useful book was J. M. Cohen's *A History of Western Literature* (Penguin). Sean O'Faolain's *The Vanishing Hero* (Eyre & Spottiswoode) was a collection of studies of the novels of leading writers of the last thirty years. *Marcel Proust and Deliverance from Time* (Chatto & Windus) by Germaine Brée was an important work in Proust studies. An excellent general book on Proust was J. M. Cocking's *Proust* (Bowes & Bowes). *The Outsider* (Gollancz) by Colin Wilson was a highly discussed book.

PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY. F. C. Copleston's *Aquinas* (Penguin) was a study of the saint as philosopher. *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (Sheed & Ward) by Etienne Gilson was a translation of a standard work. *The Third Revolution* (Michael Joseph) by Karl Stern was a study of psychiatry and religion. *Clinical Papers and Essays on Psycho-analysis* (Hogarth) was a posthumous collection of the writings of Karl Abraham. Edward Glover's *The Technique of Psycho-Analysis* (Baillière, Tindall & Cox) was a book for the specialist reader. *Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (C.U.P.) by F. C. Green was a critical study of his life and writings. *New Directions in Psycho-Analysis* (Tavistock) was a collection of papers largely exploring the child's mind. *Philosophy, Politics and Society* (Blackwell), edited by Peter Laslett was an important collection of essays. John Bowle's

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Minos or Minotaur? (Cape) was a study of the dilemma of political power. F. C. Copleston's *Contemporary Philosophy* (Burns & Oates) was a series of studies of Logical Positivism and Existentialism. *Ethical Value* (Allen & Unwin) by George F. Hourani was written from the Utilitarian approach. *Contemporary British Philosophy* (Allen & Unwin) was edited, in its third series, by H. D. Lewis. *The Mind of Santayana* (Routledge) by Richard Butler was concerned with Santayana's doctrine of Essences. *An Historian's Approach to Religion* (O.U.P.) by Arnold Toynbee was based on his Gifford Lectures. Ernest Jones's *Sigmund Freud* (Tavistock) was composed of four centenary addresses. *The Revolution in Philosophy* (Macmillan) was a collection of anti-metaphysical essays by A. J. Ayer and others. A thorough and revealing study was H. L. Philp's *Freud and Religious Belief* (Rockliff). A useful book was Richard Peters' study, *Hobbes* (Penguin). J. O. Urmson's *Philosophical Analysis* (O.U.P.) was a study of its development between the two World Wars.

Poetry. Brian Guinness's *Collected Poems* (Heinemann) covered the years 1927-1955. Kathleen Raine published her *Collected Poems* (Hamish Hamilton). Edwin Muir's new volume *One Foot in Eden* (Faber) was much admired. *The Poetical Works of Robert Herrick* (O.U.P.) was a definitive edition edited by L. C. Martin. Patric Dickinson published *The Scale of Things* (Chatto & Windus). E. J. Scovell's third collection was *The River Steamer* (Cresset). A first collection by a much discussed younger poet was *A Work Carved on a Sill* (Routledge) by John Wain. *Bread Rather than Blossoms* (Secker & Warburg) was a collection of poems about Japan by D. J. Enright. The P.E.N. anthology *New Poems, 1956* (Michael Joseph) was edited by Stephen Spender, Elizabeth Jennings, and Dannie Abse. *The Chatto Book of Modern Poetry, 1915-1955* (Chatto & Windus) was edited by C. Day Lewis and John Lehmann. Two anthologies of poets of the younger school were *New Lines* (Macmillan) edited by Robert Conquest, and *Poets of the 1950's* (Tokyo : Kenkyusha) edited by D. J. Enright. A very promising first collection was Alexander Henderson's *The Tunnelled Fire* (Secker & Warburg). Phoebe Hesketh published her fifth collection *Between Wheels and Stars* (Heinemann). *The View from this Window* (Hart-Davis) was a distinguished collection by Laurence Whistler. *Poems from the North* (Hand & Flower Press) was an excellent collection by Kathleen Nott. Lawrence Durrell published a volume of *Selected Poems* (Faber). *The Burning Tree* (Faber), selected by Gwyn Williams, was sub-titled 'Poems from the first thousand years of Welsh verse'. *Poetry Now* (Faber) was an anthology of work by 74 younger poets, edited by G. S. Fraser. *A Case of Samples* (Gollancz) was a selection from ten years' work by Kingsley Amis.

Religion and Theology. *The Christian Experience* (Sheed & Ward) by Jean Mouroux was an introduction to theology. *The Gospel according to St. John* (S.P.C.K.) by C. K. Barrett was an introduction with commentary and notes on the Greek text. *Protestant Christianity*

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(Scribner's) by John Dillenberger and Claude Welch was a study of the Protestant idea. Rudolf Bultmann's *Essays Philosophical and Theological* (S.C.M.) were largely studies of the 'mythical' in scripture. *The Supreme Doctrine* (Routledge) by Hubert Benoit was a study of Eastern metaphysics. *New Testament Christianity* (Hodder & Stoughton) by J. B. Phillips discussed the impact of the New Testament. Norman Sykes's *Old Priest and New Presbyter* (C.U.P.) discussed church union. *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (Athlone Press) was a study of Rabbinic lore by David Daube. Two books on Rome and re-union were *Catholicism and the Ecumenical Movement* (Longmans) by John M. Todd and *The Sheepfold and the Shepherd* (Longmans) by Columba Cary-Elwes. *The Self and the Dramas of History* (Faber) by Reinhold Niebuhr was a collection of linked studies. *The High Church Party* (S.P.C.K.) by George Every covered the years 1688-1718. *Principles of Sacramental Theology* (Longmans) by Bernard Leeming was a treatise on the Christian sacraments. *Christian Theology* (Lutterworth Press) by W. M. Horton was an ecumenical approach. Two discussions of the ordination controversy were Francis Clark's *Anglican Orders and Defect of Intention* (Longmans) and Anthony Stephenson's *Anglican Orders* (Burns & Oates). *Early Latin Theology* (S.C.M.) was edited and translated by S. L. Greenslade. *The Idea of Revelation in Recent Thought* (O.U.P.) was a very useful study by John Baillie. Ronald Knox published the third volume of his *New Testament Commentary for English Readers* (Burns & Oates). *The Notebooks of Simone Weil* (Routledge) were published in two volumes. *Water into Wine* (Murray) was a study of ritual idiom in the Middle East, by E. S. Drower. An excellent collection of theological essays was Oscar Cullmann's *The Early Church* (S.C.M.). An important work for the general reader was H. Werner Keller's *The Bible as History* (Hodder & Stoughton). One of the best books on the Dead Sea Scrolls was F. F. Bruce's *Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Paternoster Press). Two books on comparative religion were Hendrik Kraemer's *Religion and the Christian Faith* (Lutterworth Press) and Philip H. Ashby's *The Conflict of Religions* (Scribner's).

Travel, Topography, Adventure. *The Red Sea Mountains of Egypt* (O.U.P.) by L. A. Tregenza was a serious study of the Eastern Desert. *A Prospect of Britain* (Hutchinson) by Andrew Young was a poet's vision of his country. *The Roanoke Voyages* (C.U.P.) was a collection of documents illustrating English voyages to America between 1584 and 1590, edited by David Beers Quinn. *Nyasaland* (H.M.S.O.) by Frank Debenham was a modern portrait of the colony. *The Singing of the Travels* (Max Parrish) by Violet Alford was an important study of the ritual dances of Spain. J. P. R. Wallis edited, in two volumes, *The Zambezi Expedition of David Livingstone, 1858-1863* (Chatto & Windus). *The Lycian Shore* (Murray) by Freya Stark was about the Anatolian coast. *The Siege of Nanga Parbat* (Hart-Davis) by Paul Bauer was an account of the attempts on the mountain from 1856 to 1953. *Where the Turk Trod* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson) by

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Anthony Rhodes was an account of a journey in Yugoslavia. *Sebastiano* (Barrie) was an edited edition of a 17th century traveller's journey from Bologna to Paris, edited by Wilfrid Blunt. *Coast to Coast* (Faber) by James Morris was a much admired book about America. *Denmark* (Batsford) was a book of impressions by Sacheverell Sitwell. *Kuwait and her Neighbours* (Allen & Unwin) was an important work by H. R. P. Dickson. Two excellent books on Turkey were Lord Kinross's *Europa Minor* (Murray) and *Byzantium and Istanbul* (Cape) by Robert Liddell. *Highway of the Sun* (Gollancz) was an account of an expedition to examine the Inca road system, by Victor von Hagen. *Introducing Greece* (Methuen) was a useful book edited by Francis King. Jasper More's *The Mediterranean* (Batsford) was useful and informative. An excellent book about the last of the clippers was Eric Newby's *The Last Grain Race* (Secker & Warburg). *Saints of Sind* (Murray) by Peter Mayne was an account of journeys in Pakistan. An excellent guide book was Bernard Wall's *Italian Art, Life and Landscape* (Heinemann).

MISCELLANEOUS. This section includes some of the more important publications on science, social sciences, education, music, law, etc.

The British Year Book of International Law, 1954 (O.U.P. for R.I.I.A.) edited by Sir Hersch Lauterpacht contained as usual authoritative studies on contemporary problems. *The American Legal System* (Hamish Hamilton) by Lewis Mayers was an exhaustive study of the American judiciary. *The Moon* (Faber) by H. Percy Wilkins and Patrick Moore was a 'complete description of the surface of the moon'. *Uncertainty in Economics and Other Reflections* (C.U.P.) was an excellent collection of studies by G. L. S. Shackle. *The Theory of Economic Growth* (Allen & Unwin) by W. Arthur Lewis was an important study. The *Correspondence* between Hans von Bülow and Richard Strauss was published by Boosey & Hawkes in a translation by Anthony Gishford. A study of evolution for everyman was Richard Carrington's *A Guide to Earth History* (Chatto & Windus). A short but comprehensive work was Pascual Jordan's *Science and the Course of History* (O.U.P.). *Obscenity and the Law* (Secker & Warburg) by Norman St. John-Stevas was widely praised. Sir Charles Jeffries' *The Colonial Office* (Allen & Unwin) was an account of the work of the Colonial Office in all its aspects. *Mr. Lyward's Answer* (Hamish Hamilton) by Michael Burn was a study of an experiment in the education of difficult boys. *Conservatism in America* (Heinemann) by Clinton Rossiter was a short, valuable work. A translation of an important book on the psychology of colonization by O. Mannoni was published under the title of *Prospero and Caliban* (Methuen). Dora and Erwin Panofsky's *Pandora's Box* (Routledge) was subtitled 'The Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol'. An excellent study was J. S. Manifold's *The Music in English Drama* (Rockliff) which covered the period from Shakespeare to Purcell. John Strachey's *Contemporary Capitalism* (Gollancz) was an important work. The last of four volumes of Karl Mannheim's sociological writings appeared under the title of *Essays on the Sociology*

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of Culture (Routledge). *Schumann and the Romantic Age* (Collins) by Marcel Brion was a useful discursive study. A detailed educational history was Hugh M. Pollard's *Pioneers of Popular Education 1760-1850* (Murray). *A History of Education in Antiquity* (Sheed & Ward) by H. I. Marrou was an authoritative work on a large scale. *The Physical World of the Greeks* (Routledge) by S. Sambursky was an excellent study of the Greek source of science. A work of great importance in the field of archaeology and ancient history was *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (C.U.P.) by Michael Ventris and John Chadwick.

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THE ARTS

INTRODUCTION

'THE year the Bolshoi Ballet company came to Covent Garden.' Whatever future critics and historians might have to say, it seemed a not unreasonable description of the 12 months ended 31 December 1956; for not only did the visit of the famous Russian ballet company outshine all other happenings in the world of the arts—not only was its timing oddly symbolic and, to many people, heart-breaking in its coincidence with the political crises of the autumn—but it also came in a year which saw the twenty-fifth birthday of the Sadler's Wells Theatre and the tenth birthday of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, under the management of David Webster and the directors appointed in 1946 to run it with funds provided by the Exchequer. There could be no choice: in any general comment on the year's activities in the arts, the focus had to be on opera and ballet.

In the spring, the directors of Covent Garden issued a *Review 1946-56*, which was also a statement of policy. It described the beginnings of the new organization, immediately after the Second World War, and its aim, which was to make the Royal Opera House not merely a setting for the visits of foreign companies or of *ad hoc* companies composed of international 'stars', but the home of a native opera and ballet, in a theatre leased by the Ministry of Works and subsidized by the Government-financed Arts Council of Great Britain. The *Review* set forth the directors' belief in native talent and in a growing audience, and gave figures to support its case.

The statement was violently attacked in a letter to *The Times*, dated 27 June, from Sir Thomas Beecham. Sir Thomas denied the existence of 'a host of latter-day English singers capable either of competing with their foreign rivals or of filling the large auditorium of Covent Garden'. He chose to direct his attack against the newly appointed musical director, Rafael Kubelik. Rafael Kubelik had already publicly expressed his support of his directors' policy; but he was himself a foreigner, and unaccustomed to the buccaneering ways of the bold, bad baronet of English music, and after reading the letter, he tendered his resignation to the board of Covent Garden. Controversy raged vividly in the press for a time and ended on a note of dignity with a letter from the chairman of the Covent Garden directors, Lord Waverley, who stated that the board had not accepted Rafael Kubelik's resignation and had told him he had their entire confidence, and a masterly summing up by *The Times* music critic.

The trustees of Sadler's Wells issued no statement of policy or historical booklet to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the theatre. The occasion was celebrated by a gala performance on 5 May. The audience and the public at large recognized with gratitude and admiration the work which had been achieved in both opera and ballet during

the quarter century, and paid tribute in particular to the founder of British ballet, Dame Ninette de Valois.

In the autumn of the year the visit of the Bolshoi Ballet company from Moscow was announced. The emotions and excitement aroused were heightened by an incident, the arrest in a London store of a woman member of a team of Russian athletes competing in England, which almost prevented the visit from taking place at the last minute (see p. 41). In the end, by dint of tenacious diplomacy backed by goodwill on the part of the administrators of the ballet, both in Moscow and in London, the Russian refusal was withdrawn, the Bolshoi company came, and the enthusiasm created by its appearance and the magical skill of its leading lady, Ulanova, was something to be remembered for a life-time. The company left England just as events in the Middle East were becoming critical, and the return visit of the Sadler's Wells Ballet to Moscow was unfortunately postponed.

In architecture the emphasis and a large part of the public discussion were on planning rather than on individual building achievement. In the cinema there was little of distinction to report, at least in so far as British films were concerned. A matter of sociological rather than artistic interest occupied space in the press when, with the showing of an innocuous American film, *Rock Around the Clock*, excitement was artificially stirred up and actual riots took place in a number of cinemas because of the uncontrolled dancing and singing by young people to the rhythmical beat of the film's 'rock 'n' roll' music.

Early in the year the theatrical scene became coloured, suddenly, by enthusiasm for the work of the German dramatist, Bertold Brecht —who died, tragically, in the middle of his new won popularity. Details of his plays, and of his *Threepenny Opera*, as they were seen in London in 1956, are given in later chapters.

An art exhibition which caught public attention in the summer was that of six (out of a total of eight) stained-glass windows for the new Coventry Cathedral. The windows were set up in the Victoria and Albert Museum, lit from behind by strong artificial light (which was still not strong enough to serve as a substitute for daylight). They were by three artists, Geoffrey Clarke, A.R.C.A., Lawrence Lee, A.R.C.A., and Kenneth New, A.R.C.A., each contributing two windows in vividly individual styles.

The second year of Independent Television was another period of particular interest for broadcasting. The merits of the rival authorities, B.B.C. and I.T.A., continued to be canvassed by their supporters and there was further evidence that the effects of competition were felt by the new body and the old, and shown by both in imagination and initiative.

The Arts Council of Great Britain issued its 11th annual report and called it *The First Ten Years*. The report gave an outline history of the Council, and of the war-time Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts which preceded it. In its analysis of policy, the report discussed the economics of the arts and laid stress, as in previous years, on the importance of adequate 'housing' for theatre companies.

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orchestras, and exhibitions, and on the value of self help by local authorities. It also gave prominence to the Council's developing patronage of living poets.

Among honours received during the year were knighthoods conferred upon Lieutenant-Colonel Fordham Flower, chairman of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon; Professor William Coldstream, painter and Slade Professor of Fine Art in the University of London; and Professor Anthony Blunt. Miss Margot Fonteyn, principal ballerina of the Sadler's Wells Ballet at Covent Garden, was made a Dame of the British Empire, as was also Miss Peggy Ashcroft, the actress. The C.B.E. was conferred upon John Clements, the actor, Norman Tucker, director and producer at the Sadler's Wells Theatre, Paul Scofield, the actor, Professor Ellis Waterhouse, Director of the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, and Rudolf Bing, lately director of the Edinburgh Festival and now director of the Metropolitan Opera, New York.

The following appointments of interest were made during the year: Glen Byam Shaw as sole director of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-on-Avon; Trenchard Cox as director of the Victoria and Albert Museum in succession to Sir Leigh Ashton; Dr. Mary Woodall to succeed him as director of the City Art Gallery, Birmingham; and Gerald Beadle as director of Television Broadcasting, B.B.C., in succession to Sir George Barnes.

Among those who died were Gerald Finzi, the British composer, Walter Gieseking, the pianist, Guido Cantelli, the conductor, and Edgar Bainton, composer and principal of the Sydney Conservatoire; Michael Arlen, George Bancroft, and Robert Newton, of Hollywood fame, Ruth Draper, Jack de Leon, the British producer and manager, Tod Slaughter, the veteran actor manager and producer of traditional melodrama, and Frederick Valk, tragically, in the course of a brilliant performance in *Romanoff and Juliet*; Bertold Brecht, the German theatrical producer and playwright, and the painter Nina Hamnett.

OPERA

Although Mozart paid a visit to England when he was eight years old and made numerous English friends in the course of his life, it was not until some years after his death that his operas began to be played in London. Nevertheless, their value was soon recognized, and as early as 1811 one finds the critic William Gardiner writing: 'His imagination has infused a sublimity into the opera, that now renders it the highest of all intellectual pleasures. . . . It is a matter of curious moment that we are now in possession of the very works that are to form the acme of theatrical representation in a succeeding age.' Gardiner's shrewd judgement was fully vindicated in 1956 when on the occasion of the bicentenary of Mozart's birth a special effort was made throughout the world—and especially in the United Kingdom—to honour him as an

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opera-composer. Specially favourable conditions for production and performance made the Glyndebourne cycle of six Mozart operas—*Idomeneo, Die Entführung aus dem Serail, Le Nozze di Figaro, Don Giovanni, Così Fan Tutte,* and *Die Zauberflöte*—of outstanding importance as a tribute to his genius. The only new production at Glyndebourne was *Die Zauberflöte*; and this too was the opera of Mozart's that Covent Garden chose to remount. At Sadler's Wells there was a new production of *Figaro* and a revival of *Don Giovanni*. *Die Zauberflöte* was in the repertory the Hamburg Opera brought with them to the Edinburgh Festival; and Mozart's juvenile *La Finta Semplice* was played in London at the Palace Theatre by the same company that gave it in Salzburg during the birthday festivities in January.

The interest in the operas of Janáček that had been aroused by *Katya Kabanova* at Sadler's Wells in 1951 was followed by the first production of *Jenufa* in the United Kingdom at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, in a translation by Edward Downes and Otakar Kraus (10 December). Musically this early work of Janáček's proved a grievous disappointment; but the company gave an extremely vigorous performance of it under the direction of Kubelik. Of the stock operas in the Covent Garden repertory, *The Queen of Spades* and *The Masked Ball* reached a particularly high standard of performance. The German season consisted of two magnificent cycles of *The Ring* conducted by Rudolf Kempe; and the Italian season, of a limited number of performances of *Rigoletto* and *Tosca* with guest artists including Gobbi, Milanov, and Tagliavini. There was the usual eight-week tour of the provinces in the spring.

At Sadler's Wells it was good to find that attendances, which had fallen to an uncomfortably low level in 1954-55, improved considerably in 1955-56. The repertory was varied by a number of revivals during the year, including *The Consul, School for Fathers, Riders to the Sea, Hugh the Drover, Madam Butterfly,* and *Hansel and Gretel*. In addition, there were new productions of *Martha* and *Fidelio*. The latter opera was given a fine performance under the direction of Rudolph Schwarz, which was all the more moving as it came at the time of the Hungarian uprising. The company carried out a nine-week tour of the provinces during the summer.

The Carl Rosa Company toured for 32 weeks, visiting London for a fortnight in the summer. They opened their short season at the Sadler's Wells Theatre with an acceptable production of *Manon Lescaut*. A fortnight later they were followed at the same theatre by the Welsh National Opera Company, which presented four Verdi operas during a week's season. The novelty was *I Lombardi* in a translation based on that used by the Midland Music Makers in their revival of 1953. If this did not achieve the same measure of success as the Company's *Nabucco*, the fault was largely due to poor production. The other two operas were *The Sicilian Vespers* and *Rigoletto*.

The English Opera Group celebrated the tenth year of its existence by presenting a new realization of Blow's *Venus and Adonis* by Imogen Holst and Gustav Holst's *Savitri* in a dual bill at the Aldeburgh

Festival, and a new lyrical one-act opera, *Ruth*, by Lennox Berkeley during its autumn season at the Scala Theatre (2 October). The libretto to *Ruth* was written by Eric Crozier. Ceri Richards designed the scenery and costumes; Peter Potter produced; and Charles Mackerras conducted. The Group's repertory also included a revival of Britten's *The Turn of the Screw*, which won particular praise from its French audiences when for the first time it was given a couple of special performances in Paris, at the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées, in May.

Alan Bush's second opera, *Men of Blackmoor*, received its first performance at the Deutsches Nationaltheater, Weimar (18 November). The libretto by his wife Nancy Bush had been translated by Marianne Graefe, the composer himself was responsible for the production, and the conductor was Heinz Finger. The action of the opera is concerned with the struggle of the miners in County Durham at the beginning of the 19th century to better their conditions. Its reception in Weimar was sufficiently encouraging to make one think it might rival the popularity of Bush's *Wat Tyler* in Eastern Germany. It was interesting to note that neither of Bush's two operas had yet been produced on the stage in the United Kingdom, although the B.B.C. broadcast two studio performances of *Wat Tyler* in December 1956.

The only other new English opera produced during the year was Inglis Gundry's comic opera *The Logan Rock*, based by the composer on a Cornish legend and performed in the open air at the Minack Theatre, Porthcurno (15 August).

The Hamburg Opera Company visited the Edinburgh Festival and, in addition to *Die Zauberflöte*, brought *Der Barbier von Bagdad*, *Salome*, and two one-act operas by Stravinsky, *Oedipus Rex* and *Mavra*, in their repertory. This was the first time these Stravinsky operas had been given stage performances in Britain, and the far greater effectiveness of *Oedipus Rex* presented in this way rather than as an oratorio was a revelation to many. The fact that the Glyndebourne Company was not engaged for the Edinburgh Festival this year left them free to undertake a special fortnight's season in the Royal Court Theatre, Liverpool, where by invitation of the Liverpool Philharmonic Society in association with the City of Liverpool they presented a very successful fortnight's season of *Le Nozze di Figaro*, *Don Giovanni*, and *La Cenerentola*.

The Brecht-Weill operetta, *Die Dreigroschenoper*, which was the rage of Germany and Central Europe about a quarter of a century ago, reached London at last as *The Threepenny Opera* in an English adaptation by Marc Blitzstein (Royal Court Theatre, 17 February, and later at the Aldwych and the Comedy). Although the production was a reasonably authentic one, the work did not make the same impact in 1956 as it had in Berlin in 1928. Much of its original pungency seemed to have evaporated in the atmosphere of the Welfare State.

Among the amateur societies, the Cambridge University Opera Society should be mentioned for its courage in tackling Stravinsky's full-length opera, *The Rake's Progress*, an impressively high standard

of performance being achieved, and the Handel Opera Society for successfully staging Handel's oratorio *Hercules* as an opera at the St. Pancras Town Hall.

BALLET

This was a vintage year for ballet, not so much for actual achievement within the year, as for the ideas that were set in motion.

It started with the 25th anniversary of the death of Pavlova which was commemorated by a gala performance at the Stoll Theatre (23 January) in which dancers from all over the world took part, headed by Mlles. Chauviré, Fonteyn, Markova, and Marjorie Tallchief. There was also an important memorial exhibition held at the London Museum (September-December). The interest aroused showed that Pavlova is still an inspiration to the young dancer, underlining the point that the great dancer comes out of the great tradition, and in her turn enriches it. This focus on the individual was stressed by the sensational success of Galina Ulanova.

This year saw the 25th anniversary of the creation of the Sadler's Wells Ballet and its 10th year of residence at the Royal Opera House. The first was celebrated by *Birthday Offering* (5 May), a glittering showpiece devised for the occasion by Frederick Ashton, with a score by Malcolm Arnold. A feature was the technical excellence of the men which went far to dispel the charge that English male dancers are poor. The second event was marked by a week of performances of the *Sleeping Beauty* (20 February) in which no less than five ballerinas appeared as Aurora: Mlles. Fonteyn, Elvin, Grey, Nerina, Beriosova, and Fifield. Both events stressed that in a surprisingly short time an English school had come into being, based largely on the Russian Imperial School as modified by Cecchetti and adapted to the national physique and temperament.

On 9 October the ballet companies at the Royal Opera House and Sadler's Wells, together with the school, received a royal charter, with H.M. the Queen as patron and H.R.H. Princess Margaret as president. In addition to the honour conferred on the national ballet, the companies and the school thus became linked together in a manner indispensable for their successful continuance.

In choreography Kenneth Macmillan fulfilled his early promise and entered the ranks of major workers in this field. His first creation for the Royal Opera House, *Noctambules* (1 March), with score by Humphrey Searle and décors by N. Georgiadis was an essay in the macabre handled with musicianship and a fine sense of atmosphere. This was followed up by an evening of Macmillan ballets at Sadler's Wells Theatre (7 June) that included a creation, *Solitaire*, to music by Malcolm Arnold and décors by Desmond Heeley. The subject dealt with the eternal introvert seeking in vain to join in social activities and always frustrated. Unlike most ballets based on psychological themes this was clear and told in the true choreographic language.

Alfred Rodrigues did the choreography for Bartok's *The Miraculous Mandarin*. When this was shown at the Edinburgh Festival (August-September) critics found the subject unnecessarily sordid. The choreography was skilled, but there was in the role of the Mandarin himself, partly due to the costume by Wakhevitch, whose sets were admirable, too much reality and an insufficiency of the miraculous to justify the title.

Foreign visitors included Roland Petit's Ballets de Paris (Palace, 8 May). His much heralded *La Chambre*, theme by Simenon, music by Auric and décors by Buffet, showed us little that he had not done more convincingly in *Le jeune Homme et la Mort*. The successes were gained by the revivals of *Carmen* with Renée Jeanmaire and *Le Loup* with Violette Verdy. The New York Theatre Ballet at Covent Garden (20 August) also gained their success with a revival of *Fall River Legend* with Nora Kaye.

Three Spanish companies headed by Antonio (Palace Theatre, 18 September), Luisillo (Princes Theatre, 29 October), and José Greco (Festival Hall, 24 December) proved once again that this dance has yet to be acclimatized to the stage. All three provided islands of great excitement in a sea of boredom and banality. The Indian Ram Gopal (Festival Hall, 10 September and Hippodrome, 8 October) attempted in the *Legend of the Taj Mahal* a full evening's spectacle adapted to the western stage. It was a worthwhile attempt insufficiently worked out.

The great event was the arrival of the Bolshoi Ballet from Moscow (Royal Opera House, 3 October, Davis Theatre, Croydon, 31 October). The season opened with the Prokofiev-Lavrovsky *Romeo and Juliet*, a *recitative* ballet in which brilliance of technique was subordinated to narration in the manner prescribed by Noverre. Its superb craftsmanship was admired by all, but controversy raged as to the actual quality of the choreography; some called it old fashioned, while others claimed it was a return to healthy fundamental principles. The other creation, *The Fountain of Bakhchisarai*, started with a perfect first act and ended on an exciting note but failed as a whole through the cliché-ridden orientalism of Acts II and III and a banal score by Asafiev. In the classics *Swan Lake* was splendidly danced but in an inferior choreographic version, and it was the veteran *Giselle* that received the perfect production and performance.

The dancing throughout the season was magnificent both when used for narration as in the ballets or for the fireworks, crude but effective, in the concerts at the Davis Theatre. These dancers differed from the Russian dancers we have known in the past; their classicism was modified, the 'grand manner' was in abeyance and the accent was on fluidity of movement. Their ability to act with the whole body and the intensity of their concentration carried conviction in everything they did. Galina Ulanova surely takes her place among the immortals alongside Pavlova. Her technique—and how remarkable it is—is entirely subordinated to the role that she is portraying but she adds to that the ability to confront one with reality. She is

both the Giselle of legend and the embodiment of love, physical and spiritual. Frail, with no outstanding physical advantages, and no longer young she can convince one that she is vital, beautiful, and young as in the amazing first act of *Romeo and Juliet.*

It was a tragedy that political events made the second half of the exchange, the Sadler's Wells visit to Moscow, impossible. The companies had much to teach one another.

THEATRE

In the English theatre the year of grace 1956 might well have been labelled 'This Year of Brecht', not because the famous East German dramatist and stage-director died during the year at the untimely age of 58, but because at the moment of his death he was dividing critical opinion in London in a manner faintly reminiscent of the great Ibsen controversy of the late Victorian epoch. 'Faintly' is, however, the master-word in that sentence. In the Ibsen imbroglio, violently opposite views were held and expressed; in the Brecht affair opinion was all on the same side, varying between the wild raptures of those enthusiasts who regarded Bertold Brecht as a major prophet and the muted encomiums of those who doubted his inspiration or distrusted its source.

On one point all were agreed. Whatever his quality as dramatist, his stature as stage director was prodigious. The season which his company, the Berliner Ensemble, played in London (Palace, 27 August) was accepted as complete and sufficient evidence by all judges. Yet even here the question obtruded itself whether similar results might not be within the compass of many directors, given similar conditions. Brecht was a convinced Communist, working for a régime which regarded the arts (apart from their intrinsic worth) as an important weapon for propaganda, and for that reason he enjoyed a security of tenure, and a freedom from anxiety about time and finance, unknown in any country where public money must be accounted for.

However that might be, the facts remained that it was to Brecht that this magnificent opportunity had come, and that he had taken it magnificently. It was on the theoretic side that the older generation of playgoers in London found him disappointing. They had been promised something new and wonderful by the Brecht-worshippers, and all they got was a restatement, with additions, of the kind of theatrical philosophizing that was rife in Germany after the First World War, the basic intention of which was always the same—to free the actor from the trammels of the picture-frame stage and the photographically realistic drama, and to allow him once again to be, not just a character in a play, but a performer openly presenting that character. It was the same intention as William Poel had pursued in his experiments with the Elizabethan stage, which had influenced Granville Barker and Bridges-Adams and had revolutionized Shakespearean production in England.

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In English versions, two Brecht plays were produced for London runs, both at the Royal Court Theatre. The first, *The Threepenny Opera*, is discussed in the chapter on Opera. The second, *The Good Woman of Setzuan* (31 October), had some popularity at first, owing no doubt to the fact that it offered the strange spectacle of the most recently created theatrical Dame, Peggy Ashcroft, in the double role of a meek woman and a brash assertive little man. The play itself found no great favour, and the run soon terminated.

To mention the Royal Court Theatre was to be reminded that it had become, during 1956, the scene of a most important venture, the English Stage Company. This was an organization formed with the primary object of giving British dramatists of promise an opening which the 'commercial' theatre could no longer contrive for them, and with the general intention of providing an opportunity for serious playgoers to see plays of all kinds unlikely to appeal to the popular taste. Solidly financed, and under the able direction of George Devine, this theatre established itself at once. During its first season it not only presented the two Brecht plays already mentioned (thus giving English audiences their best chance of making up their minds about him), and Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* (9 April); it introduced to the London public no fewer than three British dramatists of potential importance—Angus Wilson, John Osborne, and Nigel Dennis.

Wilson's play, *The Mulberry Bush*, with which the season opened on 2 April, had already been seen at the Bristol Old Vic in 1955; but the author had rewritten it in the light of that experience, and thus gained valuable knowledge of theatrical technique of which, as a novelist, he stood in need. Dennis stood still more in need of it, for his play, *Cards of Identity* (26 June), had precisely those faults of stage method by which a novelist is apt to make his purpose obscure to even the quickest-minded theatrical audience. Parts of his play emerged as biting and effective satire, but as a whole the composition was muddled and perplexing. Osborne, on the other hand, was an actor in the Royal Court company, and had that sense of the theatre which all actor-dramatists acquire. His play, *Look Back in Anger* (7 May), was a vigorous, snarling piece of work. If it was formless and unsatisfactory, that was not because the author was not at home in his medium, but because he was concerned only to present a character and a situation, not to draw conclusions. Against the play's sins of omission had to be set the supreme virtue of vitality. This was the first play since the war to put the point of view of a younger generation at odds with its world.

The need for such an organization as the English Stage Company was made especially clear by the timidity of some of the West End managements when asked to consider any plays not strictly and patently realistic. An outstanding example was provided during the year by the case history of Enid Bagnold's play, *The Chalk Garden*. This piece went the rounds in London and was everywhere refused. It was accepted in New York and made a success which might have been even greater than it was but for a misfortune. Thereupon it was

promptly put on in London (Haymarket, 11 April) by one of the managements which had previously turned it down, and it ran for the remainder of the year. As a result of this timidity, most of the plays put on in the West End during the year followed the formula of straight forward realism. Distinguished exceptions were Peter Ustinov's *Romanoff and Juliet* (Piccadilly, 17 May) and the stage version of Dylan Thomas's *Under Milk Wood* (New, 19 September). Both proved successful, and it was difficult to resist the inference that there was a larger public for the unusual and the imaginative in the theatre than the managers knew how to reach.

The year's batch of new realistic plays was larger than had been usual since the Second World War, but its specific gravity was low and its quality not much higher. Noel Coward made two contributions, *South Sea Bubble* (Lyric, 26 April), which was as flimsy as its title, and *Nude With Violin* (Globe, 7 November), more serious in intention but hampered by its theme. The main situation in which a great artist turned out after his death to have been an imposter had in it the seeds of anticlimax. Once the big surprise effect had been achieved at the end of Act One, not even Coward's practised resource could avoid a drop in the narrative tension. Other established dramatists whose work proved popular, or seemed likely to prove so when the year ended, were Gerald Savory with *A Likely Tale* (Globe, 22 March), Hugh Mills with *The House By The Lake* (Duke of York's, 9 May), the inevitable Agatha Christie with *Towards Zero* (St. James's, 4 September), Roger Macdougall, in partnership with Ted Allan, with *Double Image* (Savoy, 14 November), and Dorothy and Campbell Christie with *The Touch of Fear* (Aldwych, 5 December).

During the year several attempts were made to act on the theory—in America almost an article of belief—that any play could be successfully set to music. Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, Robertson's *Caste*, and Barrie's *The Little Minister* were all thus embellished, without notable success. The two fabulously popular musicals of the new intimate English kind, *The Boy Friend* and *Salad Days*, occupied Wyndham's and the Vaudeville respectively throughout the year, but not until 27 November, when *Grab Me a Gondola*, words by Julian More, music by James Gilbert, came to the Lyric, Hammersmith, was any promising new work in a similar style presented. This piece was moved to the Lyric, Shaftesbury Avenue, before the end of the year.

One result of the unambitious nature of most English dramatic writing was to give discriminating playgoers an added interest in plays from abroad, and during the year this interest led to the formation of a new venture, one object of which was to counteract the effect of a decision by the Lord Chamberlain which was felt to be unrealistic. That officer had for some time shown a determination not to license any play in which the subject of homosexuality was touched on, however remotely. As no such ban existed in the United States, the natural—almost inevitable—effect was the gradual accumulation of a number of entirely decent plays by leading American authors which could not be played in public theatres in England. So absurd a situation could

not continue to exist without the backing of public opinion, for banned plays could be presented at private theatre clubs for the benefit of members without coming under the censor's jurisdiction. Accordingly, a small theatre club, the Watergate, was taken over by a new and strong management and on 11 October opened at the Comedy Theatre with Arthur Miller's *A View From The Bridge* as its first offering, to be followed by two other American successes, *Tea and Sympathy* and *Cat On a Hot Tin Roof*, the last by Tennessee Williams. With such a programme before them, playgoers found it well worth their while to take the trouble to enrol themselves as members and pay a nominal subscription, and at the end of the year *A View From The Bridge*, excellently cast and acted, was running as merrily, and with as little offence, as though no ban existed.

Among American plays which did receive a licence, *The Rainmaker* (St. Martin's, 31 May) was well received, *The Caine Mutiny Court Martial* (Hippodrome, 13 June) less well, while the musicals *Plain and Fancy* (Drury Lane, 25 January) and *Fanny* (Drury Lane, 15 November) aroused less enthusiasm than most big American productions of the kind. But the balance was restored when on 29 November *The Diary of Anne Frank* came to the Phoenix. This transcription for the stage of passages from the deeply moving record left by a young Jewish girl who, after hiding from the Nazis for three years in an Amsterdam attic, was murdered at Belsen, seemed likely to repeat in London the profound effect it had already made in New York.

Of the plays from the French that were seen during the year, the most notable was Jean Anouilh's *Waltz of the Toreadors*, which was presented first at the Arts Theatre (24 February) and then ran for the rest of the year at the Criterion.

The year's list of revivals was not a very important one, apart of course from the work done at the Old Vic and the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon. The Old Vic began the year well, with a strong company headed by Paul Rogers, John Neville, and Claire Bloom; but when this team had gone overseas at the end of the summer, to be received with acclaim in New York, it was succeeded by one with an unmistakable second-eleven air. Stratford had an average season, which was unremarkable except for Margaret Johnson's brilliance as Portia (17 April) and as Desdemona (29 May). In the West End notable revivals were staged by John Clements at the Saville Theatre of *The Rivals* (23 February) and *The Way of the World* (6 December), Clements's own performance of Sir Anthony Absolute in the former play being the best within memory. Wycherley's *The Country Wife* was also done outstandingly well by the English Stage Company (Royal Court, 12 December).

Outside London 1956 was not on the whole a good year for the theatres. Solidly established concerns such as the Repertory Theatres at Birmingham and Liverpool, or the Bristol Old Vic, continued on their way relatively undisturbed; but some of the smaller theatres, including a few which had had the assistance of the Arts Council in one form or another, were forced to give up the struggle for existence.

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Some managements blamed the competition of television for the falling-off in attendances, but others were inclined to think that as soon as the novelty of the new medium wore off it ceased to be a menace.

There was a serious drop in theatre business everywhere in the autumn when the Suez crisis developed—in some cases audiences diminished by 25 per cent. overnight—and the petrol shortage which followed hit very hard some theatres in the smaller towns which normally drew a large proportion of their audiences by bus or car from neighbouring villages. To some extent this loss was offset by the fact that people could no longer find petrol to take them to the big cities, and were forced to do their playgoing locally.

Apart from finance, several encouraging tendencies were noticeable in the work of the provincial repertory theatres, easily the most important being a readiness on the part of managements to present, and of audiences to support, new plays not bearing the stamp of London's approval. Just before the turn of the year the Theatre Royal at Windsor had the unique satisfaction of seeing two of its productions successfully launched in the West End, and during the year there were new productions of interest at Guildford, Nottingham, Oxford, and elsewhere. The Arts Council continued its policy of encouraging new dramatists, and offered financial guarantees in respect of nine out of the 46 plays submitted during the year under this scheme.

Another Theatre Royal, that of Lincoln, had reason to be proud of itself during the year. In 1955 the building had been rescued at the last minute from a threat of conversion to other uses, and had been reconstituted by a determined group of citizens as a weekly repertory theatre. During 1956 this company steadily built up its reputation, and was rewarded by a growing interest, in a town which had been considered theatrically dead. In another town which should have been theatrically very much alive—Oxford—the local repertory company was compelled to give up after 18 years of abortive efforts to gain support from town or University. The alleged reason for their consistent failure, which compared strangely with the record of the Arts Theatre at Cambridge, was that Oxford had become an important 'touring date' for large-scale shows on their way to London, in competition with which no local small theatre could exist. In the autumn, however, it was re-opened with a new company and a new policy designed to attract not the ordinary playgoer but that smaller and more demanding public of which a University town might be expected to be the home. An interesting start was made with a series of foreign plays not likely to be imported by 'commercial' managements, and an encouraging amount of support was forthcoming; but whether the bold experiment would establish itself was still not proven at the year's end.

ART

The affairs of the National Gallery underwent considerable changes during the year. In a report issued in November 1955 the Trustees

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had asked for an annual purchase grant of £80,000 in place of the £12,500 to which this grant had just been raised. But after studying the state of affairs revealed in the report several authorities came to the conclusion that an even larger grant would be needed if masterpieces were to be prevented from leaving the country and gaps in the collection filled. In particular, Lord Radcliffe gave a broadcast talk on 22 January entitled 'The Poor Relation at Trafalgar Square', in which he demanded an annual purchase grant of £150,000 for ten years with power to carry forward from year to year. The demand was not conceded by the Exchequer, but an important and for the Gallery most helpful change was made by Parliament in the law relating to the passing of estates at death. Under the provisions of the Finance Act of 1956 'chattels of outstanding aesthetic or historic interest' might now be accepted by the Inland Revenue authorities in discharge of death duties, no matter whether these 'chattels' continued to be associated with their former domicile or not. As a result a 'Deposition' by Rogier van der Weyden belonging to Lord Powys was accepted at a valuation of £80,000 in part satisfaction of estate duty and handed to the National Gallery. This was a picture which the Gallery might well have been unable to acquire, even if it had strained all its resources.

Acquisitions by the Gallery were few but important. One picture was purchased from abroad, 'Ovid among the Scythians' by Eugène Delacroix, bought from the accumulated interest of the Colnaghi Fund and from part of its capital endowment. The Gallery had hitherto possessed only a portrait by Delacroix and had for long wanted a subject picture by this master. 'Ovid among the Scythians' was not a large painting, but certainly an important example of the artist's work and one that had been very highly praised by Baudelaire when it was shown in the Salon of 1859. Velasquez's youthful work 'St. John on the Island of Patmos' was bought for £50,000 from its joint owners, Mrs. Woodall and the Misses Frere, who had lent the picture to the Gallery since 1946, together with the same artist's 'Immaculate Conception' which formed more or less a pair to the painting of St. John. Towards the price of this the Treasury contributed £25,000, the Pilgrim Trust £10,000, and the National Art Collections Fund £3,000. One of Philips Wouvermans' larger battle pictures, an aspect of his art not hitherto represented in the Gallery, was also purchased.

The most spectacular change in the condition of the National Gallery was the re-opening of the West Wing with five new air-conditioned rooms and, beyond these, three more rooms which had been closed to the public except for a short interval in 1953. The air-conditioning ensured the preservation of a large number of panel paintings previously exposed to great hazard from the climate and smoke of London and it was generally agreed that those rooms in particular in which some of the greatest masterpieces of Italian Renaissance art were hung against a sumptuous background of fabric provided a most beautiful spectacle. It was found that after the re-opening of these rooms the average daily attendance at the Gallery increased by about a thousand. Still more far-reaching plans for the

reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Gallery were announced in a report issued by the Trustees which covered the period January 1955 to June 1956. On the main floor, the Ministry of Works proposed eventually to rebuild and air-condition room No. XXVI, which had been entirely destroyed by bombing, as well as to build two more small air-conditioned rooms to complete the circuit of the West Wing. On the ground floor it was at last decided to remedy the extremely unsatisfactory and hazardous conditions in which the reserve or reference section of the collection was housed; a much larger, air-conditioned space was to be set aside for these pictures, and new screens were to be constructed which would make this part of the collection readily accessible to students, and even the general public, as well as easily visible by them.

In a report issued in November, the Tate Gallery also asked for a greatly increased annual grant, namely £20,000, for the purchase of works of art. It was pointed out that with its present income the Gallery could not hope to compete with a number of American and other foreign galleries in the acquisition of modern works of the foreign schools.

Painters in Great Britain as well as in many other countries were kept busy during the year by a competition organized in the United States by the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation. $10,000 was offered for the outright winner of the international competition and smaller prizes for those who were judged, by the various national committees, to have produced the best painting in each country. A curious situation arose when the British selection committee gave its award to John Bratby, an artist of the school which often passed under the name of 'social realist', while the international committee gave the final award to a British painter of very different character, Ben Nicholson, who had submitted an entirely abstract painting. It might be judged that abstract art still received more international support and approval at this time than the kind of realism practised by large numbers of younger painters in England and France. The Contemporary Art Society also organized a competition for paintings on the subject of 'The Seasons'; winter, as might have been expected from the general character of the more advanced art of this time, was particularly in favour with the artists who entered the competition.

A number of important works of art for public buildings were initiated or completed during the year. In July a number of stained glass windows for the new Coventry Cathedral were shown in the Victoria and Albert Museum. These had been executed at the Royal College of Art, which had recently been much concerned with the revival of the art of stained glass, from designs by Lawrence Lee, Keith New, and Geoffrey Clarke. The windows were of great height and contained a wealth of symbolism, much of it requiring a written interpretation before it could be fully understood. The designs were in most instances semi-abstract, although they included details which were realistic in character. In the museum the windows were exhibited with the aid of artificial lighting behind them, and some fear

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was expressed that when actually placed in the Cathedral they would prove to be unduly dark and opaque except on the very brightest days. In the Council House at Bristol, large and ambitious ceiling paintings were executed by W. T. Monnington, R.A. and John Armstrong. These were the gift of the Edwin Austen Abbey Memorial Trust and the subject chosen was 'Man in the Atomic Age'. W. T. Monnington's painting was a carefully calculated design of abstract forms. Boris Anrep was commissioned to execute mosaics in Westminster Cathedral and a 'Family Group' by Henry Moore was ordered for the new town of Harlow.

By taking over more rooms in its premises at 4 St. James's Square, the Arts Council was able to compensate to a considerable extent for its loss of the New Burlington Galleries and to hold a number of exhibitions of very respectable size and importance in London, though the need of a gallery for loan exhibitions comparable to the Musée de l'Orangerie in Paris was still acutely felt. Among the exhibitions held in St. James's Square was an impressive representation of 50 years of graphic art by Picasso. The work of the German expressionist Christian Rohlfs, which was previously hardly known at all in England, was exhibited at the suggestion of H. Hess, curator of the City of York Art Gallery, and selected by him; after being shown in London the exhibition went to York. A large collection of drawings by Millet revealed the artist in a new light to many. A particularly interesting and comprehensive exhibition of the work of Gaudier-Brzeska was held in December and this undoubtedly enhanced the reputation of this artist and showed how much British art lost by the early death in the First World War of so precocious a genius.

For the Edinburgh Festival, the Arts Council again co-operated in arranging a major exhibition of one of the French masters of modern art. Douglas Cooper once again organized this exhibition, an impressive collection of the work of Braque, and contributed a scholarly catalogue. After the Festival was over, the exhibition was brought to London and shown in the Tate Gallery. A number of other exhibitions were also held, usually with the co-operation of the Arts Council, at the Tate Gallery. In January there was an exhibition of American art which gave a comprehensive survey of the art of Ben Shahn, John Marin, and Jackson Pollack. The inclusion of the work of Pollack seemed to indicate that the singular movement known as 'Tachisme' was gaining ground, and a further opportunity to survey the work of this school was provided by an exhibition arranged by the Arts Council in Cambridge, which aroused so much interest that it was afterwards proposed to bring it to London. Hitherto the work of these artists, who produced pictures in an almost automatic or unconscious fashion by smearing and dribbling paint in involved skeins and loops on the canvas, had hardly been seen in England outside the walls of the Institute of Contemporary Arts, but the disorganized character of the paintings did not seem to check the spread of interest in them. Another manifestation of the cult of disorder was an extraordinary exhibition held in the Whitechapel Art Gallery under the title 'This is To-morrow'.

Among the objects shown was an illuminated sign depicting a robot which had recently served to advertise a science-fiction film in Piccadilly, though some few serious works, such as sculpture by Paolizzi and abstract constructions by Victor Pasmore, could be detected here and there in the exhibition.

One of the most interesting exhibitions held in the Tate Gallery, and afterwards circulated by the Arts Council, was a retrospective survey of the work of Wyndham Lewis which at the same time contained a few works by each of the other artists who had for a time been associated with Lewis's Vorticist movement. In an amusing introduction to the catalogue of the exhibition, Lewis explained that Vorticism 'was what I, personally, did, and said, at a certain period'; this was a less remarkable claim than that made in 1915, to the effect that Vorticism meant, among other things, 'Activity' as opposed to the tasteful 'Passivity' of Picasso: The effect of the exhibition was to emphasize the seriousness of Wyndham Lewis's art and to illustrate how he had come in the end to conclude, in his own words, that 'Nature supplies us with all we need'. German painting over a period of a hundred years, from 1850 to 1950, was shown at the Tate Gallery in April and perhaps did something, but not a great deal, to overcome what seemed to be a natural antipathy between English and German taste in the visual arts. In July a small collection of cubist pictures was lent to the Tate by the Musée de l'Art Moderne. In November the Arts Council, in association with the Italian Institute, arranged an exhibition at the Tate Gallery of the Eric Estorick collection of modern Italian art, certainly the most important collection of its kind outside Italy. The exhibition provided a thoughtful and carefully chosen survey of modern Italian sculpture and painting from the time of the first futurists down to the paintings of such realists as Renato Guttuso whose work often illustrated some doctrine of Left-wing politics.

A retrospective exhibition of the works of Sir Alfred Munnings was held in the Diploma Gallery of Burlington House during the spring. Later it was announced in the press that Sir Alfred Munnings had refused to attend the Royal Academy banquet as a protest against the class of works, presumably those of too unrealistic or advanced a kind, admitted to the summer exhibition at Burlington House. For some years one or more rooms had been set aside in these exhibitions for works chosen by the younger members of the Academy or those who were more conscious of artistic tendencies in the world at large. But Sir Alfred Munnings's protest did not in fact prove that the Royal Academy was gradually coming under the control, as some had thought might one day happen, of these younger artists. The sculptor Charles Wheeler was elected President of the Royal Academy in the place of the architect Sir Albert Richardson, and it was generally known that he was not the candidate of the more liberal party within the Academy. In the previous year Charles Wheeler had resigned from the Art Panel of the Arts Council as a public protest against the organization of an exhibition of the work of the Italian sculptor Giacometti by the Council.

An exhibition of Dutch pictures of children was held in the Diploma Gallery of the Academy and sent round the provinces by the Arts Council. The Royal Academy's winter exhibition, which opened in November, was entitled 'British Portraits', which meant, it was explained, portraits of British people by foreign as well as by British artists. There were more than 800 portraits in all mediums and of many periods and schools including some contemporary works. The learning and taste of Professor E. K. Waterhouse and of other art historians was evident in the organization of the exhibition and it brought to light a number of unfamiliar works and many curiosities. It might have been expected that the masters of English portraiture, such as Gainsborough and Reynolds, would have dominated the exhibition, but this was not so; a wide range rather than any very high standard of quality seemed to be the object of the organizers of the exhibition.

Berthe Morisot's painting, 'Jour d'Eté', one of the pictures bequeathed to the nation by Sir Hugh Lane, was stolen from the Tate Gallery as a protest, it was understood, against the retention of the Lane Bequest pictures in London. The whole intricate dispute between London and Dublin about this bequest was also ventilated in a book published early in the year by Dr. Thomas Bodkin, a second and revised edition of a work which was originally privately printed; this second edition was brought out at the suggestion of Mr. Costello, Prime Minister of Eire.

The Whitechapel Art Gallery held a retrospective exhibition of the work of Merlyn Evans, an artist whose style often showed the influence of Wyndham Lewis.

As in many previous years, much of the most interesting work of living artists was exhibited in dealers' galleries. Among those who held one-man shows were Stanley Spencer, at Tooth's Gallery, and Ceri Richards at the Redfern Gallery. The work of the American 'Sunday painter' known as Grandma Moses was shown at Matthiesen's Gallery and the very high prices charged for her work showed in how much esteem it was held in the United States. Jack Smith, a painter of 'social realist' tendencies, was among the artists chosen by the British Council to show works in the Biennale Exhibition at Venice.

The Indian section of the Victoria and Albert Museum was moved from an annex beside the Imperial Institute into the main building of the Museum, where primary galleries for the display of 18th-century continental art were also opened.

MUSIC

The fact that 27 January 1956 was the 200th anniversary of Mozart's birth inevitably influenced the character of music-making during the first part of the year. Concerts and books, gramophone records and broadcasts were devoted to the composer, whose fame and popularity had never stood so high. The performances of his music ranged over

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the whole of his heterogeneous output and enlarged public knowledge of his range of accomplishment. Not all the obscurer works justified this revival, save as curiosities or chips from the workshop of genius. Nor did more than a small fraction of the performances achieve the standards of scholarship and style that such an occasion demands. This was unfortunately true, in particular, of the actual birthday performance (of the opera *Idomeneo*) broadcast from Salzburg.

British musicians could, at least, be credited with having shown a higher appreciation of Mozart's style than his Austrian compatriots, particularly in the sphere of chamber-music where the Amadeus String Quartet (with Clifford Curzon collaborating in a pianoforte quartet), the Element Quartet, and an ensemble of wind-players directed by Dennis Brain distinguished themselves. The pianoforte concertos, some of which had been unreasonably neglected, were also fully explored by such fine musicians as Dame Myra Hess, Denis Matthews, Nina Milkina, and Artur Balsam.

Another anniversary, that of Schumann's death a hundred years before, fell on 29 July. Nothing could have indicated more clearly the state of public taste than the rather niggardly tributes paid to the German composer, once so highly esteemed, compared with the lavish celebration of Mozart's genius. The performances that were given of some of Schumann's major compositions, to mark the event, seemed to support the current view of him as a master of miniature forms, above all of the song, rather than a great symphonic composer. One 'new' work by Schumann received its first performance on 20 March at the Wigmore Hall. This was the *Third Violin Sonata*, the last two movements of which were Schumann's contribution to a composite work (with Brahms and Dietrich) in honour of Joachim. Just before his last illness Schumann wrote two new movements to make the sonata wholly his own. The four movements were assembled and edited by Oliver Neighbour and played by Gerhard Seitz and Margaret Kitchin. The work unfortunately bore witness to Schumann's growing inability to concentrate, and only the Intermezzo (from the original composite work) showed his true genius functioning.

Even Beethoven could still provide a work unheard in our day. On 16 March Hermann Scherchen gave the first performance in London of *Der glorreiche Augenblick*, a cantata composed to celebrate the Congress of Vienna. As usually happens in such occasional works, the contemporary text proved too ephemeral to survive its original purpose, and a new text was supplied by Herr Scherchen designed to give the work a 'wider significance'. Perhaps it mattered little that the cantata was thereby converted into propaganda for 'Peace'; what was valuable was the discovery of music that, despite some lapses into commonplace, was in the vein and on the inspirational level of the last scene in *Fidelio*.

The first noteworthy new composition, in the true sense, to appear during the year was Edmund Rubbra's *Improvisation* for violin and orchestra, which was played by Frederick Grinke at a B.B.C. concert in the Festival Hall on 18 January. Despite its modest title the work, which had already had a performance in America, proved to be a

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poetically conceived concerto-movement. The improvisatory element was kept in check by a sense of musical form. Improvisation was also the key-note of the more important *Second Concerto in G* for pianoforte and orchestra produced on 21 March, also at a B.B.C. concert directed by Sir Malcolm Sargent with Denis Matthews as soloist. Here Rubbra's inspiration had been stimulated by the performances of Ali Akhbar Khan, a performer on the *sarod*, to whom the work was dedicated. Opinion was divided on the success with which the composer had handled the ever-expanding material of the work and had related the exacting solo-part to the orchestral texture.

On 2 May a new *Symphony in D minor* by Vaughan Williams, his eighth, was performed for the first time at Manchester by the Hallé Orchestra under the direction of Sir John Barbirolli, to whom the work was dedicated. Terse in form and unusual in its instrumental textures, the symphony showed the veteran composer as still reaching out to unexplored regions of music. Doubts were expressed about the finale, a *toccata* in which a large battery of percussion-instruments was employed, but none about the beauty of the slow movement (for strings alone) or the originality and effectiveness of the *scherzo* scored for wood-winds and brass. Further hearings, when the symphony was repeated in London and at the Cheltenham Festival, suggested that the opening movement, disarmingly styled *Variazioni senza tema*, was in fact a subtly designed sonata-movement in which there was a good deal more than appeared on first acquaintance.

Vaughan Williams also contributed a new work to a concert given on 4 June in celebration of Dr. Harold Darke's jubilee as organist of St. Michael's Church, Cornhill. This was a motet for choir and organ with words taken from the first chapter of Ezekiel and entitled *A Vision of Aeroplanes*. Once more the vitality of Vaughan Williams's imagination struck an original note among the more conventional tributes of other composers who wished to honour a distinguished musician for his services to the art in the City of London. These included Herbert Howell's *English Mass* and a hymn, *Hierusalem*, by Sir George Dyson.

Other new symphonies produced in London during the year included one by Leonard Salzedo, played on 10 May by the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra under Sir Thomas Beecham, one by Dr. Robert Simpson played on 8 June by the London Philharmonic Orchestra under Sir Adrian Boult, and William Alwyn's *Third*, which was commissioned by the B.B.C. and played at one of their public concerts on 10 October by the B.B.C. Orchestra directed by Sir Thomas Beecham. A symphony by David Wynne, commissioned by the Guild for the Promotion of Welsh Music, received its first performance at the National Eisteddfod in Aberdare on 10 August.

Peter Racine Fricker added several works to his catalogue—a *Dance Scene* given at a concert of the Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra under John Pritchard in the Royal Festival Hall on 12 May, *Music's Empire*, a setting of a poem by Andrew Marvell for chorus and orchestra which was performed on 15 May by the Morley College Choir under he composer's direction, a *Concertante* for three pianofortes and

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orchestra which was played at a Promenade Concert on 10 August, a *Litany* for string orchestra played at the Cheltenham Festival on 18 July, and a *Sonata for violoncello and pianoforte* commissioned by the B.B.C.'s Third Programme and broadcast on 12 October. In all these works, even in the professedly light-hearted *Concertante*, the composer once more displayed his seriousness of mind and integrity of workmanship. He seemed to be growing terser and more elliptical of utterance, and by so much the more difficult of access.

Alan Rawsthorne produced a second violin concerto, based (it was said) on material that had been laid aside. It was given its first performance in the Festival Hall on 24 October by Endre Wolf with the B.B.C. Orchestra under the Portuguese conductor, Pedro de Freitas Branco. Unfortunately the performance was not secure enough to set the new work in the best light, but its slightness of construction and lack of definite ideas and ingratiating solo-passages did not suggest that it would take its place beside its predecessor. Rawsthorne also published an early *Sonata for viola and pianoforte*, composed in characteristically lively style and recently revised. Michael Tippett's *Pianoforte Concerto*, composed to a commission from Birmingham under the terms of the Feeney bequest, was a much more substantial composition, too complex in texture, perhaps, to be really effective. But it, too, suffered from an inadequate performance at the hands of the Birmingham Symphony Orchestra, whose wind-players were not equal to the exacting parts written for them. The soloist was Louis Kentner and the conductor Rudolf Schwarz at the first performance on 30 October, which was repeated a few days later in London.

The Cheltenham Festival of British Contemporary Music, which took place in the fortnight beginning 9 July, benefited by the newly-introduced system of having the works submitted to an expert panel of musicians. Of the new works selected the most successful were Fricker's *Litany* for string orchestra already mentioned, and a *Violoncello Concerto* by Kenneth Leighton which was played by Florence Hooton on 20 July. The other orchestral novelties included Daniel Jones's *Third Symphony* performed at the opening concert on 9 July, Francis Burt's *Iambics*, and Iain Hamilton's *Symphonic Variations*, which were played on 17 and 19 July respectively. *A Clarinet Quintet* by Benjamin Frankel received its first performance at a chamber concert on 16 July. Apart from the first concert, which was given by the London Philharmonic under Sir Adrian Boult, the orchestral concerts were once more undertaken by the Hallé Orchestra directed by Sir John Barbirolli.

The tenth International Festival at Edinburgh under the new artistic director, Robert Ponsonby, followed the general lines laid down in previous years by Rudolf Bing and Ian Hunter. As this policy was highly successful and the attendances in 1956 surpassed those of previous years, there seemed no reason to make any radical change. A glance at the programmes as a whole suggested a more enterprising attitude towards modern music and to the less familiar compositions of the past.

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The Festival opened in the presence of Her Majesty the Queen and His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh with a performance in the Usher Hall of Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony* by the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra and the Royal Edinburgh Choral Society under Sir Thomas Beecham's direction. The soloists were Sylvia Fisher, Nan Merriman, Richard Lewis, and Kim Borg. Sir Thomas Beecham's orchestra was responsible for the first five concerts, at the second of which Sir Arthur Bliss conducted the first performance of his overture, *Edinburgh*, composed for the festival, and his *Violin Concerto* in which Campoli was the soloist. Sir Thomas Beecham's programmes included Balakirev's *First Symphony*, Sibelius's *Sixth*, and a new orchestral study, *Landscape and Figures*, by Richard Arnell.

The Royal Philharmonic was succeeded by the Boston Symphony Orchestra, which gave the first performance in Europe of Walter Piston's *Sixth Symphony* and of a *Symphonic Ode* by Aaron Copland under the direction of Charles Munch. Two of the orchestra's five concerts were conducted by Pierre Monteux who included Paul Creston's *Second Symphony* and a *Festival Overture* by Isadore Freed in his performances.

There were three concerts of Church Music by Mozart, Schubert, and Beethoven by the Vienna Hofmusikkapelle conducted by Josef Krips, while in the final week four concerts were given by the London Mozart Players directed by Harry Blech, who, besides playing in a number of concertos by Mozart, performed works by Bartók and Arriaga, a Spanish composer born exactly 50 years after Mozart. The Scottish National Orchestra under Karl Rankl, the B.B.C. Orchestra under Ian Whyte, and the National Youth Orchestra, conducted on this occasion by Walter Susskind, made their customary contributions to the festival.

Recitals were given by Rosalyn Tureck, who played two programmes containing Bach's six Partitas; Nina Milkina, who played works by Mozart; Robert Casadesus, who paid tribute to Schumann; Dame Myra Hess, whose two Beethoven programmes included memorable performances of the three last sonatas; Clifford Curzon, who devoted himself to Schubert; and Louis Kentner, who played works by Liszt. Among duettists were Isaac Stern and Alexander Zakin, and Wolfgang Schneiderhahn and Carl Seeman, who played sonatas for violin and pianoforte by Mozart, Brahms, Schumann, Prokofiev, and Franck. The veteran Hungarian pianist, Dohnanyi, played in a number of his works, including the *Variations on a Nursery Song* (with the B.B.C. Scottish Orchestra), the *Quintet in E flat minor* (with the New Edinburgh Quartet), and his *Violin Sonata in C sharp minor* (with Campoli). The Amadeus String Quartet gave four concerts, including works by Mozart, and the Vegh Quartet performed works by Beethoven, Bartók, Ravel, and Matyas Seiber. Music for wood-wind and strings and for brass was played by the Melos Ensemble and the Boston Brass Ensemble.

Unaccompanied choral music was sung by the Renaissance Singers, who devoted one programme to works by Palestrina and another to English and Scottish polyphonic music, and the Edinburgh University

Singers, who ranged from Josquin des Prés and Byrd to Vaughan Williams and Kodály. 'Melodrama' had its place in two programmes containing Walton's *Façade*, spoken by Dame Edith Sitwell, Schönberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* (Hedli Anderson), and Richard Strauss's setting of Tennyson's *Enoch Arden* for speaker (Sebastian Shaw) and pianoforte (Nina Milkina).

At the Albert Hall Promenade Concerts in London during August and September, at which Sir Malcolm Sargent was again conductor-in-chief, with Basil Cameron as his first deputy, nothing new of importance was produced. The concerts were used rather to consolidate the reputation of works already heard elsewhere, especially a selection from those originally produced at recent Cheltenham Festivals. In this way a good amount of new blood, already tested, was infused into the programmes which retained the general character of recent seasons as well as their great popularity. In addition to three London orchestras, those of Liverpool and Manchester (the Hallé) took part in the season.

The Three Choirs Festival held at Gloucester under the direction of Dr. Herbert Sumsion reverted to type after the previous year's flirtation with 'modernism' at Hereford. The programmes included only one novelty, Howard Ferguson's *Quia amore langueo*, a setting of a medieval mystical poem for tenor solo, chorus, and orchestra, which followed with a sensitive feeling for words the sound tradition of English choral music. The only work that was outside that tradition, apart from older music like Bach's *Magnificat* and Mozart's *Mass in C minor*, was Bloch's *Sacred Service* which introduced the Synagogue into the Cathedral after the fashion of the medieval sculptors. Other recent works included were Vaughan Williams's *Hodie* and *Eighth Symphony*, Walton's Coronation *Te Deum*, Howell's *Hymnus Paradisi*, and Gerald Finzi's *Et in terra pax*.

Among foreign works which received their first performance in England during the year (apart from those already mentioned) were Bloch's *Symphony* composed in 1954-55, which was played at the Royal Philharmonic Society's concert conducted by Efrem Kurtz on 15 February and showed the composer in a more restrained and less rhetorical mood than in his more passionate youth. Stravinsky's *Canticum sacrum* in honour of St. Mark, composed for the Venice Festival and performed there in September, was performed at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields on 11 December when a new transcription for orchestra of Bach's *Chorale Variations* for organ on a Christmas hymn was also performed under the direction of Robert Craft. The *Canticum sacrum* was in Stravinsky's most austere vein, using formal discipline derived from medieval music and from Schönberg's twelve-note system.

Among other notable events during the year was a visit to the Soviet Union by a group of British musicians, headed by the Master of the Queen's Musick, Sir Arthur Bliss, who conducted a number of concerts containing modern English works. He was accompanied by Cyril Smith and Phyllis Sellick, the pianoforte-duettists, and by Campoli, the violinist, who played Bliss's *Violin Concerto*. Sir Adrian Boult and the London Philharmonic Orchestra also made a tour of

Russia where their performances were received with great enthusiasm. On the way home the orchestra visited Western Germany and Paris. George Hurst and Anatol Fistoulari shared with Boult the direction of the concerts, which included a large number of works by living British composers. Sir Malcolm Sargent took the B.B.C. Orchestra on a tour of the Scandinavian capitals in June, taking part in the festivals at Stockholm and Helsinki. At Johannesburg a new overture composed by Walton to a commission by the city was performed for the first time on 25 September and later was broadcast in the United Kingdom by the B.B.C.

In Glasgow the income from the fund left by the late Sir John McEwen to his old university was applied for the first time to the establishment of an annual festival of Scottish chamber-music. The concerts, which took place in April, included performances of McEwen's own quartets, as well as works by Cedric Thorpe Davie, Ian Whyte, Iain Hamilton, and Robin Orr, the newly elected Professor of Music at Glasgow. At St. David's, where he was born, the tercentenary of the death of Thomas Tomkins was commemorated in a series of concerts between 13 and 17 August.

Tomkins was also commemorated in the B.B.C.'s Third Programme, which continued throughout the year to perform its admirable function of providing listeners with all manner of music from the earliest times to the present day, besides transporting them to performances at the principal festivals in Europe. On 29 September the programme celebrated its tenth anniversary with a performance of Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* under the direction of Otto Klemperer, and in the ensuing weeks produced a number of new works commissioned for the occasion from British and foreign composers. Among them were an admirable *String Quartet* by Kenneth Leighton, Fricker's *Violoncello Sonata* already mentioned, an imaginative setting by Phyllis Tate for tenor voice and chamber orchestra of Tennyson's *The Lady of Shalott*, Anthony Milner's cantata *The Harrowing of Hell*, and a *Septet* by Alun Hoddinott. The foreign contributors to the series included Jacques Ibert and the Danish composer Vagn Holmboe. The Home Service of the B.B.C. as usual provided a wide range of musical performances, including the series of symphony concerts on Wednesdays and weekly recitals of chamber-music. Altogether 1956 was a year of healthy and multifarious music-making.

CINEMA

The cinema had a relatively quiet year in 1956. The aim of the film industry was to consolidate after a period of so much upheaval—the upheaval due to the introduction of the widescreen systems (notably Cinemascope and Vistavision), the effects of competition from commercial television (which was to begin its gradual spread north from the London Region during 1956), and the continuation of the long-term campaign by the industry for Entertainments Tax alleviations and

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other concessions important to its continuance and welfare. By the end of 1955, 56·3 per cent. of Britain's cinemas were equipped to show films in Cinemascope, while Vistavision could be satisfactorily shown in most cinemas with a screen ratio of about 1·6 width to 1·0 height. Further the industry established easier relations with television, and both the B.B.C. and Independent Television ran a number of regular programmes in which extracts from current films and interviews with film-makers and film stars were a prominent feature. These programmes were established in agreement with the film industry.

Other notable changes during the year included the sale of the famous Ealing Studios to the B.B.C.; Ealing Films as a company moved over to the M.G.M. Studios in Elstree to continue production in their established style with the financial backing of the American M.G.M. company. (The deal with the B.B.C. had been negotiated during 1955.) The Rank Organization planned to close down 79 of its cinemas during the latter part of the year, but also announced that it had either built or acquired some 21 others in the United Kingdom. The cinemas were closed because they were no longer profitable, and this reflected the general decline in cinema attendances in Britain during 1956.

Although no relief was given to the industry through Entertainments Tax in the 1956 Budget, there was every indication during the year that the Treasury was reviewing the whole Entertainments Tax position with a view to making a reduction in 1957. In December a draft Bill to establish a statutory levy on cinema admission prices to provide for an enlarged British Film Production Fund to aid British producers was published. This envisaged the maintenance of the Fund for a minimum period of ten years.

The death of Sir Alexander Korda on 23 January was a very severe loss to British film production. Korda came to England in 1931, and was the key figure in founding the production company of London Films in the same year. He produced through London Films virtually 100 pictures in a quarter of a century, and personally directed several himself, including *The Private Life of Henry VIII*, *Rembrandt*, *Lady Hamilton*, and *An Ideal Husband*. He trained many men and women who were to become leading technicians in the film industry, and he introduced others from the Continent; he also established many of our most famous actors and actresses. He brought a Continental flair for showmanship to British production and combined it with great feeling for style and elegance.

The year 1956 was not one in which many British films reached real distinction. It is perhaps significant that almost all those which did so had some connexion with war—*A Town Like Alice* (adapted from the novel by Nevil Shute, and directed by Jack Lee), *Private's Progress* (a satiric comedy of army life based on Eric Linklater's novel, and directed by John Boulting), *Reach for the Sky* (derived from Paul Brickhill's biography of Douglas Bader, and directed by Lewis Gilbert), *The Battle of the River Plate* (written, produced and directed by Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger), and *A Hill in Korea* (adapted from a

novel by Max Catto, and directed by Julian Amyes). All these films, except *Private's Progress*, which was a delightfully irreverent joke at the expense of the British Army, were made in what has come to be regarded as the documentary tradition of British film-making when dealing with true events, or fiction closely related to fact. *A Town Like Alice* (featured players Virginia McKenna and Peter Finch) was episodic in structure and showed the details of the sufferings of a group of British women who, though prisoners of war, were refused the asylum of a prison by the Japanese and were forced to wander from place to place until many of them died of hunger and exposure. *A Hill in Korea* (starring George Baker, Stanley Baker, and Harry Andrews) also concerned an isolated group, in this case of British soldiers who were mainly National Servicemen. This Unit was cut off from its base and besieged during the Korean campaign. Like so many war films dealing with small, representative groups, the characters in *A Hill in Korea* tended to become types with set differences of temperament as varied as their regional accents.

The Battle of the River Plate brought Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger back to earth from the mood of their more fantastic films (such as *Oh Rosalinda!* and *The Tales of Hoffmann*). The handling of ships before and during the considerable engagement of the *Ajax*, *Achilles*, and *Exeter* with the pocket battleship *Graf Spee* was finely done, and the acting of Anthony Quayle as the British Commander, Peter Finch as the German Commander and Bernard Lee as the Captain of a torpedoed merchantman was notable. There was, however, too great an element of caricature in the treatment of the diplomatic intrigues in Montevideo, and in the use of a wild American commentator as the principal narrator at the close of the film. *The Battle of the River Plate* remained a film of considerable distinction in spite of these flaws.

Reach for the Sky was not strictly a war film, though the climax of its action was Douglas Bader's leadership in the R.A.F. during the war. Kenneth More closely identified himself with his subject, and one of the best examples of acting in post-war British films was his interpretation of Bader's suffering and determination during the period he learnt to walk on artificial legs without the aid of crutches or sticks. If *Reach for the Sky* was the best British film of the year it was largely due to Kenneth More's achievement in his first major serious role.

Other British films of special interest shown during the year would include *Pacific Destiny*, a Cinemascope film made in the South Seas and based on the amusing and touching experiences of Sir Arthur Grimble as an apprentice Colonial administrator (the part well played by Denholm Elliott), *Yield to the Night*, a study of a young woman sentenced to death for murder, with an interesting and effective performance by Diana Dors in a rather coldly impartial film on the current topic of the death penalty, and *The Long Arm*, another of Ealing Films' crime dramas. The sympathetic character of an over-worked police detective in this last film was played by Jack Hawkins against a background which revealed a great deal of police method.

Some of the best work of the year by British actors and technicians appeared in films which were in effect co-productions with film-makers from other countries, though the legal nationality of the films differed —*Invitation to the Dance* (British, director Gene Kelly), *Moby Dick* (British, director John Huston), *Trapeze* (American, director Carol Reed), and *War and Peace* (Italian-American, director King Vidor). In these films, the design for the first by Alfred Junge and the magnificent camerawork for all the productions (by Frederick Young, Oswald Morris, Robert Krasker, and Jack Cardiff respectively) showed British artistry at its highest level.

British documentary and specialized production, sponsored mainly by industry, was active during the year—this in addition to the considerable number of films produced by British companies specializing in making short films in series largely for American television. British short films, cartoons, and documentaries included *To Your Health* (a cartoon on alcoholism for W.H.O.), *A History of the Cinema* (a cartoon pocket history of film-making), *Foothold on Antarctica* (the first stages in the establishment of Dr. Fuchs' expedition), *The Ruthless One* (locust extermination), *Rowlandson's England* (18th-century life through Rowlandson's pictures), *The Stained Glass at Fairford* (a colour film of the windows at Fairford church), *Adventure On* (the need for responsible and planned mechanization of world farming), *Distant Neighbours* (how oil inter-connects the lives of distant peoples), *Atomic Achievement* (the significance of Calder Hall), *Point of New Departure* (the discovery of terylene), and *The H-Bomb* (an instructional film for the Home Office). *Round the World in Eighty Days* (a section of a feature-length cartoon film derived from Jules Verne), *A Short Vision* (a drawn film showing the destruction of all life by the H-Bomb), *Together* (a poetic study of the life of two deaf mutes in London's East End), and *A Door in the Wall* (a film demonstrating the dramatic use of variable picture size and ratio) were some of the notable films sponsored or assisted by the British Film Institute's Experimental Film Fund.

Many of the American films shown in Britain during 1956 had unusual qualities. The emphasis was on the realistic and sensational exposure of social problems and criminal activities in such films as *The Phenix City Story*, *The Man with the Golden Arm*, *Rebel Without a Cause*, *The Harder They Fall*, and Stanley Kubrick's remarkable film *The Killing*. Comedies included *The Court Jester*, *The Solid Gold Cadillac*, and Marilyn Monroe's *Bus Stop*. Two thrillers from Alfred Hitchcock were the macabrely comic film *The Trouble with Harry* and the re-make of his early film *The Man Who Knew Too Much*. An unusually accurate biographical film was Robert Rossen's *Alexander the Great*. Among the many prominent musicals were *Carousel*, *The King and I*, *Oklahoma*, and *Guys and Dolls*. Two exceptional science fiction films were *The Invasion of the Body Snatchers* and *The Forbidden Planet*, and two semi-documentary films *Unidentified Flying Objects* and *On the Threshold of Space* caused some comment. Films going back into American history were *The Great Locomotive Chase* and *John*

Ford's *The Searchers*. There were also several films stressing the problems of personal adjustment in American society, including *Wedding Breakfast*, the violent war film *Attack*, *Friendly Persuasion*, *Picnic*, and *The Rose Tattoo*. *Baby Doll*, with a special film script written by Tennessee Williams for the director Elia Kazan, showed the value on the screen of the much discussed naturalistic acting fostered by Kazan in association with Lee Strasberg. An unusual and remarkable film was Lionel Rogosin's documentary study of life among the alcoholics of Skid Row in New York called *On the Bowery*.

Many films came from the Continent during 1956, some of notably bad quality, in order to meet the growing market for the foreign-language film. Among the better films were: from France, *The Heroes are Tired*, *Le Défroqué*, *Letters from my Windmill*, *Fernandel the Dressmaker*, *Harvest*, *The Red Balloon*, *The Silent World*, *Gervaise*, *The Swindlers*, *Les Assassins du Dimanche*, *Summer Manoeuvres*, *Bel-ami*, *Race for Life*, *Thérèse Raquin*, and *Papa, Mama, the Maid and I*; the Franco-Italian co-productions *Scarlet and Black* (*Le Rouge et le Noir*), *Honour Among Thieves* (*Touchez pas au Grisbi*); from Italy, *I Vitelloni* (*Spivs*), *Sign of Venus*, *Gli Sbandati*, and *Oro di Napoli*; from Germany, *The Jackboot Mutiny*; from Austria, *Ten Days to Die*; from Greece, *Stella* and *The Girl in Black*; from Spain, *Death of a Cyclist*; from Sweden, *Smiles of a Summer Night*; from India, *Two Acres of Land*; from Poland, *Five Boys from Barska Street*; from the Soviet Union, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Twelfth Night*, *Boris Godunov*, and *The Grasshopper*. Orson Welles' version of Shakespeare's *Othello* was also shown, and the Russian film production of the play was included in a season of Soviet films at the National Film Theatre. The British Film Institute, which controlled the National Film Theatre, launched an appeal for £17,500 to assist the Institute build a new theatre in 1957 to replace the temporary structure originally put up in 1951. Meanwhile the National Film Theatre was very active during 1956 with special seasons of British and foreign films and retrospective historical programmes on the early development of the cinema.

The tenth International Film Festival in Edinburgh received Royal patronage during 1956 with the attendance of the Queen at the opening performance of Gene Kelly's Anglo-American production *Invitation to the Dance*. Among the films shown at Edinburgh were specialized and feature productions from over 30 countries, including Canada, France, India, Poland, the U.S.A., and the Soviet Union. The British Film Academy (Chairman, Edgar Anstey) gave its 1956 awards for the best films shown in Britain during 1955 to *Richard III*, *The Vanishing Prairie*, *The Bespoke Overcoat*, and *Children of Hiroshima*. The award for the best animated film went to the Canadian *Blinkity Blank*; and that for the best British screenplay to *The Ladykillers* (by William Rose). The five acting awards were given to Laurence Olivier, Katie Johnson, Paul Scofield, Betsy Blair, and Ernest Borgnine.

BROADCASTING

Broadcasting in Britain carried out through the year its aim of 'entertainment, information and education' in the three domestic services, Home, Light, and Third Programmes. The most important development was the extension of the Very High Frequency broadcasting system on short waves, which was introduced in 1955 with stations at Wrotham (Kent), Wenvoe (South Wales), Pontop Pike (North-East), and Penmon (Anglesey). In 1956 VHF broadcasting became available, for those with sets able to receive it, to 84 per cent. of the people of the United Kingdom. The start of VHF from Holme Moss in the North gave this service, with its much greater freedom from interference, and greater fidelity of reproduction, to the largest area and population of any transmitter. Other VHF stations opened during the year were at Norwich, Sutton Coldfield, Blaen Blwy, North Hessary Tor, Divis, and Meldrum. The improvement in reception was most marked in the Third Programme, which many listeners had only been able to hear imperfectly before, but it was noticeable also on the Home and Light Programmes.

During the year there was a slight decline in the numbers of people listening to broadcasting as compared with the numbers viewing television; on the other hand it was found that in the third quarter of the year the amount of listening that each person did, both among those with sound sets and those with television, was slightly more than in the corresponding quarter of 1955. Over the year there was a general fall from 23,500,000 listeners to 19,700,000; but at times of crisis (as in the Anglo-French intervention in Egypt) the numbers rose sharply. At the height of this crisis news bulletins were heard by 8 or 10 million people, about twice the normal number. At this time the B.B.C. expanded its news bulletins and the comments and reports by correspondents and experts at home and abroad; so also with the news from Hungary about the rising against the Communists. The B.B.C. received many more letters from the public about sound radio than about television. The total number of wireless and television licences at the end of November 1956 was 14,424,236; this included 6,433,417 combined television and sound licences.

The B.B.C.'s external services continued to operate in more than 40 languages, apart from the General Overseas Service in English. The lessons called *English by Radio* which had been suspended from the Russian service in 1949 because of jamming, were resumed in the autumn of 1956, and the normal broadcasts to the Soviet Union were increased because of developments in Hungary. Broadcasts from the Central European service about the Poznan riots were heard by the Polish people. Questions were asked in the House of Commons about British broadcasts to the Middle East and the Arabic service was somewhat expanded. The Arab broadcasting station in Cyprus was requisitioned at the time of the Anglo-French action in Egypt to act as a British Government agency.

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In November it was reported that the B.B.C. might have to face a reduction of £1 million in the grant made for the external services; the main grant made in the 1956-57 estimates had been £5,153,000—a slight increase over that for 1955. In October Sir Ian Jacob, Director-General of the B.B.C., criticized the recommendation of the Public Accounts Committee that the B.B.C. should not be allowed to build up reserves, in excess of current requirements, from its licence revenue. He said that if the B.B.C. were subjected to normal Treasury control, there would be a fundamental change in the status of the Corporation, which would go far to destroy its independence. In 1956 the B.B.C.'s expenditure rose faster than its income and its cash reserves might be expected to diminish rapidly. In the autumn Sir Ian Jacob led the B.B.C. delegation to the Commonwealth Broadcasting Conference in Australia.

Several important political issues arose during the year. In November charges of bias in news reporting and comment on the Suez crisis, both at home and in the external services, were made in the House of Commons against the B.B.C. by some Conservative members; objections were also raised to the fact that Mr. Gaitskell had broadcast in reply to the Prime Minister's talk on the crisis. The Board of Governors of the B.B.C. held an inquiry and reported that it found the allegations groundless and that 'the result fulfilled the B.B.C.'s obligations for impartiality, objectivity, and for telling the truth'.

In December the Government decided to suspend the '14-day' rule for a trial period of six months. This rule had, since 1948 by agreement between the Government, the Opposition, and the B.B.C., and since 1955 by directive of the Postmaster-General, precluded any broadcast or televised 'discussion or ex-parte statements' for a fortnight before an issue was to be debated in the House, or while it was being debated, or broadcasts by M.P.s on legislation between its introduction and its approval by Royal Assent or its rejection. A Select Committee had been appointed in 1955, to which the B.B.C. gave evidence critical of the rule; the Committee's terms of reference precluded a recommendation to abolish the rule, but it reported in 1956 that any restrictions made to ensure the primacy of Parliament should be reduced to the smallest practical extent, and that the arrangements should be flexible. The B.B.C. (and the Independent Television Authority, for its share of television programmes) gave assurances that during the trial period they would 'continue to act in a way which does not derogate from the primacy of Parliament as the forum for debating the affairs of the nation'.

A committee appointed in March by the Postmaster-General to inquire into allegations that there was Welsh Nationalist bias in news, talks, and discussions in the Welsh Home Service, reported in December that there was no evidence to support the charges of bias through 'corrupt and deliberate distortion, suppression and selection of the news'. In April the Postmaster-General saw delegates of five minority parties protesting against his ban on political broadcasts by the Welsh Nationalist Party, and in May a memorandum from a committee of

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the five minority parties suggested that parties which had contested a total of 25 seats and polled a total of 100,000 votes in their history should participate in the normal programme of political broadcasts.

In March the B.B.C., after a dispute of 18 months, reached agreement with the Musicians' Union over fees and conditions for both sound and television artists. New appointments to the board of governors were announced in June, and the board began for the first time to hold occasional meetings in the B.B.C. regions.

The Third Programme of the B.B.C. celebrated its tenth anniversary with many distinguished broadcasts and the publication of an anthology *From the Third Programme,* chosen by the controller, John Morris. This occasion received much favourable comment from the more serious newspapers. Another major event of the year was the bicentenary of the birth of Mozart, which was marked by many concerts of his works and programmes about his life.

Other anniversaries marked by special broadcasts were those of Bernard Shaw, Sigmund Freud, Rider Haggard, and Keir Hardie. The Edinburgh Festival, Sibelius Festival, and Cheltenham Festival were broadcast. Perhaps the most impressive Third Programme production of the year was the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus translated by Philip Vellacott. There was a series of the 'classics' of radio drama, and festivals of plays by R. C. Sherriff and Agatha Christie; also of dance music and of light music. Popular serials continued with *The Archers* reaching its 1,500th performance and an audience of nine million; *Roderick Hudson* and *Cranford* were also serialized. The story of Roman Britain told by historians and archaeologists under the direction of Sir Mortimer Wheeler excited great interest; the B.B.C. booklet was a best-seller; the libraries reported a demand for books on the subject; the Ordnance Survey Office sold maps of Roman Britain at 100 a day, and the motoring organizations were asked for routes to Roman sites in Britain. The Reith Lectures were given by Sir Edward Appleton on *Science and the Nation.*

Outside broadcasts included all the major events of national interest; the Queen's tour of Nigeria and State visit to Sweden, the wedding of Miss Grace Kelly to Prince Rainier of Monaco, the progress of the Commonwealth Trans-antarctic Expedition, the Olympic Games at Melbourne, the International Eisteddfod, and all forms of sport. Schools and religious broadcasts occupied their regular places in the programmes. *At Home and Abroad* brought experts and people in the news to the microphone twice a week to comment on current affairs.

The regions made valuable contributions from their own resources. The North Region's competition for new radio plays stimulated much good writing and produced a supply of plays suitable for broadcasting. *Writing for Sound* performed the same function for the basic Home Service. In October a 'radio magazine' was started for South-East England. From April the weather forecasts were changed and extended; they were more detailed for the land, and there were separate ones for shipping on 1,500 metres. In July, the chimes of Big Ben,

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the Westminster clock, went off the air for some months and instead 9 o'clock every evening was rung from Great Tom in the clock tower of St. Paul's. In the Christmas Day broadcast of Commonwealth greetings the Duke of Edinburgh spoke from the South Pacific immediately before H.M. the Queen's address to her peoples.

TELEVISION

The first full year of competition between public service television and commercial television saw the latter established in the favour of a large audience. Although the total audience to B.B.C. television was still far larger than I.T.A.'s audience, both parties admitted that, where a choice was available, viewers in the ratio of three to two preferred the commercial programmes to those of the B.B.C.

Some said that this was more a reflection on public taste than on the B.B.C.'s programmes, which were widely admitted to have improved considerably under the spur of competition. Apart from the advertisements themselves, the chief distinguishing feature of commercial television proved to be the 'give-away quiz': a phenomenon new to Britain which one austere critic described as the most deplorable and retrograde development in mass entertainment since bull- and bear-baiting were abolished by the efforts of an enlightened minority.

By the spring of 1956 there was at least one give-away quiz in the programme every evening. The format varied, but the end-product was always the same: a reward paid to members of the public willing to answer simple questions and/or perform absurd physical contortions. Few of the questions made serious demands. An exception was *The 64,000 Question*, a direct copy of the notorious American programme save that the units were shillings (originally sixpences) instead of dollars. To win the maximum prize of £3,200, competitors had to know their chosen subject thoroughly.

For the rest commercial television relied heavily on half-hour plays, canned on film, sometimes British, sometimes American; and on variety and similar light entertainment programmes. In this second category the B.B.C. more than held its own—though a shortage of so-called 'star material' rapidly became evident, the same faces being seen regularly on both channels.

The B.B.C. also maintained its lead in documentary productions. Apart from the long-running series of films made with the co-operation of Unesco (*The World is Ours*), the B.B.C. commissioned a number of dramatized documentary programmes on such strenuous subjects as prostitution (*Without Love*) and the unmarried mother (*Woman Alone*). Some of these explorations of social problems—all of which aroused keen interest—were held to be in the finest tradition of public service broadcasting.

The B.B.C. was equally successful in films of exploration—notably David Attenborough's excellent *Zoo Quest to Guiana*—in absorbing studies of natural history (*Look*), and in popular archaeology (*Buried*

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Treasure). Nothing in this genre was more impressive than Laurens van der Post's series, *The Lost World of Kalahari*. Christopher Mayhew, in a series, tackled the sombre question, *We, the British—Are We In Decline?* Aidan Crawley signed a two-year contract with the B.B.C. to do current affairs programmes, and started finely with a challenging investigation into production, management, salesmanship, technocracy, and labour—*The Edge of Success*.

Commercial programmes also provided some effective documentary and informative matter. Miss Caryl Doncaster organized several excellent projects, including *Look In On London* and a crisp news-magazine, *This Week*, a rival to the B.B.C.'s long-running *Panorama*. Commercial television scored a major success with a down-to-earth programme at 7 p.m. every Sunday called, simply and accurately, *About Religion*.

The B.B.C.'s drama productions attained a reliable level of technical effectiveness, whereas the commercial 'live' drama productions still showed, at the end of the year, an imperfect grasp of technique. Excellent actors in large numbers appeared on both channels, but were, on the whole, better served by the B.B.C.'s experienced producers. Commercial productions included *The Last of Mrs. Cheyney*, Elmer Rice's *The Adding Machine*, John Osborne's *Look Back In Anger*, and dramatizations of André Gide's novel, *Symphonie Pastorale*, under the title *Tears in the Wind*, of Richard Hillary's *The Last Enemy*, and of Henry James's *The American*.

Among the B.B.C.'s most notable productions were Ibsen's *Pillars of Society* and *A Doll's House*, Eugene O'Neill's *Ah, Wilderness!*, *Change of Heart*, by Jacques Deval, and a revival of *Shout Aloud Salvation*. The first production in Britain of Menotti's opera *The Saint of Bleecker Street*, by a veteran producer of the drama department, Rudolph Cartier, met with warm and well-deserved applause. But perhaps the most noteworthy play of the year was a leisurely, ample production of *David Copperfield* (adapted by Vincent Tilsley) in 13 instalments. *Jane Eyre* was also serialized, in good style, and Francis Durbridge, the master of the television thriller, scored another hit with *My Friend Charles*.

The B.B.C. deployed its resources in outside broadcast equipment to good effect. The wedding of Prince Rainier of Monaco to Miss Grace Kelly was covered more than adequately, as were the arrival and the peregrinations of M. Khrushchev and Marshal Bulganin. Television operated from a submarine, from a ship, and from an aircraft in flight: there seemed to be nothing beyond the engineers. All these facilities, plus the Eurovision link which was established on a permanent basis early in the year (making the Winter Olympics at Cortina visible to stay-at-homes), represented an asset which commercial television was not yet able to match.

The B.B.C. went ahead with its experimental colour transmissions, though, if only for economic reasons, colour television seemed still a number of years distant. Technically it appeared feasible. The first 'subjective colour' transmission from the I.T.V. transmitter took

place in September, viewers who watched rapidly moving images reporting them blue, green, mauve, and other interesting shades. The B.B.C.'s new Crystal Palace transmitter came into operation in February to replace the old one at Alexandra Palace. Power was increased to 120 kw in September. B.B.C. programmes were then within reach of 97 per cent. of the population of the United Kingdom. Fifteen transmitting stations were in action and three more in preparation.

In February, a big month for news, it was announced in Parliament that, as a result of discussions between the B.B.C. and the commercial programme companies, it had been agreed that neither side would claim exclusive rights in televising the Derby, the Grand National, English and Scottish Football Association Cup Finals, Test Matches, Empire Games, and the Olympic Games when held in Britain. (Owing to failure to reach agreements, no Olympic Games films from Melbourne were shown by any television station in Britain.)

The first annual report of the B.B.C. since commercial television started showed that competition had substantially increased the B.B.C.'s costs.

In February the Government decided to defer a decision about the use of Band III channels, which would give both the B.B.C. and I.T.A. an alternative programme, for two years. At about the same time, in February, the announcement of cuts in capital expenditure came almost simultaneously with new restrictions on hire purchase of television receivers.

The I.T.A. station at Lichfield, Staffs., was opened on 17 February. I.T.A.'s Winter Hill transmitter opened on 3 May, and on 30 May Scottish T.V. Ltd. was appointed as I.T.A.'s Scottish programme contractor. In July I.T.A. announced that it had selected the Wenvoe area as the site for its Wales and West transmitter.

In August the Postmaster-General announced in the House of Commons that none of the £750,000 which I.T.A. had expected as a grant-in-aid from the Exchequer for the purpose of maintaining a balance of programmes would, in fact, be available. The Government partially changed its mind in November and offered I.T.A. £100,000. Before the Authority could make an answer, some of its subordinate programme contractors jumped in with a public statement that they wanted no part of the grant.

The I.T.A. transmission from Croydon was doubled in power to 120 kw e.r.p. in September, and Independent Television News, which had earlier been cut in time, was lengthened to ten minutes, with an advertisement break in the middle.

The I.T.A. transmitter at Emley Moor, Yorkshire, opened on 3 November, and the power of the Midlands transmitter was increased to 200 kw e.r.p. I.T.A. estimated that this would bring the service area population up to six millions.

Early in December the Postmaster-General announced the ending of the so-called 'Toddlers' Truce'—the break in transmissions between six and seven p.m.—as from 16 February 1957. Also in December

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J. Spencer Wills of Associated-Rediffusion Ltd. (one of the I.T.A. programme contractors) announced that his company intended to launch its own schools television, starting in April 1957. Boris Ford was appointed to direct this venture. The announcement caused excitement, speculation, and contrasting reactions of congratulation and criticism in educational circles. (B.B.C. schools television was due to start later in 1957, probably in the autumn.)

ARCHITECTURE

The architectural scene in 1956 was enlivened by a succession of fiercely argued controversies. They were concerned with the traffic problem in Oxford, the fate of the Imperial Institute building, South Kensington, the provision of a new setting for St. Paul's Cathedral, and the design of New Zealand House at the corner of Haymarket and Pall Mall.

The controversy over Oxford had begun the previous year (see A.R. 1955, pp. 393-4) when a public inquiry was instituted into the City Council's plan for a bypass road north of the university area, cutting across St. Giles. This plan was strongly criticized as threatening greater damage to the architecture and amenities of Oxford than the scheme devised by Dr. Thomas Sharp at the end of the war for a road across Christ Church Meadows, without offering so promising a solution of the traffic problem. A strong case was made out at the inquiry for waiting until the proposed outer bypasses had been built, and until more shopping facilities had been provided in the newer parts of Oxford to draw some of the crowds from the centre, before deciding whether an inner bypass was necessary. The Minister of Housing and Local Government, however, decided in favour of the earlier Christ Church Meadows route, discarding the official scheme in spite of the fact that he had been the instigator of it. At the end of the year the plans were still being discussed in the City Council and objected to by those interested in the preservation of the Meadows.

The threat to the Imperial Institute came from the Government plan to expand the Imperial College of Science by building over nearly the whole of the rectangular site between the existing main college building and the Albert Hall. When it was realized that this plan involved the demolition of the Imperial Institute, which had been built at the end of the 19th century to celebrate Queen Victoria's Jubilee, there was an outcry. The critics of the proposal claimed that it would be better to preserve the historical and architectural continuity of the area by introducing new buildings among the old, instead of sweeping so much away to make room for a wholly new scheme, that the Imperial Institute, having been built by public subscription, was a public monument which the Government had a duty to preserve, and that the main building (the work of Thomas Collcutt) was an irreplaceable example of late Victorian architecture. Its tower, in particular, was regarded as a feature of the London skyline that should not be sacrificed.

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The plan for expanding Imperial College (the work of Graham Dawbarn) consisted for the most part of rectangular blocks set in parallel formation. It was criticized for being too rigid and unsympathetic, and it was suggested that the retention of Collcutt's building would give the scheme variety and humanity. A campaign with that object was led by the Royal Fine Art Commission, and the Government agreed to a compromise plan in which the tower only of the Imperial Institute was to be preserved. This decision necessitated rearranging the new buildings, which resulted in a much improved layout.

The controversy over St. Paul's Cathedral followed publication in March of Sir William Holford's plan for a new setting for the Cathedral, which he had been commissioned to prepare by the City Corporation (see A.R. 1955, p. 394). The Minister of Housing and Local Government, at whose request the plan was made, had indicated from the beginning his preference for a formal, symmetrical layout in renaissance style. Sir William studied the possibilities of this, but came to the conclusion that it was suited neither to the purpose of the buildings around St. Paul's, to the nature of the site, nor to the traditional relationship between the Cathedral and the City. Instead he devised an irregular plan (which nevertheless promised some fine architectural effects) based on the picturesque principles of landscape design which had been England's main contribution to European art in the 18th century, and in which the characteristics of the site were the determining factor; principles completely opposed to the Continental style of design in which a geometrical pattern was superimposed on the site.

By diverting the present traffic route southwards, the Holford plan provided a pedestrian piazza forming a forecourt to the Cathedral at the top of Ludgate Hill. North of this piazza a raised terrace with a car-park underneath was surrounded by office buildings, one of them 23 storeys high. Alongside it (on the site of Paternoster Square) was a new shopping centre. Between this and the Cathedral, and linking it with the existing Chapter House, was a stoneyard, entered from the west through Temple Bar which it was proposed to bring back from Theobald's Park, Herts. East of the Cathedral was a new choir school, attached to the surviving tower of St. Augustine's Church, and on the south-east side a lawn separating the Cathedral from the new main traffic route which continued the line of Cannon Street westwards.

The plan was the subject of heated argument in the press, but with the exception of a minority which was disappointed that a more formal and conventionally impressive scheme had not been produced, both the experts and the public welcomed it. The City Corporation, the London County Council and the Royal Fine Art Commission gave their approval to its general lines, but by the end of the year the Minister responsible for initiating it (Mr. Duncan Sandys) had made no public comment, so it was not known whether he intended to persist in his preference for a neo-renaissance setting for the Cathedral or bow to the overwhelming weight of opinion in favour of Sir William Holford's ideas.

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The project for New Zealand House, made public in December, was important as being the first high building proposed in the centre of the West End of London, within sight of Trafalgar Square, St. James's Park, and Pall Mall. The site was that occupied by the Carlton Hotel and Her Majesty's Theatre (though the theatre was not to be demolished until 1970) and the ground landlords were the Commissioners of Crown Lands, who were the chief objectors to the height of the building, supported by the Ministry of Works and the Royal Fine Art Commission. The New Zealand Government and their architect, Professor Robert Matthew, argued that changes were inevitable in this part of London, including an increase in building heights, and that the principle on which New Zealand House was designed—with a relatively low sub-structure, giving a street frontage only three or four storeys high, from which rose a high tower block of 12 storeys, well set back from the street—was preferable to the old principle, on which the Carlton Hotel was built, of tall street frontages surrounding a central light-well.

This was accepted by many of the critics, who nevertheless contended that a reduced total height, even if it meant getting less accommodation on the site than the maximum permitted by L.C.C. zoning regulations, was desirable so as not to throw out of balance the views along Pall Mall and from Waterloo Place and St. James's Park. At the end of the year the Commissioners of Crown Lands were still considering whether, in view of the, on the whole, favourable reception of the scheme when published, and the strong pressure on behalf of Professor Matthew's design by the New Zealand Government, they would give consent either to a slightly modified version of his original scheme which the New Zealand Government preferred, or to a new scheme, designed on the same principles but with a slimmer tower block, which he had made after the first had been criticized.

In March Eero Saarinen was pronounced the winner of the competition, held by the U.S. State Department, for a new American Embassy in Grosvenor Square, London. He had designed a symmetrical building, conforming in scale and height to the existing buildings in the square, but of uncompromising modern idiom using an unusual form of reinforced concrete construction. It was announced later that the London firm of Yorke, Rosenberg, and Mardall had been appointed associate architects.

Other events of architectural significance in Britain were the commencement of work on the new Coventry Cathedral (architect, Basil Spence), the first stained glass windows for which were exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum during the summer and autumn, the opening in London in April of the Design Centre, a permanent but changing exhibition of well designed consumer goods organized by the Council of Industrial Design, and the appointment of Dr. J. L. Martin (until October architect to the London County Council) to the new chair of architecture at Cambridge University.

Outside Britain, although greatest architectural progress was made in the U.S.A., in Western Germany, in Sweden, in Italy, and in parts of Latin America, the most remarkable single building was a chapel at

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Ronchamp, France, designed by Le Corbusier, in a romantic and highly personal style, partaking more of the nature of sculpture than architecture but clearly destined to exercise a strong influence on the work of young architects all over the world.

In August the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* met at Dubrovnik and, besides discussing the housing and town-planning questions on their programme, decided on a radical reorganization with the aim of establishing improved machinery for the international exchange of architectural ideas and experiences.

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FINANCE, TRADE, AND INDUSTRY

At the beginning of the year, according to the *Economic Survey 1956* (Cmd. 9728), the United Kingdom economy 'was still in an inflationary condition', notwithstanding the various measures of restraint taken during the previous year, notably two increases in Bank rate, the introduction of the 'credit squeeze', a supplementary Budget, and tighter terms for hire-purchase transactions. In an economy already at full stretch, an increase in fixed investment in industry had occurred and gathered speed during 1955, and a rapid rise in the rate of stock-building also took place. The *Survey* noted that a high rate of productive investment remained an important national objective; other demands on United Kingdom resources 'must be restrained'; and the aim for economic policy throughout 1956 must be the limiting of home demand.

Further disinflationary measures were taken in the early part of 1956, and these directly affected investment. On 16 February Bank rate was increased from 4½ to 5½ per cent.; other steps taken to the same end were announced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the following day and included the suspension of investment allowances (with restoration of the former initial allowances), the extension of hire-purchase control to many capital goods, and a request to the Capital Issues Committee to maintain 'a vigorously critical attitude towards all applications'; in March the limit of exemption from capital issues control was reduced from £50,000 to £10,000. Moreover, at various times during the year it was reiterated that restrictions on credit must be continued, while further restraints were put on public investment of various kinds. In order to limit personal expenditure, in February the regulations governing hire-purchase transactions were stiffened and control was introduced in respect of some hiring arrangements. At the same time the milk and bread subsidies were reduced, the last-named being abolished completely in September; in this month also control of hiring was extended to motor vehicles.

Less direct methods to check demand were also pursued. The Budget provided a number of measures to stimulate savings, comprising improved terms for National Savings Certificates and Defence Bonds, the exemption from income tax of the first £15 each year of savings bank interest, and the introduction, on 1 November, of 'premium savings bonds'. Meanwhile in March a White Paper on *The Economic Implications of Full Employment* (Cmd. 9725) was published. The White Paper, after giving an account of recent changes in prices and the distribution of income, called for 'self-restraint in making wage claims and fixing profit margins and prices, so that total money income rises no faster than total output'. Moreover, during the year a number of talks on the economic situation were held between members of the Government and representatives of the trade unions, employers, and the nationalized industries. The Prime Minister said in June that one

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of the objects of the talks was to emphasize the need to keep down prices, and nationalized industries and various private undertakings announced, with qualifications, price stabilization policies to maintain a 'price plateau'.

Until the autumn, when developments in the Middle East gave rise to uncertainty and dislocation, economic affairs generally were moving towards a better balance, though a check to the growth of industrial production was apparent, largely attributable to a sharp fall in activity in the motor industry. The upward trend in industrial investment seems to have persisted, although at a somewhat slower rate than hitherto, but consumer expenditure, after allowing for price movements, was probably about the same as in 1955. Changing conditions were reflected in a slight increase in the total numbers unemployed, while arrangements for short-time working were extended—particularly in the motor manufacturing industry—and overtime working was reduced: even so, the number of unfilled vacancies continued to exceed the number of unemployed until December. During the four months to April the general level of retail prices of goods and services, as officially computed, rose by nearly 3 per cent., but from then until December the index was steady.

In these conditions Britain's overseas trading position improved, and the balance of payments for the first six months of the year showed a substantial surplus. The reserves of gold and dollars were recovering, though rather slowly, and the rates of exchange for sterling against the dollar were running well above the minimum support figures. These signs of lessened inflationary pressure led to expectations of greater stability, but in the second half of the year the position was disturbed by political developments in the Middle East. The uncertainties following the nationalization by Egypt of the Suez Canal Company became widespread with the advance of Israeli forces into Egypt and the intervention of Britain and France. An early consequence was that pressure on the exchange value of the pound in financial centres abroad became severe and prolonged, even after the seasonal drain had ended, so that the exchange rate had to be supported by official action. By contrast with the experience of the first seven months of the year, during which the reserves rose by £102 million, from August onwards the Exchange Equalization Account's holdings of gold and dollars declined continuously, after allowing for a special capital receipt in September. In November the outflow was particularly severe, but the losses, according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a statement to the House of Commons early in December, had 'arisen primarily from the international situation', and 'should not be permanent'; the immediate problem which faced the United Kingdom, he said, was 'short-term pressure on the pound rather than long-term defects in our trading position'. In order to reinforce swiftly the reserves and so strengthen the position of sterling, the facilities of the International Monetary Fund were called upon, an application was made for a waiver of the interest payments due at the end of the year on the United States and Canadian post-war lines of credit, and a readiness was expressed to use the Treasury's holding of

United States securities to the value of $750 million to $1,000 million as security for a dollar loan. By the end of the year $561½ million had been purchased from the I.M.F. and added to the reserves, and a stand-by credit for the next twelve months of a further $738½ million arranged. A loan from the Export-Import Bank was also negotiated, amounting to $500 million, to be available during the ensuing 12 months.

In other ways, too, the adverse effects of developments in the Middle East were evident. Dislocation and strain in some branches of industry and trade were becoming noticeable by the end of the year, especially following upon the reduction in available supplies of oil, accompanied by the reintroduction of the rationing of petrol, with the higher price resulting from additional tax and increased costs. Output of some branches of industry such as motor manufacturing, which had already experienced slackness, was further cut back, and the official index of industrial production for the last three months of the year was lower than in the same period of 1955.

The closing of the Suez Canal resulted first in a decline in imports rather than a reduction in exports, so bringing an improvement in the visible trade balance. But import prices tended to rise and for a time the terms of trade moved less favourably. To deal with home conditions the Government immediately reiterated the importance of maintaining the existing credit restrictions of various kinds, plainly having in mind the possibility of a further inflationary development, and it was indicated that a rise in income tax might be unavoidable when the next Budget was introduced. Nevertheless uncertainties were widespread, and some people took the view that the economy might be confronted with recession rather than further inflation. Indeed before the end of December the Government announced a relaxation of the restraints on hire-purchase transactions relating to sales of motor vehicles, in order to assist an industry that had been so greatly disturbed by general developments.

Central and Local Government Finance. The financial year 1955-56 ended with an above-the-line surplus of £397 million, as compared with the estimate—including supplementary estimates presented during the year—of £69 million. Expenditure was less than had been estimated, and revenue higher, but as net payments below the line were £538 million, the overall deficit was £141 million. The Budget estimate for 1956-57, after the proposed changes in taxation, provided for a surplus above the line of £460 million, and net payments below the line of £803 million, of which £350 million was to be in respect of loans to various nationalized industries not previously financed in this way. Later in the year the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced economies in Government expenditure estimated to amount in aggregate to £93 million, including some previously provided for in the Budget statement. A summary of the principal figures, as given in the *Financial Statement, 1956-57* (HCP 246), appears in the table on p. 406, with the estimates for the following year and the out-turn for the first nine months of 1955-56 and 1956-57.

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GOVERNMENT FINANCE

(£ million)

	1955–6	Budget Estimate 1956–57	April–December 1955	April–December 1956
Ordinary revenue (excluding self-balancing items)—				
Income tax	1,943	2,086	720	801
Surtax	139	144	48	53
Death duties	176	170	132	121
Stamp duties	71	59	54	46
Profits tax and excess profits tax	193	217	151	149
Excess profits levy	18	4	16	4
Special contribution and other inland revenue duties	1	1	—	—
Customs	1,149	1,204	878	909
Excise	865	953	629	675
Motor vehicle duties	87	92	24	26
Total tax revenue	4,640	4,930	2,653	2,785
Other revenue	254	268	189	184
Total	4,893	5,198	2,842	2,969
Self-balancing items—				
Post Office	265	287	196	222
Post-war refunds, excess profits tax (part deducted for tax)	2	2	2	1
Total	267	289	198	222
Ordinary expenditure (excluding self-balancing items)—				
Debt charge, etc.	744	778	577	646
Supply—				
Defence	1,405	1,499	2,637	2,908
Civil, etc.	2,347	2,461		
Total	4,496	4,738	3,213	3,553
Net 'below-the-line' payments—				
E.P.T. post-war refunds	3	2	2	1
Post-war credits	17	18	13	13
War damage	27	24	20	18
Housing	—	8	Cr. 2	Cr. 3
Local authorities	297	176	263	51
Town and country planning and new towns	74	57	56	28
Coal	78	63	69	26
Cotton	Cr. 15	Cr. 1	Cr. 12	Cr. 1
Overseas resources development	8	9	8	4
Export guarantees	—	5	—	2
Post Office capital expenditure	69	75	47	53
Iron and Steel	Cr. 25	—	Cr. 25	—
Other nationalized industries	—	350	—	154
All other	5	17	Cr. 2	Cr. 4
Total	538	803	437	342
Overall surplus (+) or deficit (–)	–141	–343	–808	–926

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Changes in taxation proposed in the Budget and embodied in the Finance Act were as follows: an increase of 3*s.* per pound on the tobacco duty; a rise in rates of undistributed and distributed profits tax to 3 and 30 per cent. respectively; income tax relief, within limits, in respect of provisions for retirement paid out under approved policies by self-employed persons and employed persons not covered by employers' schemes; exemption from income tax (but not sur-tax) of the first £15 each year of savings bank interest; a reduction in various rates of stamp duty on conveyances of property other than stocks and other marketable securities. These and other proposals were estimated to result in a net addition to revenue of £7½ million in 1956-57. The Finance Act also embodied the suspension of investment allowances (with restoration of the former initial allowances) that had been announced in February. Other measures taking effect during the year were the abolition of the bread subsidy, the reduction of the milk subsidy, and an increase in the family allowance payment for the third and subsequent children from 8*s.* to 10*s.* a week.

The Chancellor said that his main Budget proposals might 'all be summarized by the word "Savings"'. Accordingly he announced measures designed to put 'a new cutting edge on the old tools' and to introduce a novel one. A new issue of Defence Bonds was put on sale from 1 May, bearing interest at the rate of 4½ per cent., as compared with 4 per cent. on the previous issue. The bonds maturing in ten years would be repaid at the rate of £105 for each £100 of bonds; if encashed five years after purchase but before ten years have passed the bonus would be £2 per cent. An individual might hold up to £1,000 of this issue in addition to any holdings he might have of earlier issues. A new issue—the tenth—of National Savings Certificates was put on sale from 1 August. The certificate cost 15*s.* and would rise in value to 20*s.* in seven years. The annual compound yield, if held to maturity, would be £4 3*s.* 11*d.* per cent. tax free, compared with £3 0*s.* 11*d.* on the previous issue. The limit on an individual holding was 600 units, in addition to any holdings of previous issues.

A new medium for savings—the Premium Savings Bond—was put on sale from 1 November. The bonds had no maturity date, but could be cashed at any time; they were in units of £1, and the limit on individual holdings was 500 units. The holder received no interest; in place thereof, the Government paid sums, at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum on the bonds outstanding, into a pool, and this money was to be paid out periodically in prizes to bond-holders who were successful in a monthly draw. The prizes, which were tax free, were to range from £25 to £1,000. The announcement of these bonds aroused controversy, but sales amounted to £46·5 million in November, the first month, and reached a total of over £51 million by the end of December.

The introduction of petrol rationing in December, following the shortage arising from events in the Middle East, involved a loss to the revenue estimated at £6 million a month. Accordingly the duty on petrol and other light hydro-carbon oils and on diesel fuel oil was increased early in December by 1*s.* to 3*s* 6*d.* a gallon. This was

estimated to bring to the revenue about £30 million during the remaining four months of the financial year. It was stressed that this increase was intended to be temporary, and the legislation by which it was authorized provided for the reduction of the duty to the former level not later than one month after the ending of petrol rationing.

In March an issue was made of £300 million of 5 per cent. Exchequer Stock 1957 at par, and this was followed in April by an issue of £250 million of 3½ per cent. Treasury Stock 1979-81 at 81. In July an offer was made to holders of 2½ per cent. National War Bonds 1954-56—of which about £824 million was outstanding—to convert into an equal nominal amount of 4½ per cent. Conversion Stock 1962 plus a cash payment of 30*s*. for each £100 nominal of bonds tendered. Holders of roughly £657 million of the maturing bonds accepted the offer.

In June the Exchange Equalization Account reduced its holdings of sterling by returning £300 million to the Exchequer. At the same time it was announced that transfers to and from the Account would thereafter take place in smaller amounts and at more frequent intervals than previously. Two further repayments of £50 million each were made in October and November.

The nominal amount of National Debt rose by £105 million during the year to 31 March 1956 and, with the higher level of interest rates, service costs were increased substantially, as shown in the following table:

NATIONAL DEBT

(£ million)

	Floating	Unfunded	Funded	External	Total	Interest and management
31 March						
1954	4,819	15,791	3,858	2,115	26,583	667
1955	5,247	15,717	3,840	2,130	26,934	674
1956	5,083	16,061	3,820	2,075	27,039	757

Throughout 1956 the calls on the Exchequer were reduced because of the decision of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in October 1955 (see A.R. 1955, p. 428) to require local authorities to meet their financial needs, as far as possible, by borrowing 'on their own credit, either in the stock market or in the mortgage market'. In the nine months to December 1956 issues from the Exchequer for this purpose amounted to only £51 million net, compared with £263 million net in the corresponding period of the previous year. No figures are available of sums raised by local authorities by mortgages, but the amount raised by issues of stock on the market was £54 million in 1956, against £9 million in 1955. In March 1956 the Treasury informed local authorities that all unexercised parts of loan approvals given by the Public Works Loan Board before the end of 1954 should be regarded as cancelled. A new Public Works Loan Act authorized the provision of further funds to the Board, but reduced sharply the permitted limit of the Board's outstanding commitments. For those local authorities

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which were allowed to borrow from the Local Loans Fund, the rates of interest charged were altered four times during the year, those for loans of up to five years rising from 4½ to 5¼ per cent. per annum, and those for loans of more than five years from 5 to 5¾ per cent.

It was announced in the Budget speech that the capital needs of seven nationalized undertakings—notably the Central Electricity Authority, the Gas Council, and the British Transport Commission—which had previously raised funds by periodic issues of Government-guaranteed stock would be met from the Exchequer during the next two financial years, with advances limited to an aggregate of £700 million. The first such advances were made in August, and the total amounted to £154·5 million by the end of December. Later in the year the Government introduced legislation to permit it to make loans to the British Transport Commission to cover the annual deficits incurred by British Railways in the years to 1962, up to a total of £250 million.

International Financial Position. The White Paper on the United Kingdom's balance of payments for the first half of 1956 (Cmd. 9871) showed a surplus on current account of £144 million including £9 million of defence aid (see table p. 410), as compared with the revised figures showing a surplus of £18 million for the corresponding period of 1955 (including £33 million of defence aid) and a deficit of £89 million for the whole of 1955 (defence aid, £44 million). The recovery in the current balance of payments was attributed to the moderation of the pressure in the home economy. Overseas sterling holdings—formerly known as U.K. sterling liabilities but now renamed and redefined—fell by £19 million to £4,022 million during the first half of the year, while the central gold and dollar reserves rose by £95 million to £852 million. Other identified capital movements showed a net outflow of about £100 million, the main component of which was 'very roughly £50 million' in net long-term investment.

During the second half of the year sterling came under considerable pressure, at first largely seasonal in nature, but later mainly because of lack of confidence in sterling following the events in the Middle East. Official support was needed to maintain rates for sterling and the decline in the central reserves during November amounted to $279 million, or by about one-eighth. Early in the following month the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced various measures to fortify the reserves and to secure the position of sterling. As a first step an immediate drawing of $561½ million was made from the International Monetary Fund and added to the reserves, and a further stand-by credit of $738½ million was announced. Secondly, application was made for a waiver of the interest payments due at the end of the year on the United States and Canadian lines of credit. Thirdly, the Chancellor stated that he was prepared to use the Government's holding of United States dollar securities—to the value of between $750 million and $1,000 million—to reinforce the reserves, and a line of credit, with these holdings as security, was proposed from the United States Export-Import Bank for $500 million, to be available for the

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year ahead. At the end of the year the reserves stood at $2,133 million (or £762 million), as compared with $2,120 million (£757 million) a year before (see table p. 412). Besides the purchase of $561½ million from the I.M.F. against sterling in December $177 million had been added to the reserves in September as a result of the sale of the Trinidad Oil Company to the Texas Company, a United States undertaking. Pending a decision by the United States and Canadian Governments on the request for a waiver, $104 million in respect of loan interest was placed to a separate account.

UNITED KINGDOM BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

(£ million)

	1953	1954	1955 Jan.–June	1955 July–Dec.	1956 Jan.–June
CURRENT ACCOUNT					
Debits					
Imports (f.o.b.)	2,887	3,012	1,696	1,735	1,732
Shipping	242	254	155	183	189
Interest, profits, and dividends	212	234	114	157	124
Travel	89	101	45	77	48
Migrants' funds, legacies, private gifts (net)	4	8	7	11	1
Government transactions:					
Military	144	152	80	78	92
Colonial grants	24	29	13	19	14
Relief and other grants	21	20	12	9	11
Administrative, diplomatic, etc.	29	27	16	15	18
Total Government	218	228	121	121	135
Total debits	3,652	3,837	2,138	2,284	2,229
Credits					
Exports and re-exports (f.o.b.)	2,670	2,817	1,527	1,538	1,695
Shipping	376	403	229	231	253
Interest, profits, and dividends	285	307	158	179	169
Travel	88	95	50	61	54
Government	60	54	36	25	45
Other credits (net)	257	321	123	132	148
Total credits	3,736	3,997	2,123	2,166	2,364
Defence aid (grant less U.S. share of counterpart)	102	50	33	11	9
Balance of current transactions (credit +, debit −)	+186	+210	+ 18	−107	+144
INVESTMENT AND FINANCING ACCOUNT					
Overseas investment, borrowing, etc. (investment by U.K. −)	−173	−217	− 9	+ 2	− 26
Overseas sterling holdings, etc. (increase +)	+227	+ 94	− 38	− 95	− 23
Gold and dollar reserves (drawings +)	−240	− 87	+ 29	+200	− 95
Total of investment and financing	−186	−210	− 18	+107	−144
O'SEAS STERLING HOLDINGS (at end of period)	4,000	4,175	4,166	4,041	4,022

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It was emphasized by the Government that Britain's underlying trading position was sound and that, despite the setback in the closing months of the year, the balance of payments would be in equilibrium in the year to mid-1957. During 1956 the adverse balance on account of visible trade had been reduced, and with the index for export prices tending to run somewhat above that for import prices, the terms of trade moved favourably for Britain until the last quarter of the year. These developments are set out in the chart on page 413, giving comparisons with previous years.

REGIONAL ANALYSIS OF UNITED KINGDOM BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

(£ million)

United Kingdom balance of payments with:	Dollar area	Other Western hemisphere	O.E.E.C. countries *	Sterling area	Other countries †	Total
1955‡						
Imports (f.o.b.)	738	124	880	1,403	286	3,431
Exports and re-exports (f.o.b.)	490	56	827	1,406	280	3,065
Invisibles (net)	− 3	+ 68	+ 2	+216	− 50	+233
Defence aid (net)	+44	—	—	—	—	+ 44
Balance of current transactions (credit +, debit −)	−207	—	− 51	+219	− 50	− 89
Inter-area transfers	− 26	− 5	+128	−142	+ 45	—
Overseas investment (−), borrowing (+), etc.	+ 43	+ 4	− 48	− 32	+ 26	− 7
Overseas sterling holdings, etc. (increase +)	− 39	+ 1	− 29	− 45	− 21	−133
Gold and dollar reserves (drawings +)	+229	—	—	—	—	+229
Total of investment and financing	+207	—	+ 51	−219	+ 50	+ 89
1956						
January-June (provisional)						
Imports (f.o.b.)	354	65	439	710	144	1,732
Exports and re-exports (f.o.b.)	305	29	454	737	170	1,695
Invisibles (net)	+101	+ 36	− 33	+ 86	− 18	+ 172
Defence aid (net)	+ 9	—	—	—	—	+ 9
Balance of current transactions (credit +, debit −)	+ 61	—	− 38	+113	+ 8	+144
Inter-area transfers	+ 57	− 10	+ 60	−104	− 3	—
Overseas investment (−), borrowing (+), etc.	− 3	− 6	− 27	− 31	+ 41	− 26
Overseas sterling holdings, etc. (increase +)	− 20	+ 16	+ 5	+ 22	− 46	− 23
Gold and dollar reserves (drawings +)	− 95	—	—	—	—	− 95
Total of investment and financing	− 61	—	+ 38	−113	− 8	−144

* Excludes sterling area members, Iceland and the Irish Republic.
† Includes non-territorial organizations.
‡ A half-yearly analysis is contained in Cmd. 9671.

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In only two months of the year—April and May—were surpluses recorded in respect of transactions with the other member countries of the European Payments Union. In July the Council of O.E.E.C. approved the prolongation of the Union until June 1957. Under arrangements then made for the bilateral settlements of debts, Britain agreed to repay $20 million each to Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland over the ensuing five years. The United Kingdom's subscription of $14½ million to the International Finance Corporation, an offshoot of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, was paid in August. Negotiations took place in December between a British Treasury delegation and representatives of the West German Finance Ministry in Bonn on measures to accelerate repayment of German post-war debts to the United Kingdom. In March the United Kingdom agreed to extend by five years, that is until 1967, the period for repayment of the outstanding balance of £16½ million of loans made to Yugoslavia in the period 1949-51, and to reduce the rate of interest payable thereon to 3 per cent.

Under an agreement concluded in April for the construction of a steel works in India at a cost of £80 million, £25½ million of the £52 million non-Indian currency needed was to be provided

STERLING AREA GOLD AND DOLLAR ACCOUNTS

(U.S. $ million)

	Surplus (+) or Loss (−) during period				Reserves at end of period
	U.S. defence aid	Gold payments* to or from E.P.U.	Other items	Total	
1955					
December	+ 5	− 9	− 159	− 163	2,120
1956					
January	+ 6	− 25	+ 48	+ 29	2,149
February	+ 6	− 10	+ 65	+ 61	2,210
March	+ 5	− 18	+ 80	+ 67	2,277
April	+ 4	− 2	+ 49	+ 51	2,328
May	+ 3	+ 27	+ 11	+ 41	2,369
June	+ 2	+ 14	—	+ 16	2,385
July	+ 16	− 28	+ 32	+ 20	2,405
August	+ 4	− 54	− 79†	− 129	2,276
September	+ 3	− 37	+ 86‡	+ 52	2,328
October	+ 7	− 28	− 63	− 84	2,244
November	+ 4	− 30	− 253	− 279	1,965
December	+ 6	− 52	+ 214§	+ 168	2,133

* Payments relating to transactions during the previous month.

† Including United Kingdom subscription of $14½ million to International Finance Corporation.

‡ After receiving $177 million, proceeds of sale of Trinidad Oil Co.

§ Including annual payments in respect of the U.S. and Canadian lines of credit negotiated in 1945, Lend-Lease, and E.R.P., and quarterly instalments on the Canadian loan of 1942, amounting in aggregate to $188 million in December 1955 and $85 million in December 1956 for repayment of principal and other items (plus $104 million withdrawn from reserves representing interest due but held in suspense pending result of claims for waiver). Also includes drawings from the International Monetary Fund of $561½ million.

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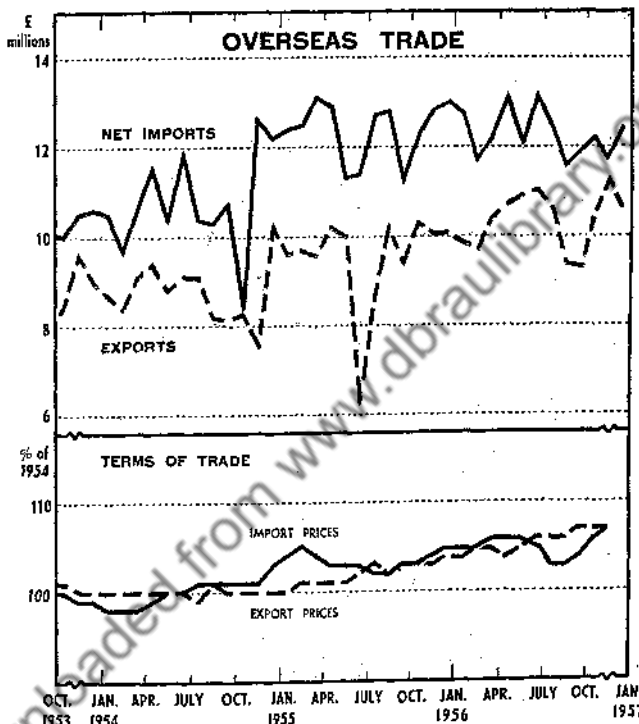
from sterling balances held by the Indian Government, and £15 million by inter-governmental credit under the Export Guarantees Act, 1949.

Under a financial arrangement signed with Hungary in June, provision was made for the payment to the United Kingdom of a total amount of £4½ million, by annual instalments beginning in March 1957, in settlement of United Kingdom claims arising out of the peace treaty with Hungary, of pre-war commercial debts, and from the nationalization of British property. The sum included nearly £½ million to be



Figures of 'net imports' (i.e. imports minus re-exports) and of exports of United Kingdom products are working-day averages. The 'Terms of Trade' curves are official monthly index numbers of prices of representative imports and exports, recalculated for the earlier years in order to provide a more or less continuous series.

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paid to United Kingdom short-term creditors and to holders of Hungarian Treasury bills.

Two Orders in Council were made in late April to enable the Foreign Compensation Commission, a semi-judicial body established by legislation in 1950, to deal with applications for funds to be paid under agreement with the Government of Poland. The funds related to compensation for British interests affected by Polish measures of expropriation, as well as to compensation for debts due to the United Kingdom and British nationals, and for other pre-war banking and commercial debts.

Agreement was reached in May between Argentina and nine European countries, including the United Kingdom, for a system of multilateral trade and payments and for the settlement of Argentina's debts, which came into effect on 2 July. Meanwhile arrangements were made to continue those parts of the trade and payments agreement of 1955 between the United Kingdom and Argentina expiring at the end of June that had not been covered by the new multilateral arrangements, and official talks were held about repayment of Argentina's debts to the United Kingdom. Agreements made in October with Czechoslovakia provided for a partial resumption of the service on Czechoslovak sterling debts.

The 1953 agreement made between the United Kingdom and India concerning the rate of release of India's sterling balances is to be allowed to lapse at the expiry date at the end of June 1957.

The Bank of Brazil made further releases of sterling during the year in settlement of arrears of Brazil's commercial debts to United Kingdom creditors. By the end of the year settlement of debts contracted up to 30 October 1952 had been authorized.

Money and Banking. The first Order to be made under the Currency and Bank Notes Act 1954 came into effect in March, and it extended by two years the period during which the fiduciary issue could stand at amounts continuously exceeding £1,575 million without requiring specific Parliamentary approval. The amount of the fiduciary note issue reached £2,025 million at the end of December, £125 million more than a year earlier, while the estimated total of notes and coin in circulation rose by £107 million. It was announced by the Bank of England in July that a £5 note of a new design and smaller size was in course of production and would be issued early in 1957, when production of the present £5 note would be discontinued.

Deposits of the clearing banks were appreciably lower than at the corresponding date a year before in every month except October and December, and advances also showed a reduction. The first advances to nationalized industries from the Exchequer, in accordance with the new financing arrangements announced in the Budget, were made in August. From that month onwards the Treasury published the total of bank advances to seven nationalized undertakings, the aggregate for all banks on 31 December being £118·7 million as compared with £100·8 million six months previously. A decline of £75 million in August in holdings of investments was associated with the maturity in that month of 2½ per cent. National War Bonds, 1954-56, not all the holders of which elected to exchange into a new 4½ per cent. Conversion Stock, 1962. Throughout the year holdings of liquid assets represented a higher proportion of deposits than 12 months previously; by 31 December the liquidity ratio for the banks as a whole had reached 37·6 per cent. During the year amounts lodged on current account represented about 63·5 per cent. of the total deposits. Movements in deposits and the main assets of the London Clearing Banks in 1956 are shown in the table on page 415.

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Bank rate was raised from 4½ to 5½ per cent. on 16 February, and on various occasions during the year it was reiterated, on behalf of the Government, that the restraints on credit, including bank advances, were to be continued. On 24 July the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Economic Secretary to the Treasury held a meeting with the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England and representatives of the clearing banks and other financial organizations. According to a statement issued after the meeting, the Chancellor had asked that the contraction of credit should be resolutely pursued and that there should be no relaxation in the present critical attitude towards applications for bank finance. The representatives of the banks 'took note of the Chancellor's statement and undertook to meet the Chancellor's wishes and the national needs'. Early in December, describing measures to deal with the drain on the gold and dollar reserves, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the control over bank and other forms of credit 'must be firmly maintained, and, if need be, strengthened'. At the annual banquet given by the Lord Mayor of London to bankers and merchants on 9 October, the Governor of the Bank of England referred to the disadvantages of an enforced and movable liquidity ratio for the banks. Early in the year the Chancellor had rejected the suggestion, preferring to continue the system whereby the ratio was determined 'on a voluntary basis by honourable understanding rather than by legal regulation'. In October the Chancellor rejected a proposal to reintroduce Treasury Deposit Receipts.

MONETARY AND BANKING POSITION

(£ million)

	Estimated currency with the public (excluding banks)	London clearing banks					
		Deposits	Short money	Bills		Investments	Advances
				Treasury	Commercial		
1954 average	1,551	6,495	457	1,119	87	2,321	1,804
1955 average	1,657	6,454	439	1,016	114	2,149	2,019
1956 average	1,765	6,288	431	1,156	114	1,978	1,897
1955 December	1,732	6,612	506	1,271	129	2,016	1,851
% of deposits			*7·7*	*19·2*	*2·0*	*30·5*	*28·0*
1956 January	1,677	6,463	451	1,318	136	2,016	1,826
February	1,697	6,164	433	1,038	134	2,007	1,865
March	1,729	6,086	427	946	123	1,993	1,905
April	1,740	6,112	422	1,018	108	1,987	1,909
May	1,757	6,152	416	1,026	105	1,990	1,910
June	1,773	6,283	447	1,031	114	1,963	1,975
July	1,811	6,238	427	1,097	113	1,993	1,930
August	1,816	6,298	409	1,216	94	1,918	1,930
September	1,780	6,270	414	1,292	103	1,947	1,860
October	1,785	6,376	409	1,346	100	1,967	1,862
November	1,784	6,355	406	1,275	101	1,975	1,882
December	1,839	6,656	505	1,275	140	1,980	1,913
% of deposits			*7·6*	*19·2*	*2·1*	*29·8*	*28·7*

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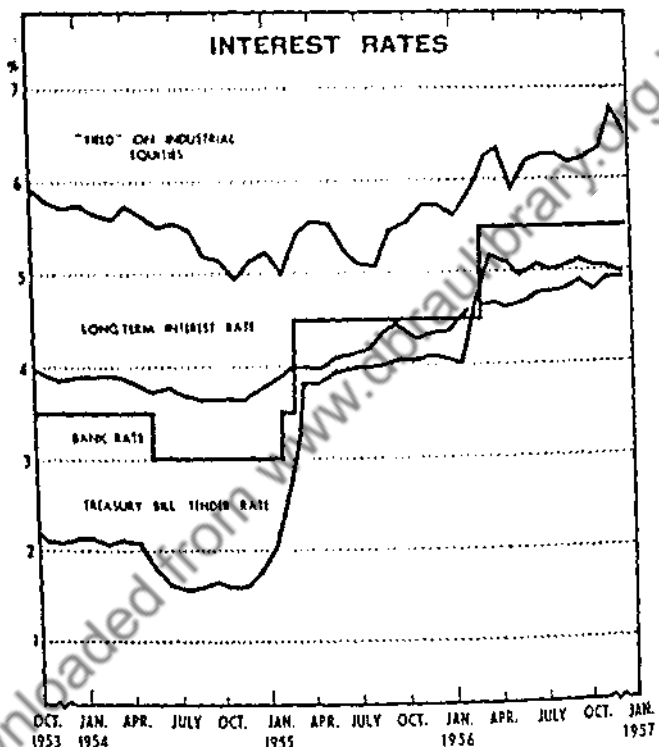
The increase in Bank rate in February was quickly followed by rises in other rates; the maximum rate of interest allowed by the clearing banks on deposits at seven days' notice was raised to 3½ per cent. and the minimum rate for regular loans to the discount market was increased, also by 1 per cent., to 3¾ per cent. Other rates to be raised at various times during the year included those charged by the Public Works Loan Board (see p. 409), that on new loans advanced by the Agricultural Mortgage Corporation, and that allowed on tax



'Yield' on industrial equities as computed by the Institute of Actuaries (second series). The 'long-term interest rate' is the yield on Consols, based on monthly average prices. The 'Treasury bill tender rate' is the monthly average of the results of the weekly tenders for three-months bills.

reserve certificates. The Building Societies Association announced that the increase in Bank rate would have no immediate effect on the rates paid or charged by building societies, although mortgage rates to new borrowers were shortly to be raised by some societies. In May, however, the Association recommended to members that the minimum rate of interest charged on all loans to new borrowers should be 5½ per cent., and three months later that rates of interest paid on shares should be raised from 3 to 3½ per cent. and on deposits from 2½ to 3 per cent.: it was suggested at the same time that the minimum rate charged on new mortgages should be raised from 5½ to 6 per cent.

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As may be seen from the chart on page 416, interest rates were not only higher during 1956, but also they were closer together and relationships between them changed, the rate for three months' Treasury bills moving above the yield on Consols.

On the Stock Exchange prices of medium- and long-term Government securities continued to fall, and towards the end of November some reached the lowest levels ever recorded, but a slight recovery took place by the end of the year. The yield on 2½ per cent. Consols was 4·9 per cent. in December as compared with 4·4 per cent. a year earlier. Yields on short-term Government securities, exemplified by 2 per cent. Exchequer Stock, 1960, showed only minor movements during the year, and were in fact higher in December than 12 months before. The trend of prices of industrial shares generally was downward, and according to the Actuaries' Investment Index the average yield at the end of December was 6·48 per cent. as compared with 5·64 per cent. a year earlier; yields on industrial debentures rose from 5·36 to 5·85, and on preference shares from 5·61 to 6·18 per cent.

STOCK EXCHANGE AND CAPITAL MARKET

	Industrial security price indices.* (Actuaries' Investment Index) (29 December 1950=100)		New money raised by capital issues (Midland Bank figures) (£ million)		
	Preference shares	Ordinary shares	For use at home	For use overseas	Total
1954	93·9	135·8	410	61	471
1955	86·3	154·7	525	42	567
1956 First quarter	77·9	141·8	79	6	85
Second quarter	77·6	147·2	52	14	66
Third quarter	75·1	146·0	27	10	37
Fourth quarter	74·7	139·2	107	1	108
Whole year	76.3	143·5	265	31	296

* Calculated from the prices on the last Tuesday of each month.

The total of new money raised by issues of marketable securities other than British Government stocks was £296 million as compared with over £567 million in 1955. Because of the new arrangements introduced in 1956 whereby capital expenditure of the nationalized industries was henceforth to be met directly from the Exchequer, no new money was raised by these undertakings during the year; in 1955 £297 million was raised by public boards. The amount raised by 23 local authorities in 1956 was £54 million, as against £9 million by two authorities in 1955.

Issues were made in London by the Governments of New Zealand, Kenya, British Guiana, and by the East Africa High Commission, but the total for Commonwealth and Empire countries, at £31½ million, was the lowest since 1947.

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The London Stock Exchange Quotations Committee stated early in the year that it had decided to recommend the inclusion of the words 'non-voting' in the title of all future issues of non-voting ordinary shares. In an address at Lincoln in March Sir John Braithwaite, chairman of the London Stock Exchange, urged that Britain should aim to have at least five million individual shareholders instead of the present number of, at most, two million individual investors and part-owners in British industry.

Under the Control of Borrowing (Amendment) Order, 1956, which came into force on 14 March, the limit of exemption from capital issues control was reduced from £50,000 to £10,000. At the same time the Chancellor of the Exchequer asked financial institutions to examine with special care transactions involving the purchase of freehold properties and their subsequent lease to the vendors, as, in the official view, such deals tended to weaken the effectiveness of the restrictions on finance for capital expenditure. On 1 August, an Order was made requiring Treasury consent for the issue of securities in consideration for transfers of property: some exceptions were provided. The purpose was to control such transactions where the new securities were to be sold for cash to raise fresh funds. On the same day the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that he had written to the chairman of the Capital Issues Committee stating that the Treasury was 'ready in principle to consent to proposals to raise money exclusively for investment in Northern Ireland'.

The Committee on Cheque Endorsement, in its report published in November, expressed the view that a substantial saving of unproductive work would be achieved, and the present system would be appropriately adapted to modern conditions and needs, 'if it were arranged that endorsement was no longer necessary on a cheque being collected by a bank on behalf of a customer who was the payee'. A change of the law to make this possible was recommended by the Committee, and towards the end of the month leave was granted by the House of Commons for the introduction of a private member's Bill on these lines.

A marked increase in 'national savings' was recorded in 1956, attributable in part at least to the new inducements announced in the Budget speech (see p. 407). It was estimated that at the end of the year £6,181 million remained invested, as compared with £6,092 million a year earlier. Outstanding balances of depositors in the Trustee Savings Banks rose by £43·7 million, more than accounted for by an increase in the total of 'special investment department' accounts; and principal and estimated accrued interest remaining invested in National Savings Certificates increased by £38·5 million. Balances outstanding of depositors in the Post Office Savings Bank and investment in Defence Bonds were lower.

In February, holders of 2½ per cent. Defence Bonds maturing between 1 May and 30 September 1956 were offered conversion into 4 per cent. conversion issue bonds, and later into 4½ per cent. bonds. Subsequently, holders of Bonds maturing between 1 October 1956 and 30 September 1957 were offered conversion into 4½ per cent. Defence

Bonds (Conversion Issue). The limit of £1,000 on individual deposits in the special investment departments of the Trustee Savings Banks was raised to £2,000, with effect from June: interest on such deposits does not qualify for relief from income tax now available in respect of other savings bank deposits.

Exchange Control. Exchange control procedures were simplified in February and again in October, principally by dispensing with the need for forms to be completed in respect of transactions below stated figures; such transactions, however, were still required to be in compliance with the exchange control regulations.

Two statutory instruments issued by the United Kingdom in July applied on the one hand the full system of exchange control to cash, securities, and gold held in the United Kingdom in the name of the Suez Canal Company, and on the other made all transfers to and from the accounts of residents in Egypt subject to Treasury control. Later, some modifications of the general ban on transfers to and from Egyptian accounts were made. The Sterling Releases Agreement of 1951 with Egypt, as revised in 1955, was not affected by the Orders.

The Treasury announced in August that arrangements satisfactory to the British Government had been made regarding the proposed purchase of the Trinidad Oil Company by a United States undertaking, the Texas Oil Company, subject to two specific conditions and six undertakings set out in a White Paper (Cmd. 9790), and the purchase was completed in the following month. The Chancellor of the Exchequer explained that the dollars arising from the sale—$177 million—would 'accrue to the gold and dollar reserves, where they will be available for any purpose for which dollars may properly be acquired under current policies'. The increase would permit the approval of 'projects which otherwise it might have been difficult to agree to'. It was reported in September that an application to the United Kingdom Treasury for permission for the sale of the Trinidad Petroleum Development Company to the Colorado Oil and Gas Corporation, an American undertaking, did not comply with the British exchange control regulations as currently applied, since the proposals would entail the acquisition by a foreign company of the controlling interest in a British company operating in the sterling area by offering shares as opposed to cash.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that the Government's sales of dollar securities on the London market in the 12 months to 22 November amounted to £12 million net.

Overseas Trade. As may be seen from the graph on page 413 and the table on page 420, the value of exports in 1956 were higher than in 1955, rising by over 9 per cent. That of imports showed little change on the yearly comparison. The monthly average excess of imports over exports was £48 million as compared with £72 million in 1955. During the last quarter of the year the pattern of imports was affected by the rerouting of shipping round the Cape of Good Hope to avoid the Suez

Canal, but the flow of exports was maintained. Following the dock strike at the beginning of 1955 the volume of exports in 1956 rose by about 5·7 per cent., but imports fell by about 0·6 per cent., as compared with the previous year. Imports of most of the main commodity groups, including oil, were higher by value than in 1955, and trade with all the

OVERSEAS TRADE

(£ million)

	1954	1955	1956				
			1st quarter	2nd quarter	3rd quarter	4th quarter	Whole year
IMPORTS (c.i.f.):							
Food, beverages, and tobacco	1,326	1,441	369	367	333	382	1,451
of which:							
Meat and meat preparations	256	295	79	66	75	73	294
Cereals and cereal preparations	176	222	53	63	59	59	232
Dairy produce, eggs, and honey	160	156	55	41	33	42	169
Fruit and vegetables	201	218	57	78	51	50	237
Coffee, cocoa, tea, and spices	217	201	42	43	35	47	166
Basic materials	1,025	1,124	266	279	288	270	1,103
of which:							
Textile materials	358	327	86	87	67	86	326
Wood and cork	155	193	27	33	57	44	160
Metalliferous ores and scrap	137	163	39	45	53	46	182
Mineral fuels and lubricants	320	408	107	107	106	93	414
of which:							
Petroleum and petroleum products	312	334	93	95	96	87	370
Manufactured goods	680	897	238	235	207	226	906
of which:							
Chemicals	102	112	29	28	25	25	107
Metals	212	343	95	92	76	81	343
Miscellaneous*	14	15	4	3	3	4	14
Total Imports	3,374	3,884	985	992	937	976	3,889
Index number of volume of total imports (1954 = 100)	*100*	*111*	*113*	*113*	*107*	*109*	*111*
EXPORTS OF U.K. PRODUCE (f.o.b.):							
Food, beverages, and tobacco	158	172	42	43	43	55	183
Basic materials	101	111	30	29	25	31	116
Mineral fuels and lubricants	152	141	39	39	39	45	162
Manufactured goods	2,172	2,388	639	686	614	681	2,620
of which:							
Chemicals	204	233	60	62	58	65	245
Textiles (excluding clothing)	325	311	76	73	70	77	295
Metals	339	396	107	112	102	120	442
Engineering products	1,004	1,109	309	344	290	318	1,261
Miscellaneous*	91	93	25	20	20	27	91
Total Exports	2,674	2,905	775	816	741	840	3,172
Index number of volume of exports (1954 = 100)	*100*	*107*	*112*	*117*	*106*	*120*	*113*
RE-EXPORTS (f.o.b.):	101	119	41	39	27	39	146

* Including parcel post.

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main groups of countries also rose; particularly important was the rise in exports to the dollar area.

The possible benefits to be derived from the United Kingdom's joining a European free trade area were outlined by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and by the President of the Board of Trade at a press conference held in October. Tentative proposals by the Government in this field were debated in the House of Commons late in November, and the opinions of interested bodies were sought.

The Government announced in February that it had no intention of re-introducing import restrictions. In the same month the managing board of the E.P.U. considered that the United Kingdom was justified in invoking balance of payments reasons for not increasing the percentage of liberalized imports from member countries of the O.E.E.C. from 85 to 90 per cent. (see A.R. 1955, pp. 162, 438.)

Early in 1956 the United Kingdom signed the Agreement on the Organization for Trade Co-operation. All instruments resulting from the 1955 review of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade were signed by the United Kingdom and later, following negotiations at Geneva early in the year, bilateral agreements between the Benelux Customs Union, Finland, Western Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden, and the United States were arranged with the United Kingdom as recorded in a White Paper (Cmd. 9779) issued in June.

In part fulfilment of the obligation to repay in kind by April 1957 a loan of 88·1 million ounces of silver received during the war from the United States, the United Kingdom had shipped by the end of 1956 67·8 million ounces valued at £22·4 million.

Early in the year revised conditions were instituted governing duty-free imports of machinery, as recommended by the Consultative Committee on the Duty-Free Entry of Machinery (see A.R. 1955, p. 439). Some works of art which enter the United Kingdom under specified conditions were exempted from import and other duties. The period of exemption from import duties of titanium oxide was again extended. Towards the end of the year the period for blast furnace ferro-manganese to be made exempt from import duty was prolonged until 18 September 1957 and exemption from duty for a like period was made on a wide range of iron and steel products. Increased quotas for imports of paper and board and of paper-making materials were announced early in May and from 22 July import controls were abolished except for newsprint and other special types of paper.

The method of granting open general licences for imports of raw cotton from the dollar area was changed in July; thereafter, open individual licences were issued to importers, subject to various undertakings, with the object of making better use of United States Government aid funds as they became available.

Following the reversion to private trade from Government account of imports of bacon, ham, and pork, imports of bacon from October were allowed without limitation of quantity under open general licences except from the dollar area, some east European countries, Japan, and Korea. In the first instance the licences were valid for six months.

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Imports of bacon from Poland and Hungary were to be in accordance with the trade agreements concluded with those countries. New arrangements were also made for the import of hams and pork.

The import quota for synthetic rubber was raised to 80,000 tons for 1957, as compared with 70,000 tons for 1956.

In November iron and steel tubes were included in the list of goods eligible for importation under open general licence, and amended arrangements for permitted imports from Argentina by this method were also announced.

An official memorandum was issued in November to explain an impending Parliamentary measure designed to impose customs duties to safeguard British industries against dumping and imports of subsidized goods.

At the end of November substantially unchanged licensing arrangements from those hitherto in force were announced for the first half of 1957 for import quotas of goods originating in and consigned from stated non-dollar countries. Traders who had not previously held licences for some categories of goods were to be allowed to participate.

Changes in export licensing for a wide range of goods controlled for strategic reasons came into effect in May. It was officially stated that greater use would be made of the exceptions procedure ' to permit reasonable exports in appropriate cases to China ' of goods ' not on the Soviet lists '. Several changes affecting exports under open general licence were made over the year. These included arrangements announced in February, designed to curtail exports of iron and steel scrap. Later exports of some classes of aluminium and copper goods were regulated with effect from June, and in September control was eased over the export of meat, live animals, and mercury.

The Export Credits Guarantee Department announced on 2 August that it would not accept for cover any new contracts with or shipments to buyers in Egypt, although its guarantee would still apply to contracts already accepted for cover but not then fulfilled. From 19 November it had been necessary to offer cover for new business with Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Syria on stricter terms than those available before the outbreak of hostilities in that area. From 7 December cover for new business with Hungary was not offered or granted.

In November 1956 the heads of a new five-year trade agreement, to be drawn up in 1957, were initialled by the United Kingdom and Australia. The new agreement will replace that made in 1932, and will provide for a reduction in the preferential margins hitherto granted to British imports into Australia.

Industry and Trade. Industrial production in the United Kingdom, as measured by the official index number, was about the same as in 1955, as shown in the table on page 423. Output of chemicals, food, drink and tobacco, building and contracting, and gas, electricity and water was somewhat higher than in 1955, and that of textiles was unchanged, but production of metals, engineering, and vehicles

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was lower. The decline in activity in the motor manufacturing industry was particularly marked. Factors tending to restrain a further expansion in industrial production were the relatively high level of interest rates, restrictions on credit, the tightening, early in the year, of controls over hire-purchase transactions and the introduction of similar controls in respect of hiring agreements, the suspension of investment allowances, and—towards the end of the year—curtailment of oil supplies and the introduction of petrol rationing on 17 December. Personal expenditure on goods and services at constant prices was 1 per cent. higher in the first nine months of the year than in the same period of 1955. The index of the value of retail sales (1950 = 100) in 1956 was 148 against 140 in 1955.

INDEX OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

(Average 1948 = 100)

	1953	1954	1955	1956				
				1st qtr.	2nd qtr.	3rd qtr.	4th qtr.	Whole year
Mining and quarrying	109	110	108	114	111	95	115	19
All manufacturing industries	123	133	142	145	143	130	142	10
Metals, engineering, and vehicles	125	137	150	155	148	133	*	*
Chemicals	153	168	179	187	183	179	*	*
Textiles and clothing	114	116	116	124	119	108	*	*
Food, drink, and tobacco	114	116	117	113	128	114	*	*
Building and contracting	111	115	116	116	125	126	125	123
Gas, electricity, and water	134	145	153	184	147	136	173	160
All industries	121	130	137	141	138	127	141	137

* Not available at time of going to press.

On 17 February the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced increases in the minimum deposit for hire-purchase transactions involving consumer goods from 15 and 33⅓ per cent. to 20 and 50 per cent. respectively: maximum periods of repayment remained unchanged. At the same time the system of regulation of hire-purchase transactions was extended to a comprehensive range of capital goods, subjecting them to a 50 per cent. down payment and a maximum repayment period of two years. Control over hiring arrangements was also introduced. New Statutory Orders issued in August were designed to close loopholes in the existing restrictions on hire purchase, hiring and credit sale agreements, and to ease the requirements relating to progress payments and export transactions. Towards the end of September the control of hiring was extended to most forms of motor vehicles, so that rental agreements required nine months' rental and service charges to be paid in advance. In December, however, in order to relieve the difficulties in the motor car industry accentuated by petrol rationing, it was decided to relax, for the time being, hire-purchase restrictions on cars, light vans, and motor cycles, by reducing the minimum down payment from 50 to 20 per cent. Restrictions on

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the terms of hiring agreements were revoked at the same time. A new Control of Hiring Order was issued in November, forbidding the payment of rebate to hirers at the end of the hiring period.

The Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1956, which received the Royal Assent early in August, provides for the prohibition of collective action for resale price maintenance, the registration of some restrictive practices and the establishment of a judicial tribunal to determine whether registered practices are in the public interest and to prohibit those which are adjudged not to be so. The Act does not apply to services. The Registration of Restrictive Trading Agreements Order, 1956, was made under the Act, and came into force on 30 November. This required the registration, within the ensuing three months, of restrictive trading agreements, which included those imposing restrictions on prices or other terms or conditions or involving collective discrimination. Regulations were made in October specifying the documents which had to be sent to the Registrar of Restrictive Trading Agreements.

Several references to the Monopolies Commission were allowed to lapse; those inquiries—on metal windows and doors, electronic valves and cathode ray tubes, tea, and chemical fertilizers—which were well under way were to continue. Following the passing of the Act the Tobacco Trade Association decided to abandon arrangements for the collective maintenance of prices; the Pot Still Malt Distillers' Association of Scotland decided to make no recommendation on the selling price of whisky to blenders, and the British Valve Manufacturers' Association discontinued the practice of collective price fixing.

The annual report of the Board of Trade on the working of the Monopolies Acts was published in February (H.C.P. 201). The Monopolies Commission was reconstituted in November. In March four subjects previously referred to the Monopolies Commission were withdrawn—electric batteries, street lighting equipment, steel frames for windows, and common prices and agreed tendering. The Commission issued a report in March on restrictive practices in the sand and gravel industry in Central Scotland (H.C.P. 222). This was followed by a statement on the report by the two trade associations concerned. The report of the Commission on the supply of hard fibre cordage was issued in June (H.C.P. 294). It stated that a number of practices operated against the public interest and should be ended. The report of the Commission on the supply of rubber footwear was published at the end of July (H.C.P., 328). The Commission found that monopoly conditions existed in the industry and that some of the practices of the Rubber Footwear Manufacturers' Association operated against the public interest and should be discontinued. A report on the supply of linoleum was published several weeks later (H.C.P. 366). The Commission stated that, although the common price system of the Linoleum Manufacturers' Association had not been against the public interest, there were serious risks that it might so operate in some circumstances. In November it was announced that further subjects to be referred to the Commission included the supply of cigarettes and of some electrical equipment for motor vehicles.

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The quota of hardwood imports from dollar sources remained unchanged at £3 million f.o.b. for the year. The Board of Trade announced that 150,000 standards of softwood and 16 million square feet of plywood from the strategic stockpile were to be sold before the end of the year. Early in July the Board of Trade announced that sales to be made during the current financial year from the United Kingdom's reserves of strategic materials would include 36,000 tons of copper and stated quantities of timber and jute. For the time being no additional purchases of wool for stockpiling would take place, but sales of wool from stocks would amount to about 50,000 bales. The Board announced in December that sales of lead and zinc were to be made from the stockpile early in 1957, and up to 2,500 tons of tin were to be disposed of later.

Statutory control over the distribution and use of newsprint was revoked on 9 December, and the power to impose controls on paper was to end on 1 January 1957, though measures were agreed upon to meet the needs of small consumers.

Agreement was reached in May on the form of contract and basis of trading for a London terminal market for shellac; trading began in June. Stocks of shellac, estimated at about 1,000 tons, were reported as to be sold by the Government.

In May representatives of the Government and of the Trades Union Congress agreed to co-operate in resolving the problems raised by 'automation'. The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research published a report on automation, and the Government issued one on electronic aids in offices.

In December the Government set up a new Select Committee on the Nationalized Industries, with wider powers than that set up in 1955 (see A.R. 1955, p. 441).

The annual report of the National Film Finance Corporation for the year to 31 March (Cmd. 9751) showed a profit of £70,132 against a loss of £211,020 the previous year, leaving an accumulated deficit of £3·68 million. The Cinematograph Films Bill, which received a second reading in the House of Commons in December, was designed to give effect to the Government's policy for the industry, as stated by the President of the Board of Trade earlier in the year. It would extend for ten years the powers of the National Film Finance Corporation, and permit the Corporation to consider all loan applications, in place of dealing only with those from persons unable to obtain money from other sources. The Board of Trade would also be empowered to dispose of the Corporation as a going concern. The Bill provided for a statutory levy on exhibitors to help finance film production to replace the voluntary Film Production Fund, which was to be wound up. The prices of seats in cinemas owned by the five major circuits were increased in June; several cinemas were closed during the year. The second annual report of the Independent Television Authority (H.C.P. 362) referred to the beginning of programme transmissions in the Midlands in February. Later in the year a station in the North began transmitting.

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The Postmaster-General informed the Authority in the summer that no grant could be made to it in the current financial year 'because of the general economic situation and the need for economy in Government expenditure'. It was stated in November, however, that the civil estimates for 1957-58 would include a grant-in-aid of £100,000 to the Authority.

With the discontinuation after 1956 of the London section of the British Industries Fair, funds hitherto spent on publicity for it are to be used by the Board of Trade mainly in connexion with overseas fairs and exhibitions where British goods are exhibited.

The Board of Trade began publication of a new quarterly index of the value of stocks and work in progress, based on information collected from a number of large manufacturing companies. The first results of the new regular inquiry conducted by the Board of Trade into capital investment by private industry were published in February, and subsequently further figures, both of actual outlays and forecasts of capital expenditure, were published quarterly. The Board of Trade began publication in May of a revised series of monthly statistics of retail trade. Later in the same month a quarterly index was introduced to show changes in the cost of new building and civil engineering work.

The Treasury reported early in January that the cost investigation into standard drugs and preparations used in the National Health Service had been completed, and that the general level of profits earned did not suggest that prices were excessive. Towards the end of January the report (Cmd. 9663) was published of the committee set up to inquire into the cost and general structure of the National Health Service. No changes were recommended which would radically affect the organization or the financing of the service.

The Minister of Housing and Local Government in September issued a circular to water undertakings in England and Wales, asking them to consider amalgamations or regroupings in the interests of water supply efficiency.

Labour and National Insurance. At the end of 1956 23·0 million persons were in civil employment in Great Britain and 761,000 in H.M. Forces, compared with 23·1 million and 779,000 in the previous year. The number unemployed in early December was 297,000, representing 1·4 per cent. of the estimated total number of employees, against 216,000 and 1·0 per cent. a year before. In general overtime working was reduced and in some industries short-time working was introduced or extended, while the number of unfilled vacancies declined. To judge from the official indices, the rise in industrial production was checked, but, broadly speaking, that in the volume of exports was maintained. The main trends in employment, production, and exports are portrayed in the chart on page 428.

Stoppages as a result of industrial disputes involved 0·5 million workers and caused the loss of 2·1 million working days, as compared with 0·7 million workers and 3·8 million working days in 1955. Reports

were made to the Minister of Labour and National Service of bodies appointed by him to inquire into disputes in the iron and steel industry, shipbuilding, and printing trades. The Notification of Vacancies Order, 1952, which required vacancies to be notified to employment exchanges and filled through them, was revoked in May.

The National Joint Advisory Council in April appealed to all industries to take steps to use manpower more efficiently. An official report on scientific and engineering manpower, published in October, estimated that industry would require at least 30,000 more scientists and engineers in the following three years and 85,000 over the following ten years. Revised scales of pay and conditions for office workers in the Civil Service, as approved by the staff side of the National Whitley Council and formally agreed with the Treasury, were introduced during the year.

The Minister of Labour announced that the Government was to encourage the establishment of contracts of service between employers and workpeople, if possible within a legislative framework. The Minister of Labour published the results in May of a survey of profit sharing schemes, the first such inquiry for 18 years. Other reports published during the year included that of the committee of inquiry into the dock labour scheme, of the committee on the employment of national service men, and one on the work of the National Youth Employment Council over the years 1953-56.

The Family Allowances and National Insurance Act, 1956, increased the family allowance from 8*s*. to 10*s*. a week for the third and subsequent

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL MANPOWER IN GREAT BRITAIN

(millions)

	1953 June	1954 June	1955 June	1956 June	1956 Dec. 31
Agriculture, forestry, and fishing	1·09	1·07	1·07	1·04	0·99
Mining and quarrying	0·88	0·87	0·86	0·86	0·36
Manufacturing industries	8·75	8·98	9·21	9·23	9·23
Building and contracting	1·44	1·45	1·49	1·52	1·49
Gas, electricity, and water	0·37	0·37	0·38	0·38	0·38
Transport and communications	1·73	1·72	1·71	1·72	1·71
Distributive trades	2·66	2·74	2·81	2·84	2·90
Professional, financial, and miscellaneous services	4·00	4·08	4·12	4·15	4·13
Public administration	1·32	1·33	1·29	1·29	1.29
Total in civil employment	22·24	22·60	22·93	23·03	22·99
Registered unemployed	0·28	0·23	0·19	0·23	0·37
H.M. Forces and Women's Services	0·87	0·84	0·80	0·76	0·76
Total working population	23·37	23·67	23·91	23·99	24·09
Of which, males	15·88	15·97	16·08	16·14	16·21
females	7·49	7·69	7·83	7·85	7·88

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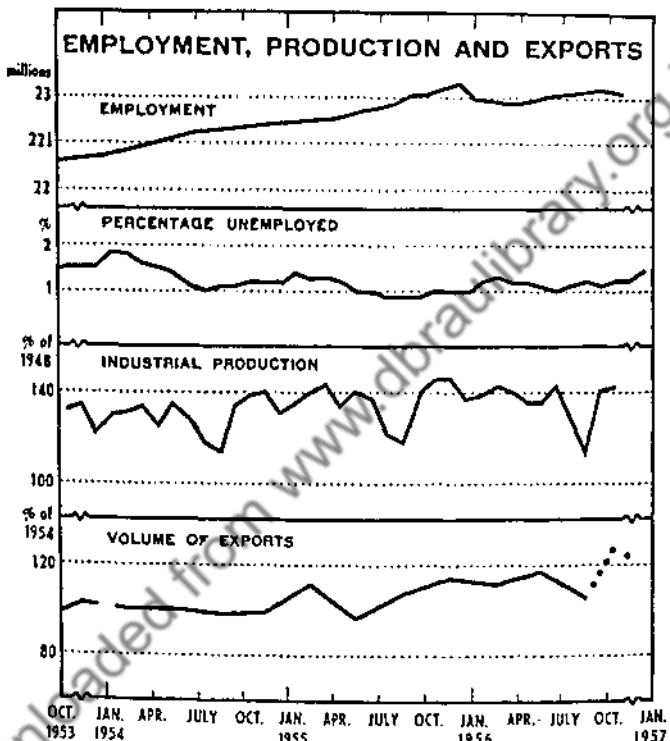
children, and improved the child allowances payable to widows. The Act also authorized the Government to enter into reciprocal agreements with foreign countries on family allowance payments. The National Insurance Advisory Committee, in a report (Cmd. 9684), recommended increased benefits for widows, and the Government subsequently accepted the recommendation, but stated that legislation would not be introduced during the current Parliamentary Session. As recommended by a majority of the members of the Advisory Committee



'Employment' = number of persons actively engaged in civilian occupations in Great Britain; the 'percentage unemployed' is based upon the officially estimated total number of employees. The monthly official index number is used for 'Industrial Production' in the United Kingdom. 'Volume of Exports' is the official estimate, derived from quarterly revaluation, at earlier prices, of actual exports.

(Cmd. 9752), the 'earnings limit' for retirement pensions and widows was raised from 40*s.* to 50*s.* a week. The Advisory Committee reported in September that the provisions for dependents of insured persons were in general working satisfactorily, but some minor amendments were suggested. The Committee recommended in a report (Cmd. 9854) only minor changes in the existing contributory conditions for national insurance benefits.

The official index of weekly wage rates (30 June 1947 = 100) rose from 154 at the end of 1955 to 166 in December 1956. About 12·5 million workers received net wage increases aggregating £6·5 million a

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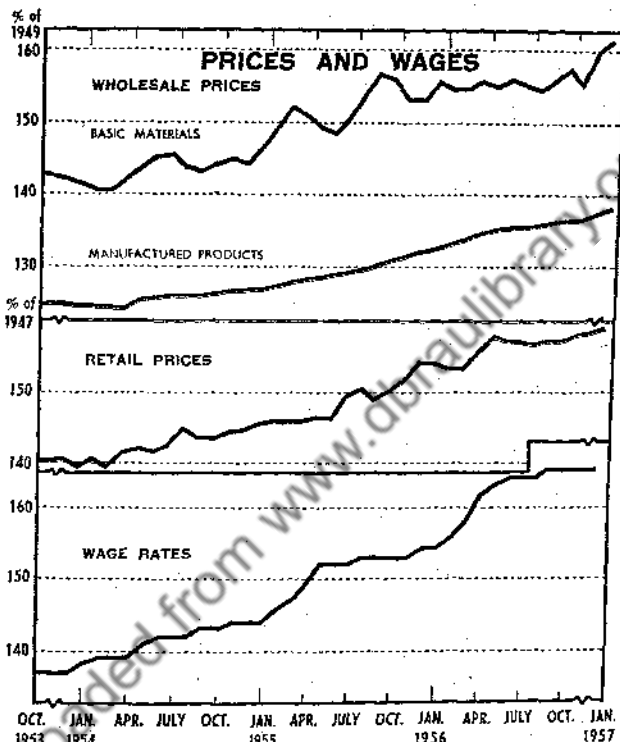
week, compared with 12 million workers and £5·0 million in 1955. The average level of weekly earnings, taking April 1947 as 100, was 191 in April 1956 and 194 in October as compared with 176 and 181 in April and October 1955. As will be seen from the following chart, wage rates rose more swiftly than prices in the early part of the year, but the movement in both curves was steadier after the first quarter.



Official index numbers of wholesale prices averaged over each month, of retail prices at the middle of each month, and of weekly wage rates at the end of each month. The base dates are as follows :—wholesale prices (basic materials and manufactured products), 30 June 1949 ; retail prices, 17 June 1947 ; and wage rates, 30 June 1947. Food, fuel, and tobacco are not included in the index of wholesale prices of manufactured products.

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Agriculture, Food, Fishing, and Forestry. According to the June census, the area under crops and grass in the United Kingdom, at 31·1 million acres, was slightly greater than a year earlier. The area sown to wheat was substantially higher than in 1955 and increases were also recorded for barley and potatoes ; the acreages of oats and sugar beet were about the same. Preliminary reports suggested that, despite bad weather during the harvest period, yields of cereals would be at about the same level as the average for the previous six years. The numbers of cattle, sheep, and poultry rose, but the pig population declined.

The total number of agricultural workers in the United Kingdom again declined, by over 29,000 to about 758,000 during the year to June, the number of male workers falling by 26,000. In the middle of September the suspension of the call-up of agricultural workers, which was again in operation for the harvest, was extended until 31 December because of harvesting difficulties.

In September the Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries, and Food, referring to the difficulties of the harvest as a result of the wet weather, stated that he proposed to authorize County Agricultural Executive Committees to assist those 'in temporary need' by making full use of their discretion 'to provide essential supplies on credit under the Agricultural Goods and Services Scheme' on 'as favourable terms as possible'. Meanwhile, recalling his conviction 'that the banks, while bearing in mind the continuing need of a general credit restriction, will be sympathetic, as they always have been, in helping farmers through the difficult patch', he reported that inquiries had been made and he was satisfied that banks were well aware of the special needs of their farming customers.

A special review on account of changes in wage costs, again held concurrently with the annual review of the economic conditions and prospects of agriculture, awarded higher guaranteed prices for livestock and livestock products in the year to March 1956 and for crops of the 1956 harvest. Details of both reviews were published in March in the White Paper, *Annual Review and Determination of Guarantees, 1956* (Cmd. 9721). It was stated that the objective of production policy 'remains the most that can be produced economically and efficiently in accordance with market requirements, steadily increasing technical efficiency and diminishing unit cost. But even greater emphasis than before must be put on the substitution of home-grown products . . . for imports, and on economies in the use of imported materials'. As a result of the annual review the value of guarantees for livestock products in the year to March 1957 and for crops of the 1957 harvest was to be increased by £25 million in a full year. Individual guarantees for fatstock were to be discontinued, but the deficiency payment system would remain. The guaranteed prices for 1956-57 were raised for fat cattle, fat sheep, and lambs, but lowered for fat pigs. Increased prices were also awarded for milk, barley, oats, ware potatoes, and sugar beet; no change was made for hen eggs, but reductions were announced for duck eggs, wool, wheat, and rye. The fertilizer and steer calf subsidies were increased and the maximum raised for marginal production grants. A request by the National Farmers' Union for a further special review of farm prices, to take account of increases in minimum wages proposed by the Agricultural Wages Board, was refused in October.

A draft order was made in December providing for acreage payments to be made in 1957 on land damaged in the East Coast floods in 1953; this was to be the last year in which such payments would be made.

Following consultations which began in June between the Government and the National Farmers' Unions on ways and means of providing

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agriculture with longer-term assurances of support, the Government's proposals were published in a White Paper, *Long-term Assurances for Agriculture* (Cmnd. 23), in November. The Government undertook to maintain the total value of price guarantees and production grants annually at not less than 97½ per cent. of the total value in the preceding year, with adjustments for cost changes. Grants would be made available, at the rate of one-third of costs, for the provision of permanent fixed equipment and long-term improvement of land. In a report (Cmd. 9795) published in July the Reorganization Commission for Pigs and Bacon recommended the setting-up of a Pig Industry Development Authority in order to secure improvements in pig production, processing, and distribution, and to make the industry less dependent on subsidies. Subsequently the Government announced its decision in a White Paper (Cmnd. 24) to introduce legislation to set up such an Authority with appropriate powers. The existing price guarantee arrangements would be continued, and the free market in pigs and pigmeat would be retained.

The report of a public inquiry held earlier in the year into the egg marketing scheme proposed by the United Kingdom farmers' unions was published in July (Cmd. 9805). Subsequently, the scheme was approved by the Minister of Agriculture, subject to some modifications which were notified to and accepted by the promoters, and as amended received the approval of Parliament. The scheme 'came into force' on 31 December, but will not begin to operate until a majority of registered producers has signified approval.

The report was published in April (Cmd. 9732) of the committee appointed to review the provincial and local organization of the Ministry of Agriculture and to consider the acquisition and sale of land by the Ministry. A number of changes in organization and in the management of agricultural land were recommended. The Hill Farming Act, 1956, provided for the extension until 1963 of the arrangements for paying subsidies for sheep and cattle on hill farms and for making improvement grants. The hill cow subsidy was to remain at the rate of £10 a head. The Government accepted most of the recommendations of the inter-departmental committee on slaughter-houses, and a White Paper (Cmd. 9761) was issued in May. The Agriculture (Silo Subsidies) Act, 1956, which received the Royal Assent in December, provided for subsidies to farmers for building or improving silos used for making silage from grass and fodder crops. In March it was stated that the period within which schemes for the improvement of livestock rearing land may be submitted, due to end on 6 November, was to be extended by seven years, and a further £5 million would be made available for grants for the purpose.

A new method of calculating the price guarantee payments for all classes of fatstock was announced by the Minister of Agriculture; in order to take account of variations in costs and marketing, the standard prices for cattle and sheep would be on a seasonal scale, but that for pigs would be the same throughout the year.

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It was stated early in August that the deficiency payments scheme for cereals would be continued as a permanent arrangement. The drying and storage facilities of Re-Commissioned Mills Ltd., a Government-sponsored service to farmers, were ended on 30 June, but the Government announced that it was prepared to lease some of the grain silos by competitive tender for limited periods. Owing to the urgent need for increased grain drying facilities to deal with the harvest, however, the Ministry of Agriculture subsequently re-opened a number of them as a temporary measure. The Government informed the United Nations international wheat conference in February that the United Kingdom could not join any world wheat agreement of the existing kind. The new International Wheat Agreement came into force on 1 August.

In April the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture rejected proposals for the price control of potatoes. The Potato Marketing Board announced in August that it would not impose quota restrictions on the potato acreage for 1957.

The Poultry Premises and Vehicles (Disinfection) Order, 1956, which came into force in January, was designed to combat outbreaks of fowl pest. In order to reduce further the incidence of the disease, an Order was made later in the year prohibiting the holding of markets, fairs or sales of store poultry in England and Wales from 1 October to 31 December each year. The Order did not apply to some licensed sales of poultry for immediate slaughter.

The report was issued in July of the Hill Lands (North of Scotland) Commission, which was set up to ascertain in what areas and by what methods schemes of cattle rearing could be promoted with most advantage in the Highlands. Its recommendations included a loan scheme for crofters for the purchase of cattle to be run on common grazings. A White Paper (Cmd. 9809) published in July stated that the Government was to set up a small standing committee to assist in the development of farming in mid-Wales.

The Agricultural Mortgage Corporation Act, 1956, which, among other things, provided for an increase in the limit of advances from the Ministry of Agriculture to the Corporation from £2½ million to £3¼ million, received the Royal Assent in May. The Minister of Fuel and Power stated in November that owners and occupiers of agricultural land requisitioned for opencast coal production would receive improved compensation, to apply from 10 May 1956.

The Board of Trade announced in February that, with the termination in September of the present long-term bacon contract with Denmark, the trade would be returned to private hands from 1 October, when duty of 10 per cent. ad valorem would be imposed on imports of bacon and pork from all non-Commonwealth countries except the Republic of Ireland. The import of bacon and pork was freely permitted from the Republic of Ireland from 1 May. The Minister of Agriculture announced in September that the levy on sugar, provided for by the Sugar Act, 1956, would begin on 1 January 1957, when the Sugar Board, which was set up in October, would begin to operate.

From that date the import of sugar for home consumption would be returned to private hands, and arrangements for the licensing of sugar imports were announced in December. In August the International Sugar Council had revised its estimate of market requirements and increased export quotas; in December export quotas were again increased. Five countries participating in the International Sugar Agreement renounced part of their export quotas for the current season, which were redistributed among eight other exporting members. In November changes in the Agreement were agreed upon.

Landings of white fish of British taking in Great Britain amounted to 11·8 million cwt. as compared with 11·9 million cwt. in 1955, but the value of the catch rose by 4 per cent., from £32·1 million to £33·3 million. Landings of herring and other pelagic fish were lower than in 1955, but the aggregate value increased.

The White Fish and Herring Industries Bill, which was published in November, provided for the continuation of the white fish subsidy and the payment of grants towards the cost of converting coal-burning vessels to the use of fuel oil. Changes were approved by Parliament in July in the rates and conditions of payment of the white fish subsidy, the total amount being increased with higher grants payable towards the cost of new fishing vessels and engines. An increase in the white fish levy, from ¼*d.* to ½*d.* per stone on 1 October, was confirmed. The Herring Industry Board introduced a new minimum price structure for herring on 1 May, to remain in force until 30 April 1957. In February it was stated that a basis for a settlement of the Icelandic fisheries dispute had been found with the acceptance by the Governments of the United Kingdom and of Iceland of proposals made by an informal group from the O.E.E.C. Britain and Iceland reached limited agreement in November, and the landing of fish in Britain by Icelandic trawlers was resumed.

The Annual Report of the Forestry Commissioners for the year ended 30 September 1955 (H.C.P. 341) noted that 67,900 acres were planted in Great Britain in 1954-55, as compared with 70,400 acres in the previous year, and by then the Commission's forests exceeded one million acres. The report of the Departmental Committee on Marketing of Woodland Produce was published in December.

Building, Planning, and Development. Statistics of building of permanent houses and flats in the United Kingdom and of industrial building in Great Britain are given in the table on page 434. House building by local authorities again declined, whereas the number built for private owners continued to rise. Completions of industrial building also increased, but the areas of schemes approved, and of those on which work started during the year, were at a somewhat lower level than in 1955. As an economy measure the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade stated in June that consideration of proposals for the provision of new Government-financed factories or extensions in development areas would be deferred except in a few special instances. The House of Commons Select Committee on Estimates recommended

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that the extent of the development areas should be reviewed, and dissatisfaction was also expressed with the present system of accounting in respect of Government assistance in these areas.

The Housing Subsidies Act, 1956, received the Royal Assent in March. This Act reduced the Exchequer payment for general-purpose houses to £10 per year, but it was raised to £24 per year for houses built by the development corporations of new towns and by authorities of areas being expanded to accommodate 'overspill' populations, and continued at the existing rate for houses built in connexion with slum clearance programmes (see A.R. 1955, p. 444). The general purpose

BUILDING

	1954	1955	1956
United Kingdom			
Permanent Houses and Flats (thousands):			
Construction begun	337	320	285
Under construction (end of period)	298	294	272
Completions	354	324	307
of which:			
for local housing authorities	239	196	171
private owners	92	116	126
other authorities	22	12	10
Great Britain			
Industrial Buildings			
Approvals—number	2,706	3,322	2,470
area (million sq. ft.)	71·0	91·7	71·4
Construction begun—number	2,150	2,592	*1,581
area (million sq. ft.)	46·5	66·0	*42·8
Completions—number	1,731	2,096	*1,603
area (million sq. ft.)	39·0	40·6	*34·0

* First nine months only.

subsidy of £10 was subsequently abolished, by an Order made under the Act, for houses and flats to be built after 2 November, an exception being made for dwellings with one bedroom. It was stated in March that since the passing of the Housing Act, 1949, improvement grants in respect of 4,397 dwellings had been approved, the annual Exchequer liability amounting to £79,023. The Minister of Housing announced in May that 957 local authorities were operating the scheme enabling them to guarantee part of house-purchase advances made by building societies. Later in the same month the Ministry issued a circular giving advice to those local authorities that were considering the introduction of differential rent schemes. New rateable values compiled by the Inland Revenue under the Local Government Act, 1948, and the Rating and Valuation (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1956, became effective for the financial year 1956-57. The Rating and Valuation Bill, introduced in December, proposed a reduction of

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20 per cent. in the new rateable values of commercial premises. A White Paper published in March (Cmd. 9718) gave details of the distribution of rateable values between different classes of property and in June the Ministry of Housing published an analysis of the new rateable values in each county, classified according to the type of property.

Details were published in the same month of plans for building new schools in the two years to 31 March 1958, at an estimated total cost of £105 million, and in the same month some details were given of a further building programme, estimated to cost nearly £4½ million.

The Rent Bill, which received its second reading in the House of Commons in November, proposed the removal of rent control from owner-occupied houses and other houses as they fell vacant, a lowering of the limit of rateable value below which control operated, and a revision of the rent limits for those houses remaining subject to control. A White Paper (Cmnd. 17) was later published, giving statistical information as a background to the Bill.

Transport. The annual report of the British Transport Commission (H.C.P. 290 I and II) recorded a deficit of over £30 million for 1955, bringing the accumulated deficit to nearly £70 million. An 'objective' review of the financial and economic future of the railways was undertaken by the British Transport Commission for the Minister of Transport during the year, the findings of which were published in a White Paper (Cmd. 9880), issued in October. In it the Government announced that it proposed to make loans to the Commission, which might amount to about £250 million, to cover the annual deficits in respect of railways; these were expected to continue until 1961 or 1962, after which it was hoped that the benefits of the modernization plan would be felt. The loans would be repayable in instalments after a specified period, and would bear interest, but for a time the interest would be covered by additional advances. The Transport (Railway Finances) Bill, embodying these proposals, was published in November.

The British Transport Commission increased railway freight, dock, and canal charges by 5 per cent. generally from 23 April, though an increase of 10 per cent. had been originally proposed by the Commission and recommended by the Transport Tribunal. The Transport Tribunal in July confirmed, with some modifications, the British Transport Commission's railway freight charges scheme, permitting it to fix maximum charges for the carriage of goods by merchandise train. The British Transport Commission applied to the Transport Tribunal in May for permission to increase some road and rail fares, but the application was adjourned for an indefinite period. Towards the end of June the Commission stated that there would be no general increase in passenger fares during 1956, and a similar assurance, subject to qualifications, was given about freight charges.

Towards the end of the year the Minister of Transport called for 'the maximum diversion of goods from the roads to the railways', which were 'grossly underloaded at present', in order to save fuel oil.

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The British Transport Commission announced plans for the running of more trains to relieve the pressure oil rationing would impose on the transport system. British Road Services added a surcharge of 7½ per cent. to haulage charges, and British Railways one of a corresponding amount to cartage charges. London Transport announced an increase in minimum fares from 2½*d.* to 3*d.* British European Airways announced a 5 per cent. temporary surcharge on most passenger air fares within the British Isles.

The Minister of Transport said in March that the locomotive building programme and the railway modernization plan would not be affected by the need to reduce capital expenditure. Some details of improvements and re-equipment to be carried out during the year under the modernization plan were announced in the spring.

In the final report of the Road Haulage Disposal Board (H.C.P. 410), published in October, it was stated that 19,303 vehicles had been sold; including premises and associated assets, the total realized from the sale of vehicles and companies was £24·6 million. No tenders having been received when B.R.S. (Parcels) Ltd. was offered for sale, the Board agreed to take no further action regarding the disposal of it until the passing of the Transport (Disposal of Road Haulage Property) Act; this received the Royal Assent in August. One tender was received but rejected by the Board for Meat Haulage Ltd., which was formed in February as a private company to facilitate the sale of the meat haulage section. The Road Haulage Disposal Board was abolished on 27 August, its remaining functions being taken over by the Minister of Transport. The Minister of Transport stated in February that up to that time the loss on disposal of road haulage vehicles by the Commission amounted to about £12¼ million. Changes were announced early in August in the organization and operation of British Road Services. From 9 September five companies were in operation, the shares in each being owned by the British Transport Commission.

Members of the Road Haulage Association raised their charges by a minimum of 5 per cent. in April. Members of the Road Transport Clearing Houses, consisting mainly of long-distance operators, raised their charges in May, also by a minimum of 5 per cent.; in November members were advised to raise their rates again, by 5 to 7½ per cent. Some bus and tube fares in the London area, which were below the 'standard rate' for the distance travelled, were increased on 2 September, but it was stated in June that there would be no general increase in passenger fares during 1956. In July the Minister of Transport said that he would appoint a committee to consider and initiate further measures for staggering working hours in Central London in order to relieve traffic congestion at peak periods. Its first task was to be to report promptly on measures to meet the emergency occasioned by the oil shortage.

The Minister of Transport informed local authorities that loan sanctions for work on unclassified roads would not be approved except for urgent reasons, and capital expenditure on other road services

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would be 'severely restricted'. In September, however, the Minister named five projects which were to be given 'over-riding priority' in the road construction programme during the next year or two.

It was announced in January that the British Transport Commission proposed to spend £5½ million on the development of its principal inland waterways during the ensuing five years. The Government announced in February the setting up of a committee to inquire into the whole system of inland waterways. The terms of reference called for proposals for the maximum economic use of the canal system, and for the future use, administration, and financial arrangements of those waterways which could not be maintained economically for transport purposes, as well as for measures to convert canal sites to other purposes where necessary. Consideration was also to be given to the present law relating to the closure of waterways to navigation.

In January the British Transport Commission announced details of the improvement works, estimated to cost more than £2 million, which had been authorized for the Humber ports. The Committee of the North Atlantic Shippers' Conference recommended the use of Bristol as a third 'base port' for exports to North America. The International Chamber of Shipping stated that it was to prepare a survey to demonstrate the implications of the growth of 'flags of convenience'.

The annual report of British European Airways (H.C.P. 363) disclosed a net profit of over £600,000 for 1955-56 compared with one of £63,000 in 1954-55, whilst that of British Overseas Airways Corporation (H.C.P. 364) recorded a net surplus of £118,000 as compared with £262,000. The arrangements for the payment of Exchequer subsidies to the nationalized air corporations came to an end on 31 March. Passenger fares on British European Airways' domestic routes were increased by 10 per cent. from 1 December, the further surcharge being applied later. The Air Corporations Act, 1956, increased the borrowing powers of British Overseas Airways Corporation from £80 million to £160 million, and those of British European Airways from £35 million to £60 million. B.O.A.C. would be empowered to borrow from the International Bank or the Export-Import Bank, and the Treasury would be authorized to guarantee any such borrowing.

Iron and Steel, Engineering, and Shipbuilding. Production in the iron and steel, engineering, and shipbuilding industries again rose, though the increase was less marked than in 1955. Steel remained scarce, however, and imports rose further. Production of pig iron was 13·2 million tons, 0·7 million tons more than in 1955, while output of steel ingots and castings rose by 0·9 million tons to 20·7 million tons. A report by the British Productivity Council on the iron and steel industry stated that productivity rose by 41 per cent. between 1946 and 1955, largely because of the high level of capital investment.

Control was discontinued on 31 December of tinplate, terneplate, and blackplate, since increasing output had made it unnecessary. The maximum prices of iron and steel scrap were raised by the Board of

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Trade by an average of £2 a ton early in May. Shortly afterwards the maximum prices of most iron and steel products were increased by the Iron and Steel Board, on the average, by 5 per cent. In December maximum prices were raised again, by about 6 per cent. Prices of tinplate were increased from 1 April. The temporary suspension of import duties on a wide range of iron and steel products was further extended, some minor changes being made in the range of products affected. From 12 November iron and steel pipes and tubes were placed on open general licence. The open general licence authorizing the export of various iron and steel goods valued at more than £25 per ton was revoked in February and replaced by a new licence raising the minimum value to £35 per ton. The change was intended to curtail exports of scrap metal. It was stated in February that in future licences would be required for the export of all types of alloy and non-alloy iron and steel plates. From 2 September the levy, imposed by the Iron and Steel Board, on steel ingots and pig-iron was reduced. The United Kingdom Metal Mining Association was formed to encourage the mining of metals and minerals in the United Kingdom.

The Iron and Steel Holding and Realization Agency issued its second annual report, for the year to 30 September 1955. During 1956 the ordinary capital and debenture stock of South Durham Steel and Iron were offered to the public. A number of other companies were sold privately, including Renishaw Iron, Park Gate Iron and Steel, and half the capital of Byfield Ironstone (all sold to Tube Investments), Patent Shaft & Axletree, Briton Ferry Steel, Neath Sheet Steel and Galvanizing, Nassington Barrowden Mining, Burnell & Company, New Cransley Iron and Steel (sold to Stewarts & Lloyds).

In general production in the engineering industry did not expand at the same rate as in 1955. In the machine tool industry the value of outstanding orders increased, but new orders, particularly from the home market, fell sharply towards the middle of the year. The aircraft industry continued to operate at a high level of activity, further orders being received from the Government and from abroad; substantial contracts were obtained from commercial undertakings in the United States. The production of vehicles, though higher in the early part of the year than in 1955, fell sharply thereafter, and a number of employees in the industry were dismissed and short-time working was extended. Revised conditions for applications for duty-free imports of machinery were adopted on the advice of the Consultative Committee on the Duty-free Entry of Machinery, whose report was published in July 1954.

Launchings from United Kingdom shipyards during the year were 1·38 million gross tons, 90,000 tons less than in 1955. Shipping under construction at the end of the year was 2·14 million gross tons, as compared with 2·23 million tons a year before. New orders were substantial, particularly for tankers.

Fuel and Power. Production of coal in 1956 amounted to 222·0 million tons, or nearly half-a-million tons more than in 1955. Output

of deep-mined coal, at 209·9 million tons, was slightly lower than in 1955, but an increase of 0·7 million tons was recorded for open-cast operations. Imports of coal, coke, and briquettes, at 5·5 million tons, compared with 11·3 million tons in 1955. Coal exports again declined. The number of wage earners on colliery books continued to fall, and output per manshift was about the same as in the previous year.

The annual report of the National Coal Board (H.C.P. 263), published in May, recorded a loss of £19·6 million in 1955, bringing the accumulated deficit to £36·6 million. The last issue of 3½ per cent. Treasury Stock 1977-80 was made in December in satisfaction of compensation under the Coal Industry Nationalization Act, 1946. Towards the end of April the National Coal Board published *Investing in Coal*, giving details of a revision of the development programme contained in the Board's *Plan for Coal*, published in 1950. The Board said that it expected to spend £1,000 million on the reorganization and development of the industry over the following ten years. In May the Board gave an outline of its plans for developing the central-east area of the Scottish coalfield, and it was stated that a further six Scottish pits were likely to be closed by 1960. Agreement was reached towards the end of May on proposals to keep open two pits in South Wales which the Board previously had decided to close.

Under the Coal Industry Act, 1956, the Board's borrowing powers were increased from £300 million to £650 million. A departmental committee was appointed in March by the Minister of Fuel and Power to inquire into the cost and profit margins of distributing coal.

On 1 June the prices of all grades of coal, including pithead prices, were raised by 8 per cent., and on the same date coke prices were also increased. Subsequently the National Coal Board stated that, 'unless something quite unexpected or exceptional happens', it would not increase pithead prices of coal during the next 12 months.

A report published in March on British experiments in the underground gasification of coal suggested that this would provide a valuable additional source of fuel, and in June it was announced that the National Coal Board and the Central Electricity Authority were to construct a pilot plant for the purpose. It was announced that legislation would be introduced to give effect to proposals that damage caused by mining subsidence should be met by the National Coal Board. The estimated cost to the Board would be £5 million a year.

The annual report of the Central Electricity Authority (H.C.P. 367) recorded a net surplus of £12·2 million for 1955-56 against one of £18·8 million in the previous year. From 1 April the Central Electricity Authority increased the fixed charge, but not the running charge, for the supply of electricity to area boards. In June the Central Electricity Authority asked area boards not to raise their charges, despite the higher coal prices, and three boards were requested to suspend increases already proposed. The Authority said that it intended to maintain this price stabilization policy at least until the end of the current financial year.

The report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Electricity Supply

Industry (Cmd. 9672), published in January, stated that 'the present formal structure of the industry is not conducive to the highest efficiency'. A number of the Committee's recommendations were embodied in the Electricity Bill, published in November. This provided for the dissolution of a Central Electricity Authority and the establishment of a Central Electricity Generating Board and an Electricity Council. A White Paper (Cmnd. 27) was published explaining the proposals.

In February it was stated that area electricity boards had made a reduction of 10 per cent., amounting to £8 million, in their estimated capital requirements for 1956.

It was stated in September that work was expected to begin early in 1957 on a submarine cable for the bulk transmission of electric power between Britain and France. The cost was estimated at about £4 million, and the project was expected to be completed by 1960.

The annual report of the Gas Council 1955-56 (H.C.P. 393), published in October, showed a net surplus of £0·5 million compared with one of £2·5 million in the previous year. A number of gas boards gave notice of increases in gas prices, but in June the Gas Council announced that all area gas boards, after adjusting prices to meet recent increases in costs, would keep them stable at least until the end of the current financial year.

An Order was made in August providing for investment allowances to be continued for expenditure incurred after 17 February 1956 on prescribed fuel-saving plant.

The United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority published its first balance sheet in May (H.C.P. 283). In March the Lord Privy Seal stated that 'the relationship between the State and private industry in the field of atomic energy should be one of close partnership, subject to the maintenance of a proper degree of Governmental control'. Details of the Admiralty's intention to use nuclear power for propelling ships were given in an explanatory leaflet accompanying the Navy Estimates, published in February. In order to develop atomic ship propulsion, the Merchant Ship Propulsion Group was set up by the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Research Establishment at Harwell. The first of the two atomic piles at the Calder Hall (Cumberland) atomic power station began to operate during the year, and contracts were issued for the building of the first commercial power station of this kind. An atomic power station is to be built in Northern Ireland at an estimated cost of £66 million to meet the demand for electric power up to 1967-68. In July the Minister of Fuel agreed to the establishment of a nuclear power station by the Central Electricity Authority at Bradwell, Essex.

To meet an estimated shortage of about 25 per cent. in supplies of petroleum products, petrol was rationed from 17 December and cuts were made in the supply of fuel oil to industry. Undertakings which had converted from coal to oil burning were urged to return temporarily to the use of coal. The Hydrocarbon Oil Duties (Temporary Increase) Act, 1956, which gave effect to the increase in petrol duty of one shilling a gallon, also permitted road passenger vehicle operators to make limited

and temporary increases in fares without going through the usual machinery. The Act provided that the increased duty should be automatically withdrawn not later than one month after the end of rationing. The Government undertook the introduction of arrangements to permit the holders of 'C' licences for road goods vehicles to carry goods for other people.

Textiles. Experience in the textiles and clothing industries was uneven. Consumer expenditure on clothing was again higher than in the previous year, but the increase was less marked than in 1955. Activity in the cotton industry again declined, though a recovery occurred towards the end of the year. Imports of raw cotton were at a slightly higher level than in 1955, and home consumption was at the rate of 6,250 tons a week, compared with 6,680 tons in 1955. Production of yarn was at the rate of 16·33 million lb. a week, and output of cotton cloth reached 31·0 million linear yards, as compared with 16·91 million lb. and 34·3 million linear yards in 1955. Exports of cotton yarns and woven fabrics fell by about 10 per cent. The number employed in cotton spinning and weaving was further diminished.

Agreement was reached in October in the main section of the cotton spinning industry for the revision of working conditions and the wage structure, and details were published in the following month of an agreement on shift-working.

It was reported in March that the remaining stocks of the Raw Cotton Commission had been sold. The Cotton Board issued a booklet giving the industry's case for protection against foreign imports. In May the President of the Board of Trade stated that the Cotton Board would continue in being on the existing basis. The Liverpool Cotton Association approved a new futures contract for Sudan cotton, and a new American-type futures contract was opened for trading on the Liverpool Cotton Exchange in July.

Arrangements were made whereby Britain was to supply Indonesia with cotton yarn and piece-goods valued at U.S. $3 million, against payment in United States raw cotton to be made available to Indonesia under the United States aid legislation. Under similar arrangements, Britain was to supply cotton textiles valued at nearly £1 million to Burma and at $1⅓ million to Pakistan.

Home consumption of raw wool at 39·6 million lb. was at about the same rate as in the previous year. Output of wool tops, at the rate of 26·8 million lb., was somewhat higher than in 1955. Output of woollen yarn was 24·8 million lb. as compared with 26·4 million lb. in 1955, and that of worsted yarn was 19·4 million lb. against 18·5 million lb. in 1955. Production of woollen and worsted fabrics and of blankets showed a slight decline.

Orders were made in July exempting small-scale users of wool material from the research and export promotion levies. During the financial year to 31 March 1957, sales of wool from the stockpile were to amount to about 50,000 bales. On 1 November the London Wool Terminal Market began trading in a crossbred top contract.

The production of synthetic fibres increased still further, and was 483 million lb. compared with 472 million lb. in 1955. Output of jute was at about the same level as in 1955.

The Board of Trade announced in May that it was prepared to consider applications from trade or craft organizations in or connected with the clothing industry for grants from the surplus funds of the Clothing Industry Development Council, which had been dissolved.

Prices. Movements in price index numbers are shown in the table below and in the graph on page 429. At the end of the year the general level of retail prices of goods and services was officially estimated to be about 3 per cent. higher than in December 1955.

In March the Ministry of Labour introduced a new index of retail prices (January 1956 = 100), following acceptance by the Government of the recommendations of the Cost-of-Living Advisory Committee, as contained in its report on Proposals for a New Index of Retail Prices (Cmd. 9710). The Board of Trade began the publication of a new monthly index of wholesale prices of fuel used by manufacturing industries. Wholesale prices of basic materials (other than fuel) used in non-food manufacturing industry rose by 4·1 per cent., and those of the output of all manufacturing industry other than fuel, food, and

PRICES

	Wholesale	Retail			Import	Export
	Non-food manufacturing industry (30 June 1949 = 100)	New series (17 January 1956 = 100)	Old series (17 June 1947 = 100)	Consumer goods and services (1948 = 100)	(1954 = 100)	
1954 Annual average	143·5		143	126	100	100
1955 "	152·4		149	130	103	102
1956 "	156·2		157	*	105	106
1956—						
January	154·7	100·0	153	135	105	104
February	154·9	100·0	153		105	105
March	155·6	101·3	155		106	105
April	154·9	102·7	158	137	106	104
May	155·9	102·5	157		106	105
June	155·2	102·4	157		105	106
July	154·1	102·0	156	135	103	106
August	155·8	102·3	157		103	106
September	157·1	102·1	157		104	107
October	155·4	102·7	158	*	106	107
November	159·3	103·1	158		107	107
December	161·6	103·4	159		109	108

* Not available at time of going to press.

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tobacco by 3·7 per cent. Over the year world prices of wheat remained at about the same level as in 1955, but appreciable increases were recorded for coffee, wool, aluminium and, at the end of the year, sugar. Fluctuations were pronounced in prices of cotton, copper, rubber, tea, and tin. In December the price of nickel was increased, the first change to be made since the autumn of 1954.

The Prime Minister and other members of the Government held talks on the economic situation with representatives of the trade unions, employers, and the nationalized industries. In reply to a question in the House of Commons in June, the Prime Minister said that the object of the talks had been to review the national economy and to emphasize the need to keep down prices. No attempt had been made to make formal arrangements or to obtain specific undertakings on these matters, and legislation was not contemplated. The Federation of British Industries, the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, the National Union of Manufacturers, and the British Employers' Confederation called upon private industry to restrain prices and thus 'play a special part in defeating inflation'. A number of nationalized industries, trade associations, and firms gave qualified assurances that they would not raise their prices for varying periods of time.

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LAW

A NEW superior Court known as the Restrictive Practices Court was created in 1956 by the Restrictive Trade Practices Act. The Act followed broadly the minority recommendations of the Commission which reported in 1955 (see A.R. 1955, p. 458), and provided for the registration of agreements concerning the production or supply of goods under which restrictions were accepted by the parties in respect of a variety of matters. The register was to be open to public inspection. Power was given to the new Court to investigate any registered agreement on application by the registrar and any restrictions found by the Court to be contrary to the public interest were to be void. The Act also prohibited agreements for the collective enforcement of conditions as to resale prices (e.g. by 'black-lists'), but altered the existing common law rule to allow an individual to enforce a resale price condition against a third person who had acquired the goods with notice of the condition. The Act provided for the appointment of three new judges of the High Court and one of the Court of Session.

Another Road Traffic Act was passed making provision for the testing of motor vehicles by authorized examiners to ascertain whether the statutory requirements had been complied with, and police officers were given power to stop vehicles for this purpose. The Act also authorized the imposition of speed limits of 40 m.p.h. in certain built-up areas. Important changes in the criminal law were also made. A new offence was created of causing the death of another person by driving recklessly or dangerously, to establish which the prosecution will not have to prove the exceptionally high degree of recklessness required to justify a verdict of manslaughter. The maximum sentence will be five years imprisonment. On the other hand the offence of being in charge of a motor vehicle when unable to have proper control by reason of drink or drugs will no longer be established when in the circumstances there was no likelihood of the accused's driving while he remained so incapable. The offences of dangerous driving, careless driving, and driving under the influence of drink or drugs, were extended to pedal cyclists, and it was made an offence for a pedestrian to disobey the directions of police constables controlling traffic. Another new offence created by the Act was that of allowing a dog to be on a designated road without a lead.

Because for so long the volume of crime in South Lancashire had been creating administrative difficulties, the Criminal Justice Administration Act set up a new Crown Court at both Liverpool and Manchester. They were opened in the autumn by the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice respectively, and were to rank as Courts of Assize and Quarter Sessions for their areas and to hold at least eleven sessions a year, and will serve much the same purpose as the Old Bailey in London.

Compulsory registration of title to land, formerly confined almost entirely to London and the Home Counties, gained a foothold in the North when Oldham became a compulsory registration area.

Concern had been expressed concerning the growth in recent years of the number of persons who were entitled to diplomatic immunity in the United Kingdom from lawsuit or legal process, particularly as the United Kingdom was more generous in this respect than some other countries. An Order was consequently made under the Diplomatic Immunities Restriction Act withdrawing such immunity from certain classes of persons connected with the envoys of certain foreign sovereign Powers accredited to Her Majesty, to make the position in the United Kingdom correspond as far as possible with that obtaining for persons of equivalent status in the territory of those Powers.

The position of an 'innkeeper' was affected by the Hotel Proprietors' Act. His strict liability as an innkeeper for loss of a guest's property has been extended to cases where the property is only damaged; but it has been excluded in respect of vehicles and horses and is not to apply at all in future unless sleeping accommodation has been engaged. To limit his liability the innkeeper is required to display a new type of notice near his reception office. The Small Lotteries and Gaming Act was passed to remove some of the anomalies that existed in this branch of the law. It legalized both small lotteries promoted by registered societies for charitable purposes and the support of games or cultural activities, and also entertainments for the purpose of raising money otherwise than for private gain at which games of chance were played.

A desire to make the dental profession self-governing led to the passing of the Dentists' Act which provided for the establishment of a General Dental Council and for the education, examination, registration, and discipline of dentists. The Licensing (Airports) Act exempted international airports from restrictions on the times at which intoxicating liquors could be sold.

The ability of a Minister to withhold documents from Courts of Law on a plea of Crown privilege whenever the Minister certifies that the public interest so requires has not infrequently prejudiced the course of justice, particularly perhaps in English Courts, which unlike those in Scotland, have no power to overrule a claim of privilege, but must automatically give effect to it. The Lord Chancellor announced in the House of Lords that the Crown would not in future claim privilege for certain classes of documents. These included reports of employees involved in accidents and of other eye-witnesses, and medical records of civilian employees: but most lawyers consider that this small concession does not go far to meet the criticism of the present state of the law.

Rather more than four years after their appointment the Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce presented their Report (Cmd. 9678). Eighteen of the 19 members were in favour of retaining in principle the doctrine of the matrimonial offence as the basis of the law of divorce, although nine considered that the mere fact that a marriage has 'broken down' should justify a petition of divorce

enabling either spouse to obtain a divorce after seven years' separation if the other spouse did not object. Three new grounds of divorce were unanimously recommended: wilful refusal to consummate (instead of being a ground of nullity as at present), acceptance by a wife of artificial insemination by a donor without her husband's consent, and the detention of a spouse as a mental defective in an institution because of dangerous or violent propensities from which recovery was highly improbable. It being generally accepted that equality between the sexes was desirable in matrimonial law, there were numerous recommendations for reform to achieve this end; thus it was suggested that a wife should have the same right to claim damages from an adulteress as her husband had to claim them from an adulterer. It was also recommended that no decree *nisi* should be made absolute until the Court was satisfied that the best arrangements possible in the circumstances had been made for the children. The Attorney General announced in the House of Commons however that there was no existing prospect of legislation being introduced to implement the recommendations of the Commission.

There were several interesting decisions by the House of Lords during the year. The Court of Appeal's judgment in favour of Prince Ernest Augustus of Hanover's claim to British Nationality (see A.R. 1955, p. 461) was unanimously affirmed. So too was that Court's decision in the case of *The Caspiana*. There a measure of consternation had been caused in the shipping world when the Court of first instance had held invalid a 'strike clause' in a bill of lading. The clause, which was in the usual form, entitled the shipowner to discharge the cargo at any other convenient port if the destination port was strike-bound. Both appellate Courts held that this clause was not repugnant to the main object of the contract (as had been held by the trial judge) and so was valid.

In *Smith* v. *East Elloe Rural District Council* the House of Lords was faced with a difficult problem of statutory construction. It had been enacted by Parliament that a compulsory purchase order should not be questioned in any legal proceedings whatsoever after a period of six weeks had elapsed. The House had to determine whether this applied if the order had been obtained by fraud. By a bare majority the House decided that the order must stand, though it was unanimous in holding that this did not prevent a claim for damages being made against the clerk to the Council personally if fraud on his part were alleged.

An important point arose for the decision of the House in *Stavely Iron and Chemical Co. Ltd.* v. *Jones*. Their Lordships had previously held that a workman who was injured in a factory or mine and who sued his employers for breach of statutory duty must not be adjudged guilty of contributory negligence without due regard being given to the conditions under which he worked, such as the long hours and fatigue, the constant repetition, the noise and confusion. In this case the Court of first instance had decided that where the plaintiff's injury was caused by a 'lapse of attention' on the part of a fellow-workman

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arising from just such weariness, the employer was not liable to the injured workman because the fellow-workman's lapse of attention did not amount to negligence for which his employer could be held responsible. The House of Lords held that the lapse by the fellow-servant did amount to negligence for which the employer would be liable to a stranger, had a stranger been injured, and that the employer's liability to his own workman was in such a case neither greater nor less than to a stranger. Thus the workman recovered damages from his employers.

Cases on the effect of the Rent Restriction Acts were multifarious but one decision during the year by the House of Lords was significant. The Acts only gave protection to a tenant of a 'separate dwelling house' and thus it had long been established that a tenant who shared possession of any essential living accommodation with his landlord was outside the Acts. But in *Goodrich* v. *Paisner* the House held (reversing the Court of Appeal) that a tenant of four rooms who had the additional but vaguely defined right, in common with his landlord, to use a spare bedroom, was still a tenant of a separate dwelling house and so was protected by the Rent Acts. The House also settled a long-standing controversy by deciding in *Walsh* v. *Lord Advocate* that a Jehovah's Witness could not be said to be 'a regular minister of any religious denomination' within the National Service Act 1948 and so exempt from such service on that ground.

The master and servant relationship again engaged the attention of the Courts (see A.R. 1955, p. 461). The Court of Appeal struck a further blow at the ancient action for loss of services (*per quod servitium amisit*) by holding in the case of *Inland Revenue Commissioners* v. *Hambrook* that it only lay in the case of loss of a *domestic* servant and thus was of no assistance to the plaintiffs who had been deprived of the services of a tax officer by the defendant's wrongful act. As a consequence of this decision, two police authorities who had each been deprived of the services of a constable by a third person's negligence tried a different tack. They each sought to recover from the respective tortfeasor the wages they had paid to their respective constables while they were incapacitated (as they were statutorily obliged to do) by an action in quasi contract. A remarkable situation arose. The first claim, *Metropolitan Police Receiver* v. *Croydon Corporation* came before Mr. Justice Slade who gave judgment for the police authority. A few weeks later the other claim, *Monmouthshire County Council* v. *Smith* (raising exactly the same point of law), came before Mr. Justice Lynsky who decided the other way. Appeals were therefore brought in both cases and the Court of Appeal affirmed Mr. Justice Lynsky and reversed Mr. Justice Slade, on the ground that the defendants were not subject to any quasi contractual liability, in the absence of any enrichment. The Lord Chief Justice pointed out that the plaintiff's claims were in essence for loss of services and that as the action *per quod servitium amisit* had now been restricted there was no remedy open to them.

A full investigation of the law relating to easements was made by the Court of Appeal in the case of *Re Ellenborough Park* where the

problem was whether a right to the 'full enjoyment' of a pleasure ground could exist as an easement appurtenant to neighbouring dwelling houses. It had long been thought that a *jus spatiandi* could not constitute a right of property and could only exist as a bare contractual right, but the Court decided that there was no such rule, and that this right to enjoy the pleasure ground was an actual easement, a decision that was of significance to many property owners. In another case, *Miller* v. *Emcer Products Ltd.*, the same Court held that a lease of offices which conferred the right to use a lavatory in a part of the building occupied by a third person had created an easement forming part of the demise.

Huntley v. *Thornton and Others* was a case of great importance to trade unions. A member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union had refused to take part in a one-day strike which he regarded as unconstitutional, and as a result the Union's District Committee had endeavoured to prevent him from obtaining or retaining work as an engineer, although the Union itself declined to agree to his expulsion from the Union. He sued the secretary and members of the Committee for damages for the tort of conspiracy and Mr. Justice Harman awarded him £500 damages and gave him leave to move for an injunction if further victimization took place. The defendants had not acted in the interests of the Union but had thought only of their own 'ruffled dignity'; and they were not protected by the Trade Disputes Act 1906 because they were not furthering a trade dispute but a personal grudge.

An interesting and unusual point arose for decision in *Re Callaway* where a mother was murdered by her daughter, who then committed suicide. The mother had made a will leaving all her property to her daughter but it was clear law that the daughter's estate could take no benefit in these circumstances. The mother also had a son, and the Court decided (though with some reluctance) that he should succeed and that the Crown's claim failed, although this resulted in a sense in the son benefiting from his sister's crime.

An important question relating to illegitimate children had come before the House of Lords in 1955 (see A.R. 1955, p. 460). There were two more interesting cases on this subject in 1956. In *Re C.T.* Mr. Justice Roxburgh held that the Guardianship of Infants Acts did not empower the Court to award custody of an illegitimate child to his putative father. The other case, *Re C.*, was attended with much publicity as it concerned a two year old girl whom her putative father (a Russian) was endeavouring to take from the U.S.A., where she was born, to the Soviet Union. While father and child were passing through the United Kingdom the child was made a ward of court and Mr. Justice Wynn Parry directed that she should be submitted to the custody and control of her mother and that the mother should be given leave to take her back to the United States.

The decision of the Court of Criminal Appeal in *R.* v. *Ward* attracted much attention during the parliamentary debates on capital punishment. In accordance with some plain authority the Court had upheld

a conviction of murder where a man of sub-normal intelligence had violently shaken an infant child to stop it crying, because the appropriate test was whether a *reasonable* man would have contemplated that death or grievous bodily harm was likely to result and 'the test must be applied to all alike'. There were other criminal decisions of a less controversial nature. In *R.* v. *Odhams Press Ltd.*, a newspaper had published matter calculated to prejudice a fair trial of pending proceedings, but pleaded ignorance that the proceedings were pending. The Court held that this was immaterial in the circumstances. In *R.* v. *Martin* the Court considered the question of crimes committed on board British aircraft over foreign territory and rejected the prosecution's contention that the Civil Aviation Act 1949 gave the Court jurisdiction to try such crimes as if they had been committed in the United Kingdom. The view was expressed, however, that passengers could not conduct themselves with impunity because common law crimes such as murder and theft, as distinct from many statutory offences, were regarded as universal in nature and not dependent upon the law of a particular country. The difficulties of the law regarding dishonest appropriation were illustrated in the case of *Moynes* v. *Coopper* where a man received a wage packet containing more money than he was entitled to, but only discovered the mistake (and decided to keep the extra money) when he opened the packet at home. The Divisional Court held by a majority that he was not guilty of larceny since at the time when he took the packet he had no *animus furandi*.

There were no momentous decisions in divorce law during the year although in the case of *Beigan* v. *Beigan* Lord Justice Denning made the interesting suggestion that it would be possible for both spouses to desert the other, and both therefore to be granted decrees *nisi* on this ground.

No case throughout the year attracted greater publicity than a prosecution for the theft of five hats worth £1 12*s.* 11*d.* from a London store. The defendant was Mrs. Nina Ponomareva, the Russian champion discus thrower. Because she failed to attend Court in answer to her summons a warrant was issued for her arrest and she took refuge in the Soviet Embassy. There was much angry comment from Moscow and a difficult situation developed. The Bolshoi Ballet threatened to cancel their visit to England. But all ended satisfactorily. After staying for a month in the Embassy Mrs. Ponomareva emerged and appeared at Marlborough Street Court, where the Magistrate found the case proved, but gave her an absolute discharge on payment of three guineas costs. Justice was satisfied and she left for home.

In December it was announced that Lord Justice Birkett was to retire after completing 15 years' service on the Bench.

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PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

EGYPTIAN LAW NATIONALIZING THE SUEZ CANAL COMPANY

(Cairo, 26 *July* 1956 *)

In the name of the Nation,
The President of the Republic,

Considering the firmans of 30 November 1854 and 5 January 1956 [1856] concerning the administration of traffic services through the Suez Canal and the establishment of an Egyptian joint stock company for its exploitation;

Considering law no. 129 of 1947 concerning public utility concessions;

Considering law no. 317 of 1952 concerning individual contracts of work;

Considering law no. 26 of 1954 concerning joint stock companies, shareholders' companies and limited liability companies;

Considering the opinion of the Council of State;

Promulgates the following law:

ARTICLE 1

The International Company of the Suez Maritime Canal (Egyptian Joint Stock Company) is hereby nationalized. Its assets and liabilities revert to the State and the councils and committees at present responsible for its administration are dissolved.

The shareholders and holders of founders' shares will be compensated for the stock and shares which they own on the basis of their closing price on the Paris Bourse immediately preceding the date on which this law enters into force.

Payment of this compensation will be made when all the assets of the nationalized company have been fully handed over to the State.

ARTICLE 2

The administration of traffic services through the Suez Canal will be carried out by an independent body with the legal status of a corporation; it will be attached to the Ministry of Commerce. An order of the President of the Republic will fix the composition of this body and the payment to be made to its members. This body will have full powers necessary for controlling this service and will not be subject to administrative routine and regulations.

Subject to the right of the Cour des Comptes to supervise its final accounts, this body will have an independent budget which will be drawn up according to the rules established by commercial legislation. The financial year will begin on 1 July and end on 30 June of each year. The budget and final accounts will be approved by an order of the President of the Republic. The first financial year will begin on the date on which this law enters into force and will end on 30 June 1957.

The body may delegate to one or more of its members the responsibility for carrying out its decisions or any duties it may assign to them.

It may set up technical committees consisting of its members or other qualified persons whose services it will use for purposes of research and study.

The chairman of the body will act as its representative before judicial, governmental and other authorities. He will represent it in its relations with third parties.

ARTICLE 3

The funds of the nationalized company and its rights in Egypt and abroad are hereby frozen. Banks, institutions and private persons are forbidden to dispose of these assets in any way, to pay out any sum whatever or to meet claims for payment without previous sanction by the body envisaged in Article 2.

* Translated from *La Bourse Egyptienne*, 27 July 1956, and reproduced by kind permission of the Royal Institute of International Affairs from '*Documents on the Suez Crisis, 26 July-6 November 1956*, selected and introduced by D. C. Watt'.

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ARTICLE 4

The body will retain the services of the officials of the nationalized company and of its employees and manual workers. These must continue their work and are forbidden to leave their employment or to abandon it in any way or for any reason whatsoever without the previous permission of the body envisaged in Article 2.

ARTICLE 5

Any breach of the terms of Article 3 will be punished with imprisonment and a fine equal to three times the value of the sum involved. Any breach of the terms of Article 4 will be punished with imprisonment; the offender will, in addition, be deprived of any right to a gratuity, pension or compensation.

ARTICLE 6

This decision will be published in the *Journal Officiel*. It will have the force of law and will be effective from the date of its publication.

The Minister of Commerce will make the orders necessary for its implementation. This decision will bear the seal of the State and will be implemented as a law of the State.

JOINT STATEMENT BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND THE UNITED STATES PROPOSING A CONFERENCE ON THE SUEZ CANAL ON 16 AUGUST 1956 *

(London, 2 *August* 1956)

THE Governments of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States join in the following statement:

1. They have taken note of the recent action of the Government of Egypt whereby it attempts to nationalise and take over the assets and the responsibilities of the Universal Suez Canal Company. This Company was organised in Egypt in 1856 under a franchise to build the Suez Canal and operate it until 1968. The Universal Suez Canal Company has always had an international character in terms of its shareholders, directors and operating personnel and in terms of its responsibility to assure the efficient functioning as an international waterway of the Suez Canal. In 1888 all the great Powers then principally concerned with the international character of the Canal and its free, open and secure use without discrimination joined in the treaty and Convention of Constantinople. This provided for the benefit of all the world that the international character of the Canal would be perpetuated for all time, irrespective of the expiration of the concession of the Universal Suez Canal Company. Egypt as recently as October, 1954, recognised that the Suez Canal is 'a waterway economically, commercially and strategically of international importance,' and renewed its determination to uphold the Convention of 1888.

2. They do not question the right of Egypt to enjoy and exercise all the powers of a fully sovereign and independent nation, including the generally recognised right, under appropriate conditions, to nationalise assets, not impressed with an international interest, which are subject to its political authority. But the present action involves far more than a simple act of nationalisation. It involves the arbitrary and unilateral seizure by one nation of an international agency which has the responsibility to maintain and to operate the Suez Canal so that all the signatories to, and beneficiaries of, the Treaty of 1888 can effectively enjoy the use of an international waterway upon which the economy, commerce, and security of much of the world depends. This seizure is the more serious in its implications because it avowedly was made for the purpose of enabling the Government of Egypt to make the Canal serve the purely national purposes of the Egyptian Government, rather than the international purpose established by the Convention of 1888.

Furthermore, they deplore the fact that as an incident to its seizure the Egyptian Government has had recourse to what amounts to a denial of fundamental human rights by compelling employees of the Suez Canal Company to continue to work under threat of imprisonment.

* Extract from Cmd. 9853.

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3. They consider that the action taken by the Government of Egypt, having regard to all the attendant circumstances, threatens the freedom and security of the Canal as guaranteed by the Convention of 1888. This makes it necessary that steps be taken to assure that the parties to that Convention and all other nations entitled to enjoy its benefits shall, in fact, be assured of such benefits.

4. They consider that steps should be taken to establish operating arrangements under an international system designed to assure the continuity of operation of the Canal as guaranteed by the Convention of 29th October, 1888, consistently with legitimate Egyptian interests.

5. To this end they propose that a conference should promptly be held of parties to the Convention and other nations largely concerned with the use of the Canal. The invitations to such a conference, to be held in London, on 16th August, 1956, will be extended by the Government of the United Kingdom to the Governments named in the Annex to this Statement. The Governments of France and the United States are ready to take part in the conference.

ANNEX

Parties to the Convention of 1888

Egypt.	Spain.
France.	Turkey.
Italy.	United Kingdom.
Netherlands.	U.S.S.R.

Other nations largely concerned in the use of the Canal either through ownership of tonnage or pattern of trade

Australia.	Iran.
Ceylon.	Japan.
Denmark.	New Zealand.
Ethiopia.	Norway.
Federal Republic of Germany.	Pakistan.
Greece.	Portugal.
India.	Sweden.
Indonesia.	United States.

THE '18-NATIONS' PROPOSALS ADOPTED AT THE FIRST LONDON CONFERENCE ON THE SUEZ CANAL *

(London, 23 *August* 1956)

THE following is the final text of the proposal which was endorsed by the Delegates of Australia, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Iran, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, and, subject to the statement reproduced under Item 7 (ii), Spain :

The Governments approving this Statement, being participants in the London Conference on the Suez Canal :

Concerned by the grave situation regarding the Suez Canal ;

Seeking a peaceful solution in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations ; and

Recognising that an adequate solution must, on the one hand, respect the sovereign rights of Egypt, including its rights to just and fair compensation for the use of the Canal, and, on the other hand, safeguard the Suez Canal as an international waterway in accordance with the Suez Canal Convention of 29th October, 1888 ;

Assuming for the purposes of this statement that just and fair compensation will be paid to the Universal Company of the Suez Maritime Canal, and that the necessary arrangements

* Extract from Cmd. 9853.

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for such compensation, including a provision for arbitration in the event of disagreement, will be covered by the final settlement contemplated below

Join in this expression of their views :

1. They affirm that, as stated in the Preamble of the Convention of 1888, there should be established ' a definite system destined to guarantee at all times, and for all the Powers, the free use of the Suez Maritime Canal.'

2. Such a system which would be established with due regard to the sovereign rights of Egypt, should assure :

(a) Efficient and dependable operation, maintenance and development of the Canal as a free, open and secure international waterway in accordance with the principles of the Convention of 1888.

(b) Insulation of the operation of the Canal from the influence of the politics of any nation.

(c) A return to Egypt for the use of the Suez Canal which will be fair and equitable and increasing with enlargements of is capacity and greater use.

(d) Canal tolls as low as is consistent with the foregoing requirements and, except for (c) above, no profit.

3. To achieve these results on a permanent and reliable basis there should be established by a Convention to be negotiated with Egypt :

(a) Institutional arrangements for co-operation between Egypt and other interested nations in the operation, maintenance and development of the Canal and for harmonising and safeguarding their respective interests in the Canal. To this end, operating, maintaining and developing the Canal and enlarging it so as to increase the volume of traffic in the interest of the world trade and of Egypt, would be the responsibility of a Suez Canal Board. Egypt would grant this Board all rights and facilities appropriate to its functioning as here outlined. The status of the Board would be defined in the above-mentioned Convention.

The members of the Board, in addition to Egypt, would be other States chosen in a manner to be agreed upon from among the States parties to the Convention with due regard to use, pattern of trade and geographical distribution ; the composition of the Board to be such as to assure that its responsibilities would be discharged solely with a view to achieving the best possible operating results without political motivation in favour of, or in prejudice against, any user of the Canal.

The Board would make periodic reports to the United Nations.

(b) An Arbitral Commission to settle any disputes as to the equitable return to Egypt or other matters arising in the operation of the Canal.

(c) Effective sanctions for any violation of the Convention by any party to it, or any other nation, including provisions for treating any use or threat of force to interfere with the use or operation of the Canal as a threat to the peace and a violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

(d) Provisions for appropriate association with the United Nations and for review as may be necessary.

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT NASSER TO THE RT. HON. R. G. MENZIES, CHAIRMAN OF THE 5-NATION COMMITTEE AUTHORIZED TO PRESENT THE '18-NATIONS PROPOSALS' TO THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT *

(Cairo, 9 *September* 1956)

Your Excellency,

I have received your letter of September 7, 1956 relating to the meetings held between us and the committee headed by you and representing 18 of the Governments which participated in the London Conference on the Suez Canal. Your committee will recall that during those meetings, I took up various basic points and commented upon them. You have

* Extract from Cmd. 9856.

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referred to the 18 countries as representing over 90 per cent. of the users of the Canal. Besides this being distinctly a statistical exaggeration, our understanding of the 'users of the Canal' includes those countries which, even though they have no ships passing through the Canal, use the Canal for the passage of the bulk of their foreign trade. An illustration of this would be such countries as Australia, Thailand, Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Ethiopia and the Sudan. Furthermore, the principle of sovereignty, the right of ownership and the dignity of nations are all deeply involved in this problem. At least in appearance, the starting point of the present crisis was July 26, 1956 when, in the exercise of one of its prerogatives, the Government of Egypt nationalised the Company which bore the name of 'The Universal Maritime Company of the Suez Canal'.

That the Government of Egypt was fully entitled to nationalise that Egyptian company cannot be seriously contested. In nationalising that company the Government of Egypt stated unequivocally that it considers itself bound by the 1888 Convention guaranteeing the freedom of passage through the Suez Canal and its readiness to give full and equitable compensation to the shareholders. Furthermore, on August 12 the Government of Egypt announced its willingness to sponsor with the other Governments, signatories to the Constantinople Convention of 1888, a conference to which would be invited the other Governments whose ships pass through the Suez Canal for the purpose of reviewing the Constantinople Convention and considering the concluding of an agreement between all these Governments reaffirming and guaranteeing the freedom of passage through the Suez Canal. Parallel to this nowhere and no date could be found where or when the Government of Egypt violated any of its international obligations concerning the Suez Canal. At the same time, for nearly fifty days, and in spite of the difficulties created by France and the United Kingdom and by segments of the former Suez Canal Company, the traffic through the Canal has been going with regularity and efficiency. The crisis and the so-called 'grave situation' are, therefore, artificially created by the above-mentioned quarters as witness among other things—

(a) statements containing threat of force;
(b) mobilisation and movements of troops by France and the United Kingdom;
(c) inciting employees and pilots working in the Suez Canal to abruptly abandon their work by France and the United Kingdom and some officials of the former Suez Canal Company, and
(d) hostile economic measures taken against Egypt.

With all this going on we have been repeatedly made to listen to references to a 'peaceful solution' and to 'free negotiations' in order to achieve such a solution. Need one emphasise the contradiction between the palpitating reality and professed aim? If there is anything which flagrantly violated and disdained the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations it is such acts of attempted intimidation, economic pressure and incitement of sabotage. In distinct contrast to this the Government of Egypt has announced its full readiness to negotiate a peaceful solution in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. This remains to be the policy and the intent of the Egyptian Government. We have studied most carefully all those proposals submitted in and outside the London Conference with regard to this problem including the proposals of the 18 countries which the committee represents. We find ourselves in agreement with the 18 countries when they state that the solution must—

(a) respect the sovereign right of Egypt;
(b) safeguard the freedom of passage through the Suez Canal in accordance with the Suez Canal Convention of October 29, 1888;
(c) respect Egypt's right of ownership;
(d) ensure the efficient and dependable operation, maintenance and development of the Canal.

When, however, we come to consider the ways and means proposed by the committee to attack these objectives we find that they are self-defeating and that they lead to opposite results from those aimed at. The 'definite system' as proposed by the committee would, in fact, mean 'taking over the operation of the Canal' as circulated by the sponsoring Government immediately before the conference among the Governments invited and in substance maintained throughout, in spite of the variance of expression.

The system proposed is bound to be considered and treated by the people of Egypt as the hostile infringing upon their rights and their sovereignty all of which precludes real

co-operation. It can, moreover, be asked whether it was the Suez Canal Company which guaranteed the freedom of passage through the Canal. Was it not indeed the Government of Egypt who safeguarded, and still safeguards, that freedom of passage? Would this freedom be, or could its actual practice be, safeguarded by the proposed Suez Canal Board? Is it not to be expected that this board be not a source of comfort and help, but a source of misunderstanding and trouble?

In all this we keep constantly in our mind the vital importance of genuine international co-operation as distinct from domination of any country, be it single domination as the one which Egypt just got rid of, or collective domination, as would inevitably be considered the system proposed by the committee. Any attempt to impose such a system would indeed be the signal for incalculable strife and would plunge the Suez Canal into the turmoil of politics, instead of as the committee professed to want, insulating it from politics.

Whatever the system of operation of the Canal is going to be, it will depend on the close, full and willing co-operation of the people of Egypt, among whom and through whose country the Canal runs. It is obvious that such indispensable co-operation cannot be had if the people will consider the operating body as hostile and as against their sovereignty, their rights and their dignity.

Strangely enough, those who pose as protagonists of 'insulating' the Suez Canal from politics have been the authors of many acts which diametrically contradict this announced purpose. What is the 'internationalisation' of the Suez Canal, the convening of the London Conference on the Suez Canal within the most part tactically selected invitees, the delegating of the Five-Member Committee, the threats, the deployment of armed forces and the economic measures—what are all these, if not politics?

You have mentioned that the delegates of any nation represented in the proposed Suez Canal Board should not be under any obligation to observe political instructions. They will, nevertheless, be nationals of their respective countries and subjects of their respective Governments and it will be extremely unlikely that they will be immune from the influence of such relationships. The similes you have put forth of the International Bank and the International Court of Justice do not, in our opinion, either hold or convince. We believe that the real insulation of the Canal from politics would best be guaranteed by a solemn and internationally binding commitment in the form of a reaffirmation or a renewal of the 1888 Convention either of which, as we have already declared, is acceptable to us.

It has been alleged that the Government of Egypt aims at discriminating against one of the countries you represent, namely the United Kingdom, and that the Government of Egypt has among its objectives the disruption of British economy and the interruption of the flow of trade and supply of the United Kingdom through the Suez Canal. It is clear beyond cavil that nothing could be farther from the truth and no one could validly point out one single reason why, and for what useful purpose, the Government of Egypt should entertain such policy.

International confidence was mentioned by you. I have in this connexion called your attention to the fact that confidence is a two-way proposition and that, while the confidence of other nations is important, that of the Egyptian people is at least of equal importance in this respect, and it cannot be had if the Egyptian people are, as a result of certain acts and policies, imperilled to doubt and lose faith in the existence of international justice and the rule of law in international relations.

If the real objective is to secure the freedom of passage through the Suez Canal the answer is there, namely that passage through the Canal has always been and continues to be free. The only danger to this freedom of passage stems from the threats, the redeployment of armed forces, the incitation of employees and workers to sabotage the operation of the Canal and the economic measures against Egypt.

If, on the other hand as it seems, the objective is to amputate and to sever from the very body of Egypt one of its main points, if the aim is to deprive Egypt from an integral part of its territory, we should be told of it. It should be abundantly clear by now that Egypt by the very nature of things is vitally interested in the maintenance of peace and security, not only around the Suez Canal but also throughout the area in which it exists and all over the world.

It should be equally clear that, if only by sheer self-interest, Egypt is devoted to the freedom of passage through the Canal and is equally devoted to the concept of an efficient enlightened and progressive operation of the Canal without any discrimination or any exploitation whatsoever. I wish to refer in this last connexion to my having mentioned

to the committee that the Government of Egypt is ready to enter into a binding arrangement concerning the establishment of just and equitable tolls and charges.

As for the future development of the Suez Canal to which you referred, I wish to reiterate that the Government of Egypt is determined to do everything possible in this respect, that it has already announced its intention to carry out the development programme which was planned by the former Canal Company and other programmes of much wider scope and longer range.

It is our announced policy that the Suez Canal authority is an independent authority with an independent budget empowered with all the necessary powers without being limited by Government rules and systems. We have also announced our intention to earmark an adequate percentage of the revenues of the Canal to its future development and to deviate none of the revenues needed for such development to other channels.

Both for the development and for the operation of the Canal, the Government of Egypt does, and will always be ready to, benefit by the knowledge and experience of highly-qualified experts from all over the world. The crux of the present situation is, in our opinion, that the proposed system in itself and, in what has accompanied it, and what it involves, aims at securing for a group of the users of the Canal control of it by their taking over its operation.

The paper which was circulated among the countries invited to the London Conference shortly before it was convened and which seems to be until now a guide as to the still maintained objectives of the sponsoring countries reads:

> Proposal for the establishment of an International Authority for the Suez Canal. France, the United Kingdom, and the United States are in agreement that at the conference a resolution shall be tabled for setting up an International Authority for the Suez Canal on the following lines.
>
> 2. The purposes and functions of this International Authority would be:
>
> (i) to take over the operation of the Canal;
> (ii) to ensure its efficient functioning as a free, open and secure international waterway in accordance with the principles of the Suez Canal Convention of 1888;
> (iii) to arrange for the payment of fair compensation to the Suez Canal Company;
> (iv) to ensure to Egypt an equitable return which will take into account all legitimate Egyptian rights and interests. Failing agreement with the company or with Egypt on either of the last two points, the matter would be referred to an Arbitral Commission of three members to be appointed by the International Court of Justice.
>
> 3. The constituent organs of the International Authority would be:
>
> (i) a Council of Administration, the members of which would be nominated by the Powers chiefly interested in navigation and seaborne trade through the Canal;
> (ii) the necessary technical, working and administrative organs.
>
> 4. The Powers of the International Authority would, in particular, include:
>
> (i) the carrying out of all necessary works;
> (ii) the determination of the tolls, dues and other charges on a just and equitable basis;
> (iii) all questions of finance;
> (iv) general powers of administration and control.

We are convinced that any unbiased study of this circular would leave the reader with but one conviction, namely, that the purpose is to take the Suez Canal out of the hands of Egypt and put it into some other hands. It is difficult to imagine anything more provocative to the people of Egypt than this. An act of such a nature is both self-defeating and of a nature to generate friction, misunderstanding and continuous strife. It would be, in other words, not the end, but the beginning of trouble. I would like, on the other hand, to reaffirm that the policy of my Government remains to be:

(*a*) the freedom of passage through the Suez Canal and its secure use without discrimination;
(*b*) the development of the Suez Canal to meet the future requirements of navigation;
(*c*) the establishment of just and equitable tolls and charges; and
(*d*) technical efficiency of the Suez Canal.

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We trust that the Suez Canal will thus be insulated from politics and will, instead of being a source of conflict, become again a link of co-operation and of mutual benefit and better understanding between the nations of the earth. Furthermore, we are confident that, by carrying out this policy, and extending its good will in every direction, Egypt will best be able to contribute to the welfare and happiness of the world as well as to its own happiness and welfare.

STATEMENT BY THE '18-NATIONS' AND DECLARATION ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SUEZ CANAL USERS' ASSOCIATION AT THE SECOND LONDON CONFERENCE ON THE SUEZ CANAL *

(London, 21 *September* 1956)

REPRESENTATIVES of the 18 Governments who joined in the proposals which were subsequently submitted to the Egyptian Government by the Five Nation Committee presided over by the Prime Minister of Australia, the Right Honourable Robert Menzies, as a basis for negotiating a settlement of the Suez Canal question, met in London from September 19 to 21, 1956. Their purpose was to consider the situation in the light of the report of that Committee and other developments since the first London Conference.

They noted with regret that the Egyptian Government did not accept these proposals and did not make any counter-proposals to the Five Nation Committee.

It is the view of the Conference that these proposals still offer a fair basis for a peaceful solution of the Suez Canal problem, taking into account the interests of the user nations as well as those of Egypt. The 18 Governments will continue their efforts to obtain such a settlement. The proposal made by the Egyptian Government on September 10 was placed before the Conference but it was considered too imprecise to afford a useful basis for discussion.

A Declaration was drawn up providing for the establishment of a Suez Canal Users' Association. The text of this Declaration is annexed hereto. This Association is designed to facilitate any steps which may lead to a final or provisional solution of the Suez Canal problem. It will further co-operation between the Governments adhering to it, concerning the use of the Canal. For this purpose it will seek the co-operation of the competent Egyptian authorities pending a solution of the larger issues. It will also deal with such problems as would arise if the traffic through the Canal were to diminish or cease. The Association will be established as a functioning entity at an early date after the delegates to this Conference have had an opportunity to consult in relation thereto with their respective Governments.

The Conference noted that on September 12, 1956, the Governments of the U.K. and France informed the Security Council of the United Nations of the situation,† and that subsequently, on September 17, the Government of Egypt also made a communication to the Security Council.† The Conference considers that recourse should be had to the United Nations whenever it seems that this would facilitate a settlement.

The representatives of the 18 Governments have found their co-operation at the Conference valuable and constructive. The 18 Governments will continue to consult together in order to maintain a common approach to the problems which may arise out of the Suez question in the future.

It is the conviction of the Conference that the course outlined in this statement is capable of producing by peaceful means a solution which is in conformity with the principles of justice and international law as declared in Article I of the Charter of the United Nations.

DECLARATION PROVIDING FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SUEZ CANAL USERS' ASSOCIATION

I. The members of the Suez Canal Users' Association (SCUA) shall be those nations which have participated in the second London Suez Conference and which subscribe to the present Declaration, and any other adhering nations which conform to criteria to be laid down hereafter by the Association.

* Reproduced from U.S. Department of State Bulletin, 1 October 1956.
† U.N. doc. S/3645.

II. SCUA shall have the following purposes:

(1) To facilitate any steps which may lead to a final or provisional solution of the Suez Canal problem and to assist the members in the exercise of their rights as users of the Suez Canal in consonance with the 1888 Convention, with due regard for the rights of Egypt;

(2) To promote safe, orderly, efficient, and economical transit of the Canal by vessels of any member nation desiring to avail themselves of the facilities of SCUA and to seek the co-operation of the competent Egyptian authorities for this purpose;

(3) To extend its facilities to vessels of non-member nations which desire to use them;

(4) To receive, hold, and disburse the revenues accruing from dues and other sums which any user of the Canal may pay to SCUA, without prejudice to existing rights, pending a final settlement;

(5) To consider and report to members regarding any significant developments affecting the use or non-use of the Canal;

(6) To assist in dealing with any practical problems arising from the failure of the Suez Canal adequately to serve its customary and intended purpose and to study forthwith means that may render it feasible to reduce dependence on the Canal;

(7) To facilitate the execution of any provisional solution of the Suez problem that may be adopted by the United Nations.

III. To carry out the above mentioned purposes:

(1) The members shall consult together in a Council on which each member will be represented;

(2) The Council shall establish an executive group to which it may delegate such powers as it deems appropriate;

(3) An Administrator, who shall, inter alia, make the necessary arrangements with shipping interests, will be appointed to serve under the direction of the Council through the executive group.

IV. Membership may at any time be terminated by giving 60 days' notice.

U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION INCORPORATING THE 'SIX PRINCIPLES' REQUIRED IN ANY SETTLEMENT OF THE SUEZ QUESTION *

(New York, 13 *October* 1956)

THIS was the first part of a joint Anglo-French resolution, with a Persian amendment, and was adopted unanimously. The 'six principles' were agreed upon after private discussion by the British, French, and Egyptian Foreign Ministers. The second part of the resolution was nullified by a Soviet veto.

The Security Council,

Noting the declarations made before it and the accounts of the development of the exploratory conversations on the Suez question given by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Foreign Ministers of Egypt, France and the United Kingdom;

Agrees that any settlement of the Suez question should meet the following requirements:

(1) there should be free and open transit through the Canal without discrimination, overt or covert—this covers both political and technical aspects;
(2) the sovereignty of Egypt should be respected;
(3) the operation of the Canal should be insulated from the politics of any country;
(4) the manner of fixing tolls and charges should be decided by agreement between Egypt and the users;
(5) a fair proportion of the dues should be allotted to development;
(6) in case of disputes, unresolved affairs between the Suez Canal Company and the Egyptian Government should be settled by arbitration with suitable terms of reference and suitable provisions for the payment of sums found to be due.

* U.N. doc. S/3675.

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COMMUNICATION ADDRESSED BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND FRANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT

(30 *October* 1956)

THE Governments of the United Kingdom and France have taken note of the outbreak of hostilities between Israel and Egypt. This event threatens to disrupt the freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal on which the economic life of many nations depends.

The Governments of the United Kingdom and France are resolved to do all in their power to bring about the early cessation of hostilities and to safeguard the free passage of the Canal.

They accordingly request the Government of Egypt:

(*a*) to stop all warlike action on land, sea and air forthwith;
(*b*) to withdraw all Egyptian military forces to a distance of 10 miles from the Canal;
(*c*) in order to guarantee freedom of transit through the Canal by the ships of all nations and in order to separate the belligerents, to accept the temporary occupation by Anglo-French forces of key positions at Port Said, Ismailia and Suez.

The United Kingdom and French Governments request an answer to this communication within 12 hours. If at the expiration of that time one or both Governments have not undertaken to comply with the above requirements, United Kingdom and French forces will intervene in whatever strength may be necessary to secure compliance.

A similar communication has been sent to the Government of Israel.

COMMUNICATION ADDRESSED BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND FRANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL

(30 *October* 1956)

THE Governments of the United Kingdom and France have taken note of the outbreak of hostilities between Israel and Egypt. This event threatens to disrupt the freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal on which the economic life of many nations depends.

The Governments of the United Kingdom and France are resolved to do all in their power to bring about the early cessation of hostilities and to safeguard the free passage of the Canal.

They accordingly request the Government of Israel:

(*a*) to stop all warlike action on land, sea and air forthwith;
(*b*) to withdraw all Israeli military forces to a distance of 10 miles east of the Canal.

A communication has been addressed to the Government of Egypt, requesting them to cease hostilities and to withdraw their forces from the neighbourhood of the Canal, and to accept the temporary occupation by Anglo-French forces of key positions at Port Said, Ismailia and Suez.

The United Kingdom and French Governments request an answer to this communication within 12 hours. If at the expiration of that time one or both Governments have not undertaken to comply with the above requirements, United Kingdom and French forces will intervene in whatever strength may be necessary to secure compliance.

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION *

(New York, 2 *November* 1956)

THE resolution was moved by the United States and was based on the earlier U.S. resolution introduced by Mr. Dulles to the Security Council on 30 October

* U.N. General Assembly Resolution 997 (ES—I).

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and vetoed by the United Kingdom and France. It was adopted at 2 a.m. on 2 November 1956 by 64 votes to 5, with 6 abstentions; 1 delegation (Luxembourg) was absent.

Those voting for the resolution were: Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussia, Cambodia, Ceylon, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iraq, the Irish Republic, Italy, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mexico, Nepal, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, Rumania, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Ukraine, the U.S.S.R., the United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, and Nationalist China.

Those voting against were: Australia, France, Israel, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom.

Those abstaining were: Belgium, Canada, Laos, the Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa.

The General Assembly,

Noting the disregard on many occasions by parties to the Israel-Arab Armistice Agreements of 1949 of the terms of such agreements, and that the armed forces of Israel have penetrated deeply into Egyptian territory in violation of the General Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel of 24 February 1949,

Noting that armed forces of France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland are conducting military operations against Egyptian territory,

Noting that traffic through the Suez Canal is now interrupted to the serious prejudice of many nations,

Expressing its grave concern over these developments,

1. *Urges* as a matter of priority that all parties now involved in hostilities in the area agree to an immediate cease-fire, and as part thereof, halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area;

2. *Urges* the parties to the armistice agreements promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the armistice lines into neighbouring territory, and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreements;

3. *Recommends* that all Member States refrain from introducing military goods in the area of hostilities and in general refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of this resolution;

4. *Urges* that upon the cease-fire being effective steps be taken to reopen the Suez Canal and restore secure freedom of navigation;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to observe and report promptly on the compliance with this resolution, to the Security Council and to the General Assembly, for such further action as they may deem appropriate in accordance with the Charter;

6. *Decides* to remain in emergency session pending compliance with this resolution.

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION ON THE SETTING UP OF AN EMERGENCY INTERNATIONAL UNITED NATIONS FORCE IN EGYPT *

(New York, 4 *November* 1956, 2 a.m.)

THE resolution was moved by Canada and adopted by 57 votes to nil with 19 abstentions: Albania, Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, Hungary, Israel, Laos, New Zealand, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, South Africa, Ukraine, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom.

* U.N. General Assembly Resolution 998 (ES—I).

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The General Assembly,

Bearing in mind the urgent necessity of facilitating compliance with its resolution 997 (ES—I) of 2 November 1956,

Requests, as a matter of priority, the Secretary-General to submit to it within 48 hours a plan for the setting up, with the consent of the nations concerned, of an emergency international United Nations Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of the aforementioned resolution.

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION ESTABLISHING AN EMERGENCY INTERNATIONAL UNITED NATIONS FORCE IN EGYPT *

(New York, 5 *November* 1956)

THE resolution was moved by Canada, Colombia, and Norway and was adopted by 57 votes to nil, with 19 abstentions: Albania, Australia, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, Hungary, Israel, Laos, New Zealand, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Turkey, Ukraine, South Africa, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom.

The General Assembly,

Having requested the Secretary-General in its resolution 998 (ES—I) of 4 November 1956, to submit to it a plan for an emergency international United Nations Force, for the purposes stated,

Noting with satisfaction the first report of the Secretary-General on the plan, and having in mind particularly paragraph 4 of that report,

1. *Establishes* a United Nations Command for an emergency international Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of General Assembly resolution 997 (ES—I) of 2 November 1956;

2. *Appoints,* on an emergency basis, the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, Major-General E. L. M. Burns, as Chief of the Command;

3. *Authorizes* the Chief of the Command immediately to recruit, from the observer corps of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, a limited number of officers who shall be nationals of countries other than those having permanent membership in the Security Council, and further authorizes him, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to undertake the recruitment directly, from various Member States other than the permanent members of the Security Council, of the additional number of officers needed;

4. *Invites* the Secretary-General to take such administrative measures as may be necessary for the prompt execution of the actions envisaged in the present resolution.

ANGLO-FRENCH IDENTICAL NOTES TO THE U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL ON WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES FROM EGYPT †

(New York, 3 *December* 1956)

HER Majesty's Government and the French Government note that:

(*a*) An effective United Nations force is now arriving in Egypt charged with the tasks assigned to it in the Assembly resolutions of 2, 5 and 7 November.

(*b*) The Secretary-General accepts the responsibility for organizing the task of clearing the Canal as expeditiously as possible.

(*c*) In accordance with the General Assembly resolution of 2 November free and secure transit will be re-established through the Canal when it is clear.

(*d*) The Secretary-General will promote as quickly as possible negotiations with regard to the future régime of the Canal on the basis of the six requirements set out in the Security Council resolution of 13 October.‡

* U.N. General Assembly Resolution 1000 (ES—I).
† U.N. doc. A/3415. ‡ U.N. doc. S/3675.

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Her Majesty's Government and the French Government confirm their decision to continue the withdrawal of their forces now in the Port Said area without delay.

They have accordingly instructed the Allied Commander, General Keightley, to seek agreement with the United Nations Commander, General Burns, on a time-table for the complete withdrawal, taking account of the military and practical questions involved. This time-table should be reported as quickly as possible to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

In preparing these arrangements the Allied Commander will ensure:

(a) That the embarkation of personnel or material shall be carried out in an efficient and orderly manner;

(b) That proper regard will be had to the maintenance of public security in the area now under Allied control;

(c) That the United Nations Commander should make himself responsible for the safety of any French and British salvage resources left at the disposition of the United Nations salvage organization.

In communicating these conclusions Her Majesty's Government and the French Government recall the strong representations they have made regarding the treatment of their nationals in Egypt. They draw attention to the humane treatment accorded to Egyptian nationals in the United Kingdom and France. They feel entitled to demand that the position of British and French nationals in Egypt should be fully guaranteed.

JOINT FRANCO-MOROCCAN DECLARATION RECOGNIZING THE INDEPENDENCE OF MOROCCO *

(Paris, 2 *March* 1956)

THE Government of the French Republic and His Majesty Muhammed V, Sultan of Morocco, hereby solemnly state their determination to make fully operative the Declaration of La Celle-Saint-Cloud of November 6, 1955.

They note that, in view of Morocco's advance along the road to progress, the Treaty of Fez of March 30, 1912, is no longer consistent with the requirements of modern life and can no longer govern Franco-Moroccan relations.

Consequently, the Government of the French Republic hereby solemnly confirms its recognition of the independence of Morocco—which implies in particular the right to a diplomacy and an army—as well as its determination to respect, and to see to it that others respect, the integrity of Moroccan territory, as guaranteed by international treaties.

The Government of the French Republic and His Majesty Muhammed V, Sultan of Morocco, hereby declare that the purpose of the negotiations which have just opened in Paris between Morocco and France, as equal and sovereign States, is to conclude new agreements which will define the interdependence of the two countries in the fields where they have common interests, will thus organize their co-operation on a basis of liberty and equality, especially in matters of defence, foreign relations, economy and culture, and will guarantee the rights and liberties of French persons settled in Morocco and of Moroccans settled in France, with due respect for the sovereignty of the two States.

The Government of the French Republic and His Majesty Muhammed V, Sultan of Morocco, hereby agree that, pending the entry into force of these agreements, the new relations between France and Morocco shall be founded on the provisions of the annexed Protocol to the present Declaration.

ANNEXED PROTOCOL

I. The legislative power shall be exercised as a sovereign right by His Majesty the Sultan. The representative of France shall be advised of draft dahirs and decrees: during the transitional period, he shall have the right to submit observations on these texts when they concern the interests of France, French nationals, or foreigners.

* Official translation from the French.

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II. His Majesty Muhammed V, Sultan of Morocco, shall have at his disposal a national army. France will render assistance to Morocco in the constitution of that army. The present status of the French army in Morocco shall remain unchanged, during the transitional period.

III. Those administrative powers of control which up to now have been reserved shall be transferred in a manner to be determined by common agreement.

The Moroccan Government shall be represented, with a deliberative voice, on the Committee of the Franc Area, the central organ determining the monetary policy of the Franc Area as a whole.

Furthermore, the guarantees enjoyed by French civil servants and Government employees serving in Morocco shall be continued.

IV. The representative of the French Republic in Morocco shall have the title of High Commissioner of France.

FRANCO-TUNISIAN PROTOCOL OF AGREEMENT RECOGNIZING THE INDEPENDENCE OF TUNISIA *

(Paris, 20 *March* 1956)

On June 3, 1955, following the free negotiations which had taken place between their delegations, the French Government and the Tunisian Government agreed to grant Tunisia the full exercise of internal sovereignty. They thus demonstrated their determination to enable the Tunisian people to realize their full potentialities and to assume control of their destiny by gradual stages.

The two Governments recognize that the harmonious and peaceful development of Franco-Tunisian relations meets the requirements of the modern world. They note with satisfaction that this evolution makes possible Tunisia's accession to full sovereignty without suffering for the people and without harm to the State. They affirm their conviction that, in basing their relations on mutual and complete respect for their sovereignties, with independence and equality for both States, France and Tunisia are strengthening the solidarity which unites them for the greatest good of both countries.

Following the declaration of investiture of the French President of the Council and the answer of His Highness the Bey, which reaffirmed their common determination to promote their relations in the same spirit of peace and friendship, the two Governments opened negotiations in Paris on February 27.

In consequence whereof :

France solemnly recognizes the independence of Tunisia.

Whence it follows :

That the treaty concluded between France and Tunisia on May 12, 1881, can no longer govern Franco-Tunisian relations ;

That those provisions of the Conventions of June 3, 1955 which would be contradictory to the new status of Tunisia as an independent and sovereign State shall be modified or abrogated.

Whence it also follows :

That Tunisia will have the exercise of its responsibilities in matters of foreign affairs, security and defence.

That a Tunisian national army will be constituted.

With due respect for their sovereignties, France and Tunisia agree to define or to perfect the modalities of a freely effected interdependence between the two countries by organizing their co-operation in the domains in which they have common interests, particularly in matters of defence and foreign relations.

The agreements between France and Tunisia will establish the modalities of the assistance that France will give Tunisia in setting up a Tunisian national army.

Negotiations will be resumed on April 16, 1956, in order to draw up, as quickly as possible and in accordance with the principles laid down in the present Protocol, the instruments necessary for their implementation.

* Official translation from the French.

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OBITUARIES

Ambedkar, Bhimrao Ramji, Ph.D., D.Sc., was born into the Scheduled Castes (or *Harijans*) of India and became their leader. Despite the handicaps and humiliations to which he was subject under the Hindu caste system, he secured distinction in Indian public life. In 1947 he was appointed Law Minister and played a leading part in framing the Indian Constitution. He resigned in 1951. On 14 October, with some 200,000 men and women of the Scheduled Castes, he embraced Buddhism. Died on 6 December, aged 63.

Andrews, The Right Hon. John Miller, C.H., M.P., was a member of the Northern Irish Government since its creation; as Minister of Labour until 1937, as Minister of Finance to 1940, and as Prime Minister until 1943. Died on 5 August, aged 85.

Aydelotte, Dr. Frank, Honorary K.B.E., was a leading figure in American educational life, having been President of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, from 1921 to 1940, and Director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton from 1939 to 1947. He was among the early Rhodes Scholars at Oxford and from 1918 to 1953 was secretary of the work of the Rhodes Trust in the United States. Died on 17 December, aged 76.

Badoglio, Marshal Pietro, Duke of Addis Ababa, Marquis of Sabotino, Marshal of Italy, Cavalier of the Santissima Annunziata, was appointed C.-in-C. of the Italian campaign in Abyssinia in 1935 and served in Addis Ababa for a short period as Viceroy. In November 1939 he was Chief of the Italian General Staff but resigned at the end of 1940 after the opening of Mussolini's attack on Greece. This led to his rupture with Fascism to which he had never been sympathetic. He succeeded Mussolini after the latter was driven to resign on 25 July 1943, signed an armistice with the Allies 45 days later, and declared war on the Germans in October. Internal difficulties led to his resignation after the liberation of Rome in June 1944. Died on 31 October, aged 86.

Baeck, Rabbi Dr. Leo, was President of the Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland, founded after the National-Socialists came to power in 1933, and it was his task to negotiate with them in an attempt to mitigate the severity of their oppression of German Jewry. He continued this work until January 1943 when he was arrested and sent to the Theresienstadt concentration camp. After his release he settled in England and became a British subject. His philosophy of Judaism is expressed in a number of works of which the outstanding is *Das Wesen des Judentums* (1905), of which an English edition, *The Essence of Judaism*, appeared in 1936. Died on 2 November, aged 83.

Baroja, Don Pío, the 'grand old man' of Spanish letters, belonged to 'the generation of '98', a group of young writers who sought by a kind of patriotic introversion to soothe and restore Spain's national *amour propre* after her defeat by the United States. Died on 30 October, aged 83.

Beerbohm, Sir Max, had a universal reputation as a writer, wit, and caricaturist, and in his later years he added a reputation as a broadcaster. His essays and drawings subtly reflect English social life of the years before the First World War. Died at Rapallo on 20 May, aged 83.

Benda, Julien, a leading French thinker and writer, won an international reputation as the author of *La Trahison des Clercs* (1927), which was translated into English as *The Great Betrayal* (1928). Died on 7 June, aged 90.

Bierut, Boleslaw, was a founder member of the Polish Communist Party, and worked in the Comintern offices in Moscow in the late 1920s. When Communism was banned in Poland in 1933 he went underground. After the German attack on Russia he returned to Poland and in 1943 formed, together with M. Gomulka and others, the Polish National Council. He co-operated with Marshal Stalin in establishing the Polish Committee of

National Liberation in Moscow. He was elected President of the Polish People's Republic in 1947, becoming Premier in 1952 when the President's duties were taken over by a State Council. In 1954 he was appointed First Secretary of the Polish Workers' Party. Died on 12 March, aged 63.

Bonham-Carter, Sir Edgar, K.C.M.G., C.I.E., entered the service of the Sudan Government in 1899 as Legal Secretary, where he initiated a new system of law for the country. In 1917 he was asked to undertake a similar service for Iraq. Died on 24 April, aged 86.

Brangwyn, Sir Frank, R.A., an artist of great range and variety, who practised nearly all the visual arts and crafts, from architecture to book illustration. His particular genius lay, however, in mural painting, examples of which are at Skinners' Hall, the Royal Exchange, Christ's Hospital, and the central hall of Selfridges in London, the Canadian House of Parliament, Ottawa, the Court House, Ohio, and Radio City, New York. Panels designed for the House of Lords but rejected by the Royal Fine Art Commission are at the Guildhall, Swansea. Died on 11 June, aged 89.

Calamandrei, Professor P., was one of the founders of the anti-Fascist Florentine newspaper *Non Mollare* in 1925. In 1926 he became a member of the underground anti-Fascist group, 'Italia Libera'. With Fascism firmly in control he then withdrew from politics until 1941 when he became active in the underground movement. He was the founder and editor of *Il Ponte* the Florentine monthly. In 1946 he was elected to the Constituent Assembly and played an important part in the drafting of Italy's Republican Constitution; in 1948 he was elected a deputy as a Social Democrat. Died on 27 September, aged 67.

Curtius, Dr. Ernst Robert, one of the most learned literary historians of Europe, made a particular study of French literature and thought, stressing its origin in Rome and the latter's influence on European culture. His *Europäische Literatur und Lateinisches Mittelalter* appeared in 1948 and was translated into English in 1953. Died on 19 April, aged 70.

Deedes, Brigadier-General Sir Wyndham, C.M.G., D.S.O., was a soldier, administrator, and social worker. He spent five years in Turkey as an inspector of the Turkish Gendarmerie and formed a love of Turkey which remained with him. In the 1914-18 war he served on the intelligence staff in the Near East campaign. A profound sympathy with Zionism was awakened in him and in 1920 he accepted the post of Chief Secretary to the Palestine Government. He retired at the end of 1922 and for the rest of his life devoted himself to social work in the East End of London. Died on 2 September, aged 73.

De La Mare, Walter, O.M., C.H., worked in the City office of the Anglo-American Oil Company from 1890 until 1908, when the grant of a civil pension enabled him to give all his time to literature. Until then he had published his short stories and poems under the name of Walter Ramal. A poet in prose as well as verse he wrote with delicacy, sensitivity, and charm, and his poems for children are probably the best ever written. Died on 22 June, aged 83.

Delbos, Yvon, began life as a journalist. He entered the French Chamber in 1924, became president of the Radical-Socialist Party and later vice-president of the Chamber. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs from June 1936 until March 1938. He firmly opposed capitulation in 1940 and Pétain's assumption of executive power. In 1943 he was arrested and deported to Germany with MM. Daladier, Reynaud, and Herriot, being released in 1945. He held office in several post-war governments and became a senator in 1955. Died on 15 November, aged 71.

El Glaoui, Sidi Haj Thami Ben Mohammed, Pasha of Marrakesh, was the younger son of a Berber chief. He consistently supported the French Protectorate after it was proclaimed in 1912, and by maintaining peace over a wide area in the south rendered great service to the French. After the collapse of France in 1940 he gave every help to the Allies and to the Free French forces. After the war El Glaoui headed the opposition to the nationalist Istiqlal Party. He was largely instrumental in securing the deposition of the Sultan Mulai Hafid Ben Yussef and

the installation of Mulai Hafid ben Arafa as Sultan. Nationalist influence and terrorism increased, however, and El Glaoui's last public act was to call for Mulai Hafid ben Yussef's return. Died on 23 January, aged about 80.

Goedhart, Dr. G. J. van Heuven, born in the Netherlands, was best known to the world as the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, an office to which he was appointed in 1951 and in which he spent himself in the service of the displaced people in his care. As Editor of *De Telegraaf* he had refused to support the pro-Hitler attitude demanded of the proprietor and was dismissed in 1933. After the invasion of his own country he became co-editor of the underground newspaper *Het Parool* and later escaped to London where he became Minister of Justice in the Netherlands Government in exile. Died on 8 July, aged 55.

Griffin, His Eminence Cardinal Bernard, Archbishop of Westminster, was born in Birmingham. In 1927 he served as secretary to the Archbishop of Birmingham and filled a number of ecclesiastical offices. In 1938 the Pope appointed him auxiliary Bishop of Birmingham with the title Bishop of Abya. His appointment as Archbishop of Westminster was announced on 23 December 1943 and he was enthroned on 18 January 1944. Three years later he was elevated to the College of Cardinals, being the only British member of the Sacred College, and its youngest member at the time. Died on 20 August, aged 57.

Joliot-Curie, Madame Irène, was the daughter of the late Pierre and Marie Curie, the joint discoverers of radium. On 15 January 1934 she and her husband M. Frédéric Joliot reported to the French Academy of Sciences the discovery of artificial radioactivity. A year later they were awarded the Nobel Prize. Died on 17 March, aged 60.

King, Fleet Admiral Ernest J., was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Fleet soon after the attack on Pearl Harbour, and in March 1942 to the additional post of Chief of Naval Operations. He was also the American Naval representative on the Combined Chiefs of Staff. Died on 25 June, aged 77.

Korda, Sir Alexander, was born in Hungary. He early saw the possibilities of the motion picture and became director of film companies in Vienna, Berlin, Hollywood, and Paris. The success of his technique and his individual artistic sense became widely recognized. An appointment as director of the European versions of Paramount pictures brought him to London where he founded London Film Productions and produced masterpieces which established the British film industry. Died on 23 January, aged 62.

Mantoux, Paul, acted as interpreter to the Supreme War Council in Paris during the First World War and later to the Council of Four at the Peace Conference in 1919. In 1919 he was appointed Director of the Political Section of the League of Nations Secretariat. In 1927 he resigned to help in founding the Institut Universitaire des Hautes Etudes Internationales at Geneva with Professor William Rappard. Concurrently with his work at Geneva he held a Chair at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers in Paris. Died on 13 December, aged 79.

Marchal, Léon, was appointed Secretary-General of the Council of Europe on 21 September 1953. After a distinguished academic career he had entered the French diplomatic service in 1929, finally becoming head of the African Levant section at the Quai d'Orsay. Died on 24 September, aged 56.

Marie Louise, Her Highness Princess Franzisca Josepha Louise Augusta Marie Christiana Helena, V.A., C.I., D.G.C.V.O., G.B.E., R.R.C., was the last surviving grand-daughter of Queen Victoria. She was the second daughter of Queen Victoria's third daughter, Princess Helena Augusta Victoria, and Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein. Her marriage to Prince Aribert of Anhalt was dissolved in 1900 and the Princess resumed her maiden name and returned to England. Thereafter she was indefatigable in the public service. Died on 6 December, aged 84.

Miki, Bukichi, was a powerful personality in the Conservative Party of post-war Japan. He engineered the revolt against the Yoshida Liberals which led to the formation of the Democratic Party and to Mr. Hatoyama's appointment as Prime Minister in 1954. A year later he brought about a merger of Conservative forces. Died on 4 July, aged 71.

Muhammad, Ghulam, was Governor-General of Pakistan from the death of M. A. Jinnah in September 1948 until he was forced to resign in September 1955 because of ill-health. It was in finance and development that his intellectual gifts proved of particular value to the new State of Pakistan, of which he was Finance Minister in the year 1947-48. As Governor-General he showed himself to be resolute and forceful and dealt with successive crises with courage and clear vision, repeatedly assuming emergency powers when he felt the good of the country demanded it. Died on 29 August, aged 61.

von Neurath, Baron Konstantin, was Ambassador in London from 1930-32 when he was recalled to Germany to become Foreign Minister under von Papen in which post he remained until 1938. From the spring of 1939 to the autumn of 1941 he was 'Protector' of Bohemia and Moravia. Although at his trial he denied responsibility for the brutalities of this period documentary evidence proved his guilt. He was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment but was released in 1954 because of ill health. Died on 15 August, aged 83.

Negrin, Dr. Juan, was Professor of Physiology in Madrid University when, in 1936, he became Finance Minister in Señor Largo Caballero's Cabinet during the Spanish Civil War. He became Prime Minister in the following spring. When further resistance to General Franco proved impossible he withdrew his Government to France in March 1939. Died on 14 November in Paris, aged 64.

Paasikivi, Juho Kusti, was a statesman of unique authority in Finland. Though a conservative and an uncompromising upholder of the independence of his country he was a realist, recognizing that Finland's geographical position dictated stable and friendly relations with the Soviet Union. He took part in almost all Soviet-Finnish negotiations since the Treaty of Tartu in 1920, seeking to avoid war with Russia in the autumn of 1939, negotiating peace in the following March, and armistice negotiations in March 1944. He became Prime Minister in November 1944 and in March 1946 succeeded Marshal Mannerheim as President. He was re-elected President for a term of six years in 1950 and retired on its completion in March 1956. Died on 14 December, aged 86.

Raemaekers, Louis, was born in the Netherlands, and his cartoons first appeared in *De Telegraaf* in 1914. Their searching invective played a significant part in maintaining Dutch neutrality and brought him recognition in London and Paris. From the beginning of 1916 he made his home in England, distributing his drawings to the press of Britain, France, and Holland simultaneously. His cartoons indubitably played a great part in the winning of the war. Died on 27 July, aged 87.

Ryti, Dr. Risto, became Prime Minister of Finland in 1939. In 1940 he was elected President of the Republic and was re-elected in 1943. At first he was able to maintain a position of neutrality between Russia and Germany, but when things went badly for the Germans he permitted German troops to enter Finland, no doubt bowing to *force majeure*. In addition he pledged his country not to make a separate peace with Russia. When news of this became known public indignation ran high and Ryti resigned, being succeeded by Marshal Mannerheim. In 1945 he was put on trial, with a number of his colleagues, as a war criminal and was sentenced to 10 years penal servitude. He was released in 1949 on grounds of ill-health. A reversion of feeling took place on his death and he was accorded a State funeral. Died on 25 October, aged 67.

Soddy, Dr. Frederick, F.R.S., Emeritus Lee's Professor of Chemistry in the University of Oxford, worked under Sir Ernest (afterwards Lord) Rutherford who had been appointed Macdonald Professor of Physics in McGill University, Montreal, at the turn of the century. They carried out joint investigations which established on a firm basis the existence and nature of radioactive transformations. Early in 1913 he made his own contribution by the discovery of the elements with the same chemical qualities but different atomic weights which he termed '*isotopes*' without which it is difficult to conceive the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. He received the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1921 and in 1955 the Albert Medal. Died on 22 September, aged 79.

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Spyridon, Archbishop, was of Epirote origin. After his ordination he was sent by the Patriarchate to Kavalla, then part of the Ottoman Empire, where he campaigned actively for the liberation of Macedonia from Turkish rule. In 1906 he was consecrated Metropolitan of Vella and Konitsa, in Epirus, where he similarly devoted himself to the liberation of Southern Epirus from Ottoman control. In 1919 he was elected Metropolitan of Yanina, Southern Epirus, where he engaged in active propaganda for the incorporation of Northern Epirus in Greece. He became Primate of Greece in 1949 and played a leading part in the campaign for the union of Cyprus with Greece. Died on 21 March, aged 82.

Starhemberg, His Serene Highness Ernst Rüdiger, seventh Prince of Starhemberg, Count of Schaumburg and Waxenberg, Lord of Wildberg and Lobenstein, joined the Austrian Army in 1917. After the war he equipped at his own expense the irregular Starhemberg Jäger and other Heimwehr formations. Under the Chancellorship of Dollfuss the influence of the Heimwehr steadily increased, and on 1 May 1934 Prince Starhemberg assumed the Vice-Chancellorship. After the murder of Dollfuss Prince Starhemberg retired to Switzerland following dissensions in the Heimwehr and difficulties with Dr. Schuschnigg. He joined the French Army in 1939 and, after the collapse of France, the Free French forces, where his presence caused some embarrassment. In the latter part of the war he lived in South America. Died on 15 March, aged 56.

Steed, Henry Wickham, began his long association with *The Times* in 1896, culminating in his Editorship from 1919 until 30 November 1922. He then bought the *Review of Reviews* which he edited from 1923 to 1930. He was Lecturer on Central European History at King's College, London, from 1925 to 1938, and from 1938-1947 was chief broadcaster on world affairs in the Empire and Overseas Services of the B.B.C. Died on 13 January, aged 84.

Trenchard, The Right Hon. Sir Hugh Montague Trenchard, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O., D.S.O., first Viscount Trenchard and Baron Trenchard of Wolfeton, Dorset, joined the Royal Scots Fusiliers in 1893 and saw service on the Indian frontier, in the South African War, and later in West Africa. He became interested in the Royal Flying Corps in 1912 when he determined to become a pilot. Two years later, after the outbreak of war, he went to command the 1st Wing in France and after eight months was promoted to command the Royal Flying Corps in the field. In the years that followed he built up this new service and helped to hammer out on the basis of experience the theory and practice of air warfare. In January 1918 he was appointed first Chief of the newly formed Air Staff in London. In April 1919 he began his great work of reorganizing and building up the regular Air Force. It was due to his foresight that Britain was able to achieve the culmination of air power that was such a decisive factor in the Second World War. From 1931 to 1935 he was Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis, after which he served for 17 years as Chairman of the Board of the United Africa Company. Died on 10 February, aged 83.

Tsouderos, Emmanuel, was born in Crete where his family had for successive generations been prominent in the struggle for Cretan liberty. He became a deputy in the Cretan House of Representatives, and there started his political collaboration with Venizélos. When the Bank of Greece was founded in 1928 he was appointed as Vice-Governor, becoming Governor in 1931. On 20 April 1941 he became Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Finance and shortly afterwards he was appointed Prime Minister. When German troops advanced on Athens he and his Cabinet went to Cairo and later to London. He resigned on 6 April 1944. After the liberation of Greece he served as Deputy Prime Minister in M. Sofoulis' Government and since 1950 he had held office in successive ministries. Died on 10 February, aged 74.

Vanoni, Ezio, entered Marshal Badoglio's Cabinet in 1943 as Commissioner for Labour and Commerce. He was elected to the Senate in 1948. He became Minister of Foreign Trade in 1947 and of Finance in De Gasperi's cabinets from 1948 to 1953. He afterwards served as Minister of Budget in the Scelba and Segni Governments. In 1955 he published his ten-year plan, known as the 'Vanoni Plan'. He was also the author of tax reforms. Died on 16 February, aged 52.

PART V

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS IN 1956

JANUARY

1. NATO's Fifth Tactical Air Force, Allied Air Forces, Southern Europe, came into operation.
   Sudan proclaimed an independent and democratic republic.
   New economic and financial charter for Spanish possessions in Morocco came into force.
   Chinese newspapers appeared with characters printed horizontally and reading from left to right.
2. U.K. released further £20 million of Egypt's blocked balances.
   General Election in France and oversea territories, except Algeria; Communist and Poujadist gains.
   First of the new West German forces reported for duty.
3. Soviet Union and Yugoslavia approved draft agreement for atomic co-operation.
   Rumania and Communist China signed trade agreement.
   Russian technical assistance to China extended.
4. New trans-Mongolian railway linking China and the U.S.S.R. opened.
5. U.S. President's State of the Union message read to joint session of 84th Congress; President Eisenhower absent through illness.
   President Tito and Colonel Nasser issued joint communiqué following talks in Cairo.
6. First Soviet Ambassador to Libya, M. Generalov, arrived in Tripoli.
7. France's first atomic power plant at Marcoule started operation.
   Eastern Germany and Communist China signed commercial treaty.
   Soviet Union offered Liberia technical aid.
   Jordan's caretaker Cabinet resigned; administration under Samir el-Rifai sworn in on 9th.
   General Election in Libya.
8. First Soviet Ambassador to Western Germany presented letters of credence.
9. Proposals for creating a 'soil bank' and further extending agricultural surplus disposal programme presented to U.S. Congress.
   Costa Rica and Nicaragua signed treaty of friendship.
10. Baghdad Pact Economic Committee held two-day inaugural meeting.
    Europe's largest blast furnace fired at Margam (Wales).
    Saar Landtag elected new Cabinet; Dr. Hubert Ney (C.D.U.) Prime Minister.
    Bulgaria and North Vietnam signed commercial agreement.
11. Albania announced amnesty for Albanian exiles, expiring 31 December 1957.
    Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia reported to have offered to replace U.K. grant to Jordan.
14. Tibetan Provincial Governor explained that Tibetan army consisted of Tibetans but was integrated in Communist Chinese army; Mao Tse-tung had authorized continuance of monastic rule in Tibetan internal affairs.
17. S.E.A.T.O. military advisers met in Melbourne; agreed on a regional defence plan.
    U.K. Atomic Energy Authority reported two new research reactors working at Harwell —'Zeus' and 'Zetr'.
18. Conference opened on future constitutional development of Malayan Federation; reported on 8 February.
    East German Volkskammer passed law creating a National People's Army.
    Communist China accused U.S.A. of dragging out talks on repatriation of American and Chinese civilians and other matters at issue. U.S. refuted this, 21 January.
19. U.K. White Paper published on export of British war surplus material and shipments of reconditioned British tanks from Belgium to Egypt (Cmd. 9676).
    U.S.A. and Yugoslavia signed two agreements for supply of American surplus agricultural products.
    Sudan admitted to Arab League as its 9th member.

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23. U.N. Disarmament Commission instructed its five-member sub-committee to prepare interim report.
Marshal Bulganin's letter to President Eisenhower proposing 20-year Soviet-American friendship pact.
Italy and Libya signed agreement regulating problems involved in transfer of Italian sovereignty to new Kingdom of Libya.
Eastern Germany, Norway, and Sweden signed commercial agreement.
24. U.N. Truce Supervision Organization published Secretary-General's proposals, accepted by Israel and Egypt, for relieving tension in Middle East.
25. International Sugar Council meeting, until 28th.
Turkish 4-point statement on Cyprus problem issued.
26. South Africa's first cyclotron, the first in Africa, inaugurated near Pretoria.
Soviet Union returned Porkkala naval base to Finland.
Arab League Economic Council announced formation of inter-Arab organization for economic development and of a company to exploit minerals in Dead Sea area.
Peking published 12-year Chinese agricultural development plan entailing complete collectivization.
Winter Olympic Games opened at Cortina d'Ampezzo, Italy.
27. The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh left London by air for a 3 weeks' visit to Nigeria.
Nordic Council held 4th session at Copenhagen, to 3 February.
Warsaw Treaty Organization's Political Consultative Committee held 2-day meeting at Prague.
Nepalese Cabinet formed by Mr. Tanka Prasad, leader of the *Praja Parishad*.
28. Spanish decree authorized progressive transfer of powers in Spanish Morocco to Moroccans.
30. British Trans-Antarctic expedition landed at Vahsel Bay.
Yugoslavia and Ecuador agreement to establish diplomatic and trade relations announced.
31. Senhor Juscelino Kubitschek inaugurated President of Brazil for five-year term.

FEBRUARY

1. South Africa announced request to Soviet Consul General in Pretoria to close all Soviet consulates in the Union and withdraw staffs by 1 March.
President Eisenhower and Sir Anthony Eden issued joint communiqué including 'The Declaration of Washington'.
French National Assembly confirmed M. Guy Mollet in office as Prime Minister.
Madrid University students issued open letter to the Spanish Government and Falangist Party, demanding end of Falangist control over the thought, expression, and corporate life of university students.
Pakistan and Switzerland announced establishment of diplomatic relations.
2. Mr. James Griffiths elected Vice-Chairman and deputy-leader of British Parliamentary Labour Party.
Sudan all-party National Government formed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Ismail Azhari.
3. Delhi announcement that Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon would assist Mr. Nehru in foreign affairs.
Soviet Union and Bulgaria signed agreement providing for Soviet economic aid.
La Prensa reappeared in Buenos Aires under its owner and editor Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz.
4. Soviet Union protested to U.S.A. against launching of balloons containing pamphlets and photographic and other equipment; other Communist States, including China, followed with similar protests.
6. Sudan's application for U.N. membership approved by Security Council for recommendation to Assembly.
Italian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister started three-day official visit to Western Germany.
World Federation of Trade Unions' headquarters in Vienna closed by Austrian order.
General Catroux resigned as Minister Resident in Algiers.
7. Caribbean Federation Conference held in London, to 23 February.
U.S.A. and Austria signed agreement for supply of American surplus agricultural products.
8. Report of Conference on Malayan constitution recommended self-government and independence by August 1957 (Cmd. 9714).
U.S.A. and Burma signed agreement for supply of American surplus agricultural products.

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9. Singapore Legislative Assembly decided that Malay, Mandarin Chinese, Tamil, as well as English, should be regarded as official languages.
10. U.S.A. and Japan signed agreement for the supply of American surplus agricultural products.
British, U.S., French Ambassadors in Bonn sent identical Notes to Soviet Ambassador in East Berlin protesting at increase in East German para-military activities in Soviet sector of city.
Chinese Government's approval announced of a 30-letter Latin alphabet to replace the approximately 30,000 ideographic characters used in written Chinese; both scripts to be used for the time being.
11. Maltese Government's proposals for integration with the United Kingdom, including Maltese representation at Westminster, submitted to two-day referendum; result, 3 to 1 majority in favour, from vote of 45 per cent. of total electorate.
Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean handed prepared statement to correspondents in Moscow.
13. U.S.A. and Western Germany agreement on atomic co-operation announced.
Soviet declaration that dispatch of U.S. and British troops to Middle East would be a violation of U.N. Charter and a threat to peace in the area.
Indonesia decided to withdraw from the Netherlands-Indonesian Union; Bill abrogating the Union adopted by Indonesian House of Representatives on 21 April.
14. Twentieth Congress of Soviet Communist Party opened in Moscow; on 25th M. Khrushchev denounced the 'cult of the individual' and the policies of Stalin.
15. Dr. Urho Kekkonen elected President of Finland for six-year term.
Austria and Soviet Union agreement on Danube navigation announced.
First synthetic diamonds shown at General Electric Company's research station at Schenectady, N.Y.
16. British Bank rate increased from $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., highest since 1932.
The Shah of Persia visited India; at Karachi on 8 March.
17. Mr. Macmillan announced new measures to deal with inflation in United Kingdom; food subsidies to be cut; more hire purchase restrictions.
Burma and Rumania signed three-year trade agreement.
21. Austria decided to establish diplomatic relations with Israel.
22. President Eisenhower announced release of 40,000 kg. of uranium-235 for research and development purposes, half to be made available in U.S. and half in foreign countries.
26. Professor Jusztin Baranyai released in Budapest.
27. President Gronchi of Italy arrived in Washington on official visit; visited Ottawa on 2 March.
28. India and Indonesia signed five-year agreement on mutual aid between their air forces.
Austrian Government decided to hold new elections on 13 May.
Bulgaria and Egypt signed trade agreement, exchanging Bulgarian tobacco for Egyptian cotton.
29. President Eisenhower announced that he was prepared to stand for second presidential term.
Canada and Soviet Union signed three-year trade agreement at Ottawa.
Pakistan Constituent Assembly adopted a Bill under which Pakistan became an Islamic Republic; on 2 March decided to stay in the Commonwealth.
M. Karamanlis formed new Greek Government drawn from National Radical Union.
Somalia elections held; of 60 seats, 42 obtained by League of Somali Youth.
Ex-President Perón granted political asylum in Panama where he had lived since November 1955.

MARCH

1. U.K. Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, visited Cairo, Bahrein, and Delhi on way to S.E.A.T.O. Council meeting at Karachi; Baghdad, Teheran, Ankara, afterwards.
President Eisenhower replied to Marshal Bulganin's letter of 19 September 1955 on disarmament.
Soviet Union and Afghanistan signed agreement providing for Soviet economic aid.
New Guatemalan Constitution came into force.
Peru and Ecuador agreed to reciprocal appointment of ambassadors.

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2. U.S.A. and Indonesia signed agreement for the supply of American surplus agricultural products.
Independence of Morocco recognized in joint declaration by France and Morocco (see p. 462).
Danish Prime Minister visited Moscow; joint communiqué issued on economic and cultural relations.
First Ambassador of German Federal Republic arrived in Moscow.
General Glubb dismissed from command of Arab Legion by King Hussein of Jordan.
Socialist International General Council met in Zurich; rejected any political co-operation with Communist Parties.
3. Italy and Yugoslavia signed agreements on trade and credits, fishing rights, technical co-operation.
Coalition Government in Finland formed by M. Karl-August Fagerholm.
4. Persia demanded recall of Soviet Deputy Military Attaché in Teheran.
South Vietnam General Election resulted in overwhelming majority for Ngo Dinh-Diem's Government.
Lieutenant-Colonel José Maria Lemus elected President of El Salvador.
Colombian Government outlawed all forms of Communism.
5. Correspondence between Governor of Cyprus, Sir John Harding, and Archbishop Makarios published (Cmd. 9708).
British jamming of Athens broadcasts to Cyprus started.
Major-General Iskander Mirza, the Governor-General, elected provisional President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.
Italy and Ethiopia signed agreement whereby Italy undertook to pay £5,800,000 as reparations.
6. International Labour Organization's Governing Body held 131st session in Geneva.
S.E.A.T.O. Council, composed of Foreign Ministers of the eight member countries, held second annual meeting in Karachi.
Soviet Union announced discovery in 1954 of large deposits of diamonds in Yakutia, northern Siberia; also extensive deposits of coal, iron-ore, gold, silver, and other valuable minerals.
Meeting in Cairo between Colonel Nasser, President Kuwatli of Syria, King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia; King Hussein of Jordan declined invitation to attend.
7. Burma and Yugoslavia signed agreements for economic and technical co-operation.
Disturbances started in Georgia connected with M. Khrushchev's repudiation of Stalin.
8. British White Paper published on findings of the Conference of Privy Councillors on Security in the Public Services appointed as a result of the Burgess-Maclean case (Cmd. 9715).
West German Bundestag adopted change in Constitution to permit introduction of conscription.
Soviet Union reduced normal working week in factories from 48 to 46 hours, and on Saturdays and eve of national holidays from eight to six hours.
Soviet Union and Yemen trade agreement announced.
9. Archbishop Makarios deported from Cyprus to the Seychelles.
Mr. Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State, started 10-day tour of Asian capitals following S.E.A.T.O. Council meeting at Karachi—Delhi, Colombo, Jakarta, Bangkok, Saigon, Manila, Taipeh, Seoul, Tokio.
M. Pineau visited Delhi and Cairo on return from S.E.A.T.O. Council meeting.
10. New world air speed record set up of 1,132 m.p.h. by a 'Fairey Delta 2' research aircraft flown by Lionel Peter Twiss.
Western Germany and Yugoslavia signed a number of financial and economic agreements.
12. Netherlands and Japan signed agreement under which Japan undertook to pay $10 million in compensation for internment of Dutch civilians in Indonesia in Second World War.
13. U.K. Colonial Secretary announced constitutional changes for Mauritius.
U.S.A. and Thailand signed atomic co-operation agreement.
U.S.A. and South Korea signed agreement for supply of American surplus agricultural products.
Irish Republic announced new import charges and hire purchase restrictions.
Prague Radio announced that World Federation of Trade Unions would establish headquarters in Prague.

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13. U.S. Ambassador in Athens, Mr. Cavendish Cannon, expressed to Greek Foreign Minister, M. Theotokis, U.S. Government's 'sympathetic concern' at latest developments in Cyprus.
Greek Government asked that Cyprus question be put on agenda of U.N. General Assembly.
U.S.A. and Chile signed agreement for supply of American surplus agricultural products.
14. Baghdad announcement that Iraq had made loan of £1 million towards superphosphate project in Jordan.
15. Selection of Philippines as site for the Asian Nuclear Centre announced in Washington.
U.S.A. and Persia signed five-year contract for U.S. aid for development of Khuzistan.
M. Malenkov arrived in Britain for three-week visit as guest of Central Electricity Authority.
Soviet Union and Sudan announced establishment of diplomatic relations.
Burma and Rumania announced establishment of diplomatic relations.
16. U.S.A. and Irish Republic signed atomic co-operation agreement.
Earthquake disaster in southern Lebanon.
17. French decision to transfer two divisions from Western Germany to Algeria announced.
18. M. Menderes, Prime Minister of Turkey, visited Pakistan.
Egypt announced that she had made a grant-in-aid for Jordanian National Guard.
19. Five-member sub-committee of U.N. Disarmament Commission opened series of meetings in London; received new Anglo-French and Soviet disarmament proposals; discussions ended without agreement.
20. M. Mikoyan attended Pakistani Republic Day celebrations, afterwards touring India, Afghanistan, Burma.
Independence of Tunisia recognized in protocol signed by France and Tunisia (see p. 463).
New Lebanese Government formed by M. Abdullah Yafi, following resignation of M. Rashid Karameh.
Indonesian President approved new Cabinet with Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo (Nationalist) as Prime Minister.
21. Explosion of another Soviet nuclear device announced.
23. British announcement that Egyptian officers and n.c.o.s were being trained at Soviet bases in Poland; Czechoslovak personnel were training military in Egypt.
Pakistan formally proclaimed an Islamic Republic within the Commonwealth.
25. Tunisia's first General Election resulted in complete victory for National Front.
26. U.K. and Yugoslavia signed agreement extending period of repayment of outstanding balance on loans granted to Yugoslavia in 1949-51, and reducing rate of interest.
New Zealand announced decision to establish an office at headquarters of S.E.A.T.O at Bangkok; and that agreement to establish diplomatic relations with Thailand had been concluded.
U.S. and Mexican Presidents and Canadian Prime Minister met at White Sulphur Springs
27. U.S.A. and Netherlands signed treaty of friendship, trade, and navigation.
Commission on Socio-Economic Development of Bantu Areas published report (Tomlinson Report).
Seven decrees providing for economic and social reforms in Algeria published in Paris.
Icelandic Coalition Government under Hr. Olafur Thors resigned; on following day Icelandic Parliament called for revision of U.S.A.-Icelandic agreement of 1951 and withdrawal of foreign troops.
29. Mr. Nehru stated that talk of a plebiscite in Kashmir was beside the point.
Rehabilitation of M. Laszlo Rajk announced by M. Rákosi.
Swedish Prime Minister, Hr. Tage Erlander, visited Moscow as guest of Soviet Government.
31. Conference of Rulers of the Aden Protectorate States to discuss proposals for the federation of the States of the Western Protectorate.
India and Yugoslavia signed trade agreement, to expire on 31 December 1959.

APRIL

2. The sixth Soviet nuclear test in eight months announced.
4. U.N. Security Council adopted U.S. resolution that Secretary-General should visit Middle East to survey methods of relieving tension.

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5. Arab League Council met in Cairo, till 12th.
6. India and Soviet Union signed a shipping agreement.
   Warsaw announcement that M. Wladyslaw Gomulka had been released from prison.
7. Independence of Morocco recognized by declaration signed by Spain and Morocco.
   Libyan announcement that U.S.A. would increase its military and economic assistance to Libya.
   Two agreements for increased Soviet economic aid to China signed at Peking.
8. Persian claim to sovereignty over Bahrein reiterated by Persian Foreign Minister.
   Tunisian Constituent Assembly elected M. Habib Bourguiba as its President.
9. Soviet Union and Mongolian Republic signed economic agreement.
   King Hussein of Jordan visited Damascus for discussions with President Kuwatli.
10. General Election in Ceylon resulted in majority for People's United Front led by Mr. Bandaranaike.
13. Tunisian Constituent Assembly adopted new Constitution.
15. Ban imposed on Nepal Communist Party lifted.
16. Baghdad Pact Council held second annual meeting in Teheran, attended by U.S. observers.
    Austria admitted to membership of the Council of Europe.
    Communist China and Egypt signed cultural agreement.
17. Soviet Government announced support for U.N. efforts to achieve peace in Middle East.
    U.K. and Jordan announced agreement on loan arrangements for British officers to Arab Legion.
    Cominform dissolved.
18. M. Khrushchev and Marshal Bulganin arrived in Britain for 10-day official visit.
    Cease-fire agreement arranged by U.N. Secretary-General between Egypt and Israel came into force.
    Marriage of Prince Rainier III, ruler of the Principality of Monaco, to Miss Grace Kelly, the film actress.
19. White Paper outlining Gold Coast Government's proposals for independence published in Accra.
    Extension of U.S. political and military co-operation with Baghdad Pact announced.
    Arrival at Alexandria of 19 Czechoslovak motor torpedo boats for Egyptian navy announced.
21. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen signed military alliance at Jeddah.
22. Polish draft Amnesty Bill published.
    Chinese Government formally invested the Dalai Lama as Chairman of committee to prepare Tibet for regional autonomy within the Chinese People's Republic.
23. Western European Union Assembly met for first part of its second ordinary session.
    Conference on constitutional future of Singapore opened in London; broke down on 15 May.
24. Dr. C. D. A. Baron van Lynden appointed Secretary-General of Benelux Customs Union.
25. President Gronchi of Italy paid official visit to Paris.
26. South African Government announced participation in 11th session of U.N. General Assembly.
    Simplification of U.S. controls on export to Soviet Union and Soviet block countries in Europe of over 700 non-strategic items in 15 commodity groups announced.
27. General Election in Burma resulted in victory for Government party.
28. Canada and India signed agreement for joint establishment of 'Canada-India Atomic Reactor' at Trombay.
29. British Admiralty announced disappearance of Commander Lionel Crabb, a frogman.
    French troops withdrawn from Indo-China.
    Saudi Arabia ordered British Desert Locust Control Mission to leave country by 1 May.
    Cease-fire agreement arranged by U.N. Secretary-General between Israel and Jordan came into force.
30. Iraq and Indonesia signed treaty of friendship.

MAY

1. Plan for U.N. Observation posts in 'Gaza strip' agreed by Egypt and Israel.
   Cease-fire agreement between Lebanon and Israel arranged by U.N. Secretary-General.
   First permanent television station in Middle East opened in Baghdad.

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1. Brazil and Italy signed trade agreement.
   Revocation of Peronista Constitution and restoration of liberal Argentine Constitution of 1853 announced.
2. Cease-fire agreement between Syria and Israel arranged by Secretary-General.
   The King of Nepal, H.M. Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva, crowned in Khatmandu.
4. North Atlantic Council met in Paris; set up sub-committee of 'three wise men' to examine ways of improving non-military co-operation within Atlantic community.
6. Cairo announced agreement on co-ordination and unification of Egyptian and Jordanian forces.
7. High Authority of E.C.S.C. and Swiss Government signed Consultation Agreement.
   President Tito of Yugoslavia arrived in Paris on official visit.
9. Japan and Philippines signed agreement providing for Japanese payment of $800 million for reparations and for economic development loans; ratifications exchanged 9 May.
   Plebiscite in British Togoland resulted in majority in favour of integration with Gold Coast.
10. Hungarian intention to remove minefields and barbed-wire obstacles along Austro-Hungarian frontier announced.
11. E.C.S.C. Common Assembly adopted resolutions on a European common market and Euratom.
    Chinese Government proposed discussion with Mr. Dulles on Formosan issue.
12. French Government announced supply to Israel of 12 Mystère IV jet fighters.
13. Señor Ernesto de la Guardia elected President of Panama.
    Elections to Austrian Nationalrat resulted in increase of strength of the Volkspartei.
14. Soviet Note to U.S.A. alleging that American military aircraft had violated Soviet airspace.
    Soviet Union announced unilateral demobilization of a further 1,200,000 men by 1957.
15. French Prime Minister and Foreign Minister arrived in Moscow on official visit.
    Denmark and Soviet Union signed two-year trade agreement.
    Dr. Syngman Rhee and Dr. John Chang elected President and Vice-President of Korea respectively.
16. President Sukarno of Indonesia arrived in Washington on first stage of tour of North America and Western Europe.
    First of two 1956 British nuclear tests at Monte Bello Islands took place.
    Cairo announced that Egypt had recognized Communist China and withdrawn recognition from Nationalist Government in Formosa.
17. Soviet Union recognition of sovereignty and independence of Cambodia announced.
18. East European Council of Mutual Economic Assistance met in East Berlin.
    South African Supreme Court upheld validity of Senate Act (1955) and South Africa Amendment Act (1956).
    A Swiss expedition reached summit of Mt. Lhotse in Nepal.
20. Jordan Government resigned; succeeded on 22 May by Cabinet headed by Said el-Mufti.
    First hydrogen bomb to be dropped from the air, from a U.S. B-52 jet bomber, exploded over Namu Island in the Bikini atoll.
22. Mr. Nehru put forward five-point plan for solving the Algerian problem.
    Beirut announcement that Jordan and the Lebanon had agreed to co-ordinate their military efforts.
    The world's first atomic power station, at Calder Hall, Cumberland, went into operation.
23. Swiss expedition reached summit of Mt. Everest; repeated by second Swiss party next day.
24. Sixth Great Buddhist Council, in progress for two years at Yegu, near Rangoon, terminated with the celebration of the 2500th anniversary of the passing of the Buddha.
25. U.K. and Soviet Union signed new fisheries agreement.
    India and Spain agreement to establish diplomatic relations announced.
27. Mr. Nehru claimed Indian suzerainty over Chitral, under Pakistani administration since 1947.
28. France and India signed agreement formally ceding former French settlements to India.
    France and Morocco signed diplomatic agreement recognizing Morocco's sovereign status in foreign affairs.
30. Indian Life Insurance Corporation Bill, nationalizing life insurance in India, adopted.

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30. A nine-day conference of African and Asian students opened in Bandung; the agenda was drawn up by a committee of Indonesian, Egyptian, Japanese, and Philippine delegates; resolutions condemning racial discrimination and colonialism were among those adopted.
31. U.N. Command decided to withdraw from S. Korea inspection teams of Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in view of systematic frustration of its functions by the N. Korean and Chinese authorities.

Syria and Jordan signed military, diplomatic, and transit agreements.

JUNE

1. M. D. M. Shepilov succeeded M. V. Molotov as Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs.
2. President Tito of Yugoslavia arrived in Moscow on 3-week visit; two declarations signed.
3. Presidential elections held in Ecuador; Señor Ponce Enriquez (Conservative) elected President.
4. Egyptian representative on Suez Canal Company's Board declared Egypt would not extend the Company's 99-year concession on its expiry in 1968.

   Resumption of rubber exports from Malaya and Singapore to Communist China authorized in reasonable quantities.

   France and Western Germany agreed on the political and economic future of the Saar.
5. Burmese Prime Minister U Nu resigned for one year to reorganize A.F.P.F.L.; succeeded by U Ba Swe.
6. Indonesian Government announced lifting of embargo on rubber exports to Communist China.

   U.K. decision to close Scapa Flow naval establishment announced.

   Marshal Bulganin sent letter to U.S.A., U.K., France, Western Germany, and Italy calling on them to match Soviet Union's announced cut of 1,200,000 men in its armed forces.
7. Mr. David Marshall resigned as Chief Minister of Singapore; succeeded by Mr. Lim Yew Hock.

   Trans-Canada Pipelines Assistance Bill given Royal Assent after bitter controversy.

   Benelux labour treaty signed under which Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg became single labour market.
8. H.M. The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh arrived at Stockholm for State visit.
9. President Eisenhower operated on for ileitis; left hospital on 30 June for convalescence.

   Dr. Adenauer visited U.S.A. for official discussions and to receive honorary degrees from Yale and Marquette Universities.
10. Abortive revolt in Argentina by followers of ex-President Perón; about 30 persons executed.

    Equestrian Olympic Games opened at Stockholm.

    Egyptian Government and Suez Canal Company reached agreement under which the Company would transfer over £20 million to Egypt over the next eight years.
11. Cairo announcement that 'new naval units' had arrived at Alexandria to reinforce the Egyptian navy; presumed to be two destroyers of Skoryi class sold to Egypt by Soviet Government.

    Moroccan Government ordered the Cadima Society which had organized the emigration of Jews to Israel to suspend its activities.

    The Crown Prince of the Yemen paid official visit to Soviet Union; trade and diplomatic agreements between the two countries announced.

    Iceland asked for the withdrawal of U.S. forces.
13. General Election in the Netherlands for Lower House resulted in Labour Party retaining lead.

    The last British troops left the Suez Canal Base.
14. U.S.A. and New Zealand signed agreement for atomic co-operation.

    U.S.A. and U.K. signed agreement broadening scope of atomic co-operation agreement of 1955.
15. France and Tunisia signed agreement recognizing Tunisia's right to appoint her own diplomatic representatives.

    Syrian 'Government of National Union' formed by M. Sabri al-Asali (National Party).

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16. M. Shepilov arrived in Cairo for Independence Day celebrations, later visiting Syria, Lebanon, Greece.
M. Pineau, French Foreign Minister, visited Washington at invitation of U.S. Government.
17. Mr. Moshe Sharett, Israeli Foreign Minister, resigned ; succeeded by Mrs. Golda Meir.
Presidential elections in Peru ; Dr. Manuel Prado, candidate of *Movimento Democratica Pradista*, elected.
18. White Paper published on proposed sale of Trinidad Oil Company to Texas Company (Cmd. 9790).
U.K. and Burma signed trade and payments agreement.
19. U.S.A. and France signed atomic co-operation agreement.
10th session of Assembly of I.C.A.O. held in Caracas, Venezuela.
Istiqlal leader, in a speech at Tangier, demanded incorporation in Morocco of south-west Algeria, Mauritanian area of French West Africa, and Spanish Rio de Oro.
Second of the two 1956 British nuclear tests at Monte Bello Islands took place.
20. Thailand lifted ban on export of non-strategic goods to Communist China and N. Korea.
U.S.A. and Australia signed agreement for atomic co-operation.
Israeli navy reinforced by two British destroyers of Zambesi class, purchased in 1955.
Withdrawal of 33,500 Soviet troops from Eastern Germany began.
21. U.S.A. and Switzerland signed agreement for atomic co-operation.
U.S.A. and Netherlands signed agreement for atomic co-operation.
22. New Austrian Coalition Cabinet formed by Dr. Raab, including new portfolio of Defence Minister.
24. Colonel Nasser elected President of Egyptian Republic ; new Egyptian Constitution approved by plebiscite.
President Tito arrived in Bucharest for discussions with Rumanian leaders.
General Election held in Iceland, Independence Party lost 2 seats, Progressive Party and Social Democrats gained 1 seat and 2 seats respectively.
25. The Shah of Persia paid State visit to Soviet Union.
U.K. and U.S.A. signed agreement extending their joint guided missile range in the Caribbean to St. Lucia, Windward Islands, and to Ascension Island in South Atlantic.
26. Jordan House of Representatives dissolved.
H.M. The Queen reviewed 300 holders of the Victoria Cross in Hyde Park to mark the centenary of the institution.
Security Council rejected request of 13 Arab and Asian countries to debate Algerian situation.
Martial law abolished in Egypt except in Sinai and Red Sea provinces.
27. Pakistan and Soviet Union signed trade agreement.
28. Rioting by workers broke out at Poznan, Poland ; order restored by Polish army tanks and reinforcements ; 53 killed, over 300 wounded, 323 arrested.
U.S.A. and Canada signed agreement on atomic co-operation supplementing agreement of June 1955.
Seventh post-war Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers opened in London.
U.K. and Hungary signed financial and trade agreements.
29. Portuguese announcement that air bases at Espinho and Montijo would be enlarged following request of U.S.A. and other NATO members.
30. Poland and Soviet Union signed an agreement on cultural co-operation.
International Tin Agreement came into force.
Leeward Islands Federation dissolved to allow islands (except the Virgin Islands) to enter Caribbean Federation as independent units.
Eastern Germany and Yemen signed trade agreement.
Central Committee of Soviet Communist Party adopted resolution on overcoming ' the cult of personality '.
New Egyptian Cabinet sworn in by President Nasser.

JULY

1. Eastern Germany announced reduction of army from 120,000 to 90,000 men.
Hungarian Central Committee of Workers' Party warned workers following criticisms of Government and Party.
Argentina announced expulsion of Soviet Assistant Naval Attaché, Buenos Aires.

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2. Soviet recognition of Laos and exchange of diplomatic representatives announced.
   Argentine multilateral trade and payments arrangements with Western European countries came into force.
   U.S.A. announced expulsion of Soviet Assistant Military Attaché, Washington.
3. Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia signed agreement on scientific and technical co-operation.
   Syrian recognition of Communist China announced.
   Philippines and United States issued joint statement on strengthening of U.S. military bases in the country and U.S. recognition of Philippine sovereignty over them.
5. Czechoslovakia and Yemen signed treaty of friendship and trade.
   Sayed Abdulla Khalil elected Prime Minister of the Sudan.
6. U.K. and Ceylon agreed that the latter should take over the naval base at Trincomalee and R.A.F. station at Katunayake; U.K. to receive continued facilities.
7. Mr. Nehru arrived in Dublin for three-day visit to Ireland.
   Sinhalese adopted as sole official language of Ceylon with provision for transition period.
   New Constitution of South Vietnam promulgated.
8. Egyptian trade mission arrived in London to discuss development of economic relations.
10. Soviet Note to U.S.A. alleging violation of Soviet airspace by American military aircraft.
11. Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. met in Moscow; Finno-Karelian Republic abolished and incorporated in U.S.S.R. as Karelian Autonomous Republic.
12. Moscow Radio announced agreement for the joint establishment of an Eastern Institute for Nuclear Research by the Soviet Union, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Eastern Germany, and Albania.
    Appointment of Lord Radcliffe to undertake duties of Constitutional Commissioner for Cyprus announced.
    Canada asked for withdrawal of Second Secretary of Soviet Embassy in Ottawa.
    Federation of Malaya abolished posts of British Advisers to Sultans.
    U.K. and Belgium signed agreement expanding atomic co-operation agreement of June 1955.
    President Nasser of Egypt arrived at Belgrade for discussions with President Tito.
13. Mr. Nehru arrived in Bonn for three-day visit to Western Germany.
14. British protest to the Yemen following attack by tribesmen on villages in Western Protectorate.
15. Rhodesia and Nyasaland announced award to Italian firm of £25 million contract for the main civil engineering work connected with the Kariba project; contracts to British firms also.
16. King Faisal of Iraq arrived in Britain for three-day State visit.
    Polish protest to U.S.A. against flights of U.S. aircraft over Polish territory.
    Indonesian Constituent Assembly election results showed majority for National Party (P.N.I.), 119 seats, Council of Indonesian Muslim Organizations (*Masjumi*) second with 112 seats.
    East German delegation, headed by Dr. Grotewohl, visited Moscow; agreement included halving of German support costs for Soviet troops in Eastern Germany and Soviet economic aid.
17. Mr. Nehru arrived in Paris for two-day visit to France.
    Gold Coast General Election resulted in overall majority for the ruling Convention People's Party (C.P.P.) led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister.
18. President Tito, President Nasser and Mr. Nehru met for two-day talks on the island of Brioni.
    M. Rákosi resigned as First Secretary of the Hungarian Workers' Party; succeeded by M. Gerö.
    The Philippines ratified San Francisco treaty thereby ending state of war with Japan.
19. Portuguese National Assembly approved proposals for creation of corporations for agriculture, industry, commerce, transport and tourism, credit and insurance, fishing and canning industry.
    U.N. Secretary-General arrived in Middle East for third visit of the year; stated on 23 July that Israel, Egypt, and Jordan had assured him that no action would be taken to upset relative calm on Israel frontier.
    Egypt informed by U.S.A. that U.S. participation in financing the Aswan high dam project was not feasible in present circumstances; U.K. made similar announcement next day.

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20. Morocco's application for U.N. membership approved by Security Council for recommendation to General Assembly.
Soviet Union and Nepal agreement to establish diplomatic relations announced.
International Finance Corporation Charter came into force.
21. M. Mikoyan arrived at Brioni for two-day talks with Marshal Tito.
Marshal Bulganin led Soviet delegation to Poland.
Presidents of 20 Latin American States and President Eisenhower met at Panama to commemorate the 130th anniversary of the Congress of Panama; five-point 'Declaration of Panama' issued.
23. H.M.S. *Girdle Ness*, U.K. navy's first guided missile ship commissioned.
24. Atomic co-operation conference of scientists from Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, India, and Indonesia held in Bombay.
Icelandic Government led by Hr. Thors resigned; succeeded by Government led by Hr. Jonasson.
25. Czechoslovakia announced further cut of 10,000 men from Czechoslovak army.
26. President Nasser seized the Suez Canal under decree nationalizing the Suez Canal Company (see p. 450).
Tunisia's application for U.N. membership approved by Security Council for recommendation to General Assembly.
The Italian liner *Andrea Doria* sank after collision with the Swedish liner *Stockholm* off Nantucket with loss of 50 lives; 1700 persons saved.
27. U.K. protest to Egypt against arbitrary action in promulgating law to nationalize Suez Canal; French protest to Egypt.
28. Egyptian public and private assets in Britain frozen.
Soviet transfer of rights in the Kovir-Khuryan Oil Company to Persia announced.
Dr. Manuel Prado inaugurated President of Peru for six-year term.
29. Japan and Nepal establishment of diplomatic relations announced.
U.K., U.S., and French discussions on Suez crisis opened in London.
French announcement of financial measures against Egypt.
30. British export of war materials to Egypt banned.
Hungarian Minister President announced relaxation of restrictions and new five-year plan directives.
31. U.S. order temporarily freezing assets of Egyptian Government and the Suez Canal Company in U.S.A.; relaxed on 5 August.
Polish United Workers' Party announced measures to ameliorate workers' conditions.
U.K. and Western Germany signed 10-year atomic co-operation agreement.
International Sugar Council announced that export quotas for 1956 would be 4,440,000 metric tons (increase of 444,000 metric tons).

AUGUST

1. U.K. announcement that 'precautionary military measures' had been taken.
Northern (Spanish) zone of Morocco officially transferred to the Moroccan authorities.
New three-year International Wheat Agreement came into force.
2. Three-Power communiqué issued inviting the other principal maritime Powers, the Soviet Union, and Egypt to attend a conference on Suez in London on 16 August (see p. 451).
British and French nationals advised to leave Egypt.
NATO announced appointment of General Jean-Etienne Valluy as C.-in-C. Allied Forces, Central Europe in succession to Marshal Juin, from 1 October.
Bill for eventual establishment of British Caribbean Federation enacted.
Terms of agreement between representatives of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago and the Texas Company on sale of Trinidad Oil Company published.
Lord Malvern announced that U.K. had rejected request that Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland be granted some constitutional status as a separate State within Commonwealth.
Japan and Bolivia signed agreement on immigration of Japanese into Bolivia.
3. Limited number of British army reservists called up.
Cairo Radio broadcast reply to three-Power communiqué.
Gold Coast Legislative Assembly adopted Dr. Nkrumah's resolution calling for independence.

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3. Moscow announcement that Yugoslavia would build aluminium works with Soviet and East German aid.
4. Indian Atomic Reactor at Trombay, the first in Asia, started operation.
   Dr. Mussadiq, former Prime Minister of Persia, released from prison.
4. Indonesia repudiated its debts to the Netherlands.
5. Egypt announced call-up of a limited number of army reservists.
   Poland's United Workers' Party rehabilitated and readmitted M. Gomulka to Party membership.
   Laotian Royal Government and *Pathet Lao* leader agreed to end mutual hostile acts.
6. Suez Canal Company instructed its non-Egyptian employees to choose before 15 August between their contract with the Company and co-operation with Egyptian authorities; departure date to be communicated later.
   Jordan and Syria signed agreement to form a customs and economic union.
   Señor Hernán Siles took office as President of Bolivia.
7. Pakistan President, General Iskander Mirza, paid State visit to Afghanistan.
8. Pit disaster at Marcinelle, Belgium, caused death of 262 miners, including 136 Italians.
   Fifth longest ship in the world, the tanker *Universe Leader*, launched in Japan for U.S.A.
9. President Nasser signed decree for the formation of an 'army of national liberation'.
   Airlift of British wives and children from the Canal Zone began.
   Egyptian Government expelled two British oil company officials.
   Middle East Emergency Committee appointed by President Eisenhower to deal with European oil supplies.
12. President Nasser at press conference rejected invitation to London Conference on Suez Canal; proposed alternative conference of signatories of 1888 Convention and other users of the canal.
   Delegation from Ashanti and Northern Territories left for London to discuss federal constitution for Ghana.
16. First London Conference on the Suez Canal opened.
   EOKA announced temporary suspension of violence to facilitate settlement with British Government.
17. Federal Constitutional Court declared West German Communist Party unconstitutional and ruled its dissolution.
20. Syria and Soviet Union signed cultural agreement.
21. Dulles Plan in amended form accepted by 18 nations at London Conference; Soviet Union, India, Indonesia, and Ceylon supported alternative Indian plan.
22. Sir John Harding, Governor of Cyprus, issued detailed surrender terms to EOKA terrorists.
23. London Conference requested Governments of Australia, Ethiopia, Persia, Sweden, and the United States, under chairmanship of Mr. Menzies, to explain 18-Nations plan to President Nasser (see p. 452).
   Cyprus Government's surrender terms rejected by EOKA.
   Some 5,500 Moroccan Jews, held since suppression of Cadima Society, left for Israel.
24. First of new series of four nuclear weapon tests carried out in U.S.S.R.
25. Greece and Rumania resumed diplomatic relations for first time since the war.
   New oil well, the biggest so far known in Persia, discovered at Qum.
26. Capture of a diary kept by Colonel George Grivas, the EOKA leader, announced.
   President Sukarno left Indonesia for second tour of Communist countries, arriving Moscow 28 August.
27. Egyptian Government expelled correspondents of the *Daily Mail*, *Evening Standard*, *Toronto Star*.
28. President Nasser accepted invitation to meet Menzies Committee.
   Two members of British Embassy in Cairo asked to leave Egypt within 72 hours as personae non gratae.
   Arrest of two British nationals announced in Cairo in connexion with alleged spy ring; two further arrests made on 29 August and 3 September respectively.
29. U.K. announcement that a contingent of French troops would be stationed temporarily in Cyprus to ensure, in case of need, protection of French nationals in eastern Mediterranean.
   India and United States signed agreement on purchase of American surplus agricultural products.

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SEPTEMBER

1. Italy and Switzerland signed agreement on road tunnel under the Great St. Bernard Pass.
First boarding schools (285) opened in the Soviet Union.
Señor Ponce Enriquez installed as President of Ecuador.
2. First non-stop flight across the Atlantic by a British V-bomber Vickers Valiant.
3. President Nasser and Menzies Committee began talks in Cairo.
4. British Petroleum Company announced plans to construct at Popton Point, near Milford Haven, terminal for largest tankers yet built.
U.N. Convention on Abolition of Slavery approved by 40 votes to nil.
5. Anglo-French agreement announced for linking British and French electricity grids by submarine cable.
Burma and India signed five-year trade agreement.
7. Nation-wide campaign to eradicate malaria in Mexico in five years began.
Western Germany sent Notes to U.K., U.S.A., France, and Soviet Union appealing for reunification.
8. Mr. Mohammad Ali resigned Premiership of Pakistan and membership of Moslem League.
9. President Nasser rejected 18-Nations proposals on Suez Canal (see p. 453).
10. President Nasser sent Notes to U.N. Secretary-General and all countries except Israel proposing discussions on a negotiating body for the Suez Canal.
Minimum Wage law published in Soviet Union.
Japan joined the multilateral trade and payments arrangements with the Argentine.
10. Mr. Suhrawardy, leader of Awami League, asked to form new government in Pakistan.
11. Suez Canal Company authorized its non-Egyptian employees to cease work on 14 or 15 September.
12. Sir Anthony Eden announced that U.K., French, and U.S. Governments had decided to set up a Suez Canal Users' Association.
U.K. and France informed Security Council of the Suez Canal situation.
13. Mr. Nehru expressed regret at establishment of Suez Canal Users' Association.
Mr. Dulles stated that U.S.A. would not attempt to 'shoot its way through the canal'.
14. U.K. announced second London Conference on the Suez Canal on 19 September.
King Hussein of Jordan visited Baghdad.
University of California announced discovery of the anti-neutron.
15. President Nasser rejected proposed Suez Canal Users' Association.
Soviet Union denounced proposed Suez Canal Users' Association.
Soviet Union and Indonesia signed agreement for Soviet economic and technical aid to Indonesia.
Eighth Chinese Communist Party Congress in Peking approved second five-year plan.
16. Ceylon and Communist China reached preliminary agreement on closer economic and technical co-operation.
17. Mr. Krishna Menon arrived in Cairo for four-day visit.
Egyptian Note sent to the Security Council on the Suez Canal situation.
18. U.K. announcement that subject to parliamentary approval the Gold Coast would be granted independence within the British Commonwealth on 6 March 1957.
Poland and Soviet Union signed agreement for large-scale Soviet aid to Polish economy.
18. President Sukarno in press statement expressed conviction that socialism of Yugoslav type was best way of achieving progress for Indonesia.
19. Second London Conference on Suez Canal attended by the 18 Nations opened; general declaration on 21 September establishing Suez Canal Users' Association (see p. 457).
Jordan announced arrival from Egypt of arms for Jordanian National Guard.
M. Khrushchev arrived in Yugoslavia for talks with Marshal Tito at Brioni.
New world water speed record of 225·63 m.p.h. set up on Coniston Water by Mr. Donald Campbell in his jet-powered speedboat *Bluebird*.
20. King Feisal of Iraq met King Saud of Saudi Arabia at Damman.
General Conference of U.N. members, 20 September-26 October, approved International Atomic Energy Agency Statute.
Argentina became member of I.M.F. and I.B.R.D.
Communist China and Nepal signed treaty of friendship and trade with particular reference to Tibet.
Mr. B. R. Sen elected Director General of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization.

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21. Canada announced decision to sell to Israel 24 Canadian built F. 36 Sabre jet fighters; suspended on 31 October.
Britain's first 'swimming-pool' reactor (Lido) inaugurated at Harwell.
Vietnam became a member of the I.M.F. and I.B.R.D.
Bulgaria and Indonesia established diplomatic relations.
22. President Nasser, President Kuwatli of Syria, and King Saud met at Damman, afterwards flying to Riyadh; on 24th announced unanimity on Suez issue.
Liberian grant to Italy of concessions for exploring and exploiting some of the natural resources of Liberia announced.
23. U.K. and France referred Suez Canal dispute to the Security Council.
24. Egypt referred Suez Canal dispute to the Security Council.
Mr. Nehru arrived in Saudi Arabia for four-day official visit.
Trinidad General Election resulted in win for the People's National Movement.
Dr. Adenauer arrived in Brussels for official visit; agreement signed covering frontier changes, cultural co-operation, settlement of war damages, and indemnities for German refugees resident in Belgium.
Polish General Election announced for 16 December; postponed to 20 January 1957.
25. NATO Council meeting in Paris; informed by British representative of results of London Conference on Suez Canal.
Mr. Menzies defended setting up of Suez Canal Users' Association.
India and Pakistan signed new interim agreement in Washington on division of the waters of the Indus River system for year ending 31 March 1957.
First transatlantic telephone system between U.K., Canada, and U.S.A. simultaneously inaugurated.
26. U.K. announcement that Seretse Khama might return to Bechuanaland as a private citizen.
Jordanian Foreign Minister visited Baghdad to seek additional military support.
27. President Tito flew with M. Khrushchev to Crimea to continue talks with Soviet leaders.
Western Germany ratified agreement with Yugoslavia for settlement of latter's pre-war claims against Germany and her post-war indebtedness to Western Germany.
First test of the British atomic device in Operation Buffalo took place in South Australia.
28. Dr. Hammarskjöld's report of 12 September to Security Council on frontier situation in the Middle East published.
29. Meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers to discuss free trade area in Europe.
British bread subsidy ended, after 15 years.
Mr. Clement Davies resigned leadership of British Parliamentary Liberal Party; succeeded by Mr. Grimond.
General Anastasio Somoza, President of Nicaragua, died of gunshot wounds inflicted by an assassin; his son, Colonel L. A. Somoza elected to succeed him until 1 May 1957.
30. Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz released from Spandau prison, Berlin.

OCTOBER

1. Suez Canal Users' Association formally established in London.
2. Mr. Dulles in press statement admitted differences of a fundamental nature between U.S.A. and her European allies on Suez question.
Mr. Aneurin Bevan elected Treasurer of British Labour Party.
Italy and Libya signed agreement settling problems outstanding since the war.
3. Bolshoi Theatre Ballet from Moscow gave its first performance at Covent Garden.
5. Security Council met to consider Anglo-French and Egyptian complaints relating to Suez Canal.
6. The body of Laszlo Rajk and three others executed with him given State funeral in Budapest following their rehabilitation in March.
7. U.S.A. relinquished extra-territorial rights in Morocco.
General Nuri es-Said of Iraq proposed in press interview another effort to reach permanent settlement of Arab-Israel dispute on basis of U.N. 1947 proposals.
8. Israel withdrew from the Israeli-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission.
The Sultan of Morocco opened conference on the future of Tangier.
10. Rioting in Kowloon on anniversary of foundation of the Chinese People's Republic.

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11. President Eisenhower denied that U.S. policy on Suez crisis had not been clear and firm.
U.K., French, and U.S. Notes to Western Germany and Soviet Union on German reunification.
Western European Union Assembly met for second part of its second ordinary session.
Britain's first nuclear weapon to be dropped from the air released in South Australia from an R.A.F. Valiant.
12. U.K. informed Israel that, if Jordan were attacked, British Government would be obliged to assist her under Anglo-Jordanian Treaty of 1948.
Netherlands Government under Dr. Willem Drees appointed.
13. Security Council adopted Anglo-French resolution incorporating 'six principles' governing operation of the Suez Canal agreed by Britain, France, and Egypt; second half of resolution vetoed by Soviet Union (see p. 458).
Israel submitted memorandum to Security Council demanding equal rights with other countries in any plan for revising or reinforcing the 1888 Suez Canal Convention.
Bonn announcement that Western Germany had recalled her chargé d'affaires from Syria on latter's agreement to the opening there of an East German consulate.
14. M. Imre Nagy readmitted to membership of Hungarian Workers' Party.
Some 200,000 men and women belonging to Scheduled Castes in India embraced Buddhism.
15. The Duke of Edinburgh left London airport for a four-month world tour.
Shareholders of Suez Canal Company at general meeting in Paris approved action taken by the Company since the Egyptian nationalization decree.
Security Council requested by Jordan to deal with situation arising from Israeli raids of 25 September and 10-11 October.
Burma and Siam signed treaty of perpetual peace and everlasting friendship.
16. French navy intercepted off Algerian coast motor yacht *Athos* carrying arms for Algerian insurgents.
Dr. Adenauer stated that Federal Republic was unable to make its promised defence contribution to NATO.
17. H.M. The Queen opened the nuclear power station at Calder Hall, Cumberland.
18. Council of Suez Canal Users' Association held its first meeting in London.
Mr. Suhrawardy, Prime Minister of Pakistan, arrived at Peking on official visit.
Burma and Japan signed trade and payments agreement.
19. Soviet Union and Japan signed joint declaration ending the state of war and restoring diplomatic relations between them; also conventions on trade and fisheries; ratified 12 December.
M. Khrushchev, M. Molotov, and M. Mikoyan attended first of two-day session of Eighth Plenum of Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee.
Report published in Khartoum of Commission of Inquiry into disturbances in Southern Sudan, August 1955.
20. M. Gomulka elected First Secretary of Polish United Workers' Party; Marshal Rokossovsky, Minister of Defence, dropped from Politburo.
U.S.A. and Italy signed agreement for supply of American surplus agricultural products.
21. Jordan General Election resulted in clear anti-Western majority.
President Lozano of Honduras deposed; presidential powers vested in a three-man military junta.
22. Mass demonstrations in Hungary; demands for greater democratization of the Government, withdrawal of Soviet troops, release of Cardinal Mindszenty, return of M. Nagy to political power.
Algerian rebel leaders captured by French while on way to confer with Sultan of Morocco.
Soviet Note to Western Germany on reunification.
23. Insurrection broke out in Hungary.
24. M. Nagy appointed Minister President of Hungary, and re-elected to Politburo; M. Gerö elected First Secretary of the Central Committee; state of emergency proclaimed; Soviet troops intervene following appeal from Government.
Indian Government released proposals for revision of the 1888 Suez Canal Convention.
25. Council of Suez Canal Users' Association held second meeting in London.
Agreement setting up Joint Egyptian-Jordanian-Syrian military command under Egyptian C.-in-C. signed.
Five Egyptian Vampire jet fighters presented to Royal Jordanian Air Force.

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25. M. Gerö dismissed as First Secretary of the Hungarian Workers' Party; succeeded by M. Janos Kádár.
Belgium and Soviet Union signed cultural agreement.
26. Cotton market opened at Bremen—only one in Europe except Liverpool.
South Vietnam Constitution proclaimed.
Soviet Notes to U.K., France, and U.S.A. on German reunification.
27. Budapest Radio announced formation of new Government under M. Nagy to include non-Communists; withdrawal of Russian troops promised.
Israel partially mobilized her army reserves.
France and Western Germany signed four agreements implementing their agreement on the Saar; ratified by France on 12 December, by Germany on 14 December.
28. U.K., France, and U.S. resolution before emergency session of Security Council indicting Soviet Union for repressing rights of Hungarian people by military action adopted by 9 votes to 1 (Soviet Union); Yugoslavia abstained.
President Eisenhower appealed to Israeli Prime Minister to avoid action endangering peace.
Cardinal Wyszynski, Roman Catholic Primate of Poland, released and returned to Warsaw.
French Togoland approved constitution providing for autonomy within French Union.
29. Israeli troops invaded Sinai Peninsula with avowed aim of eliminating *fedayeen* bases; Israeli Government assured British Ambassador in Tel Aviv that Israel would not attack Jordan.
British ships sailed from Malta.
U.S.A. announced that it would bring Middle East crisis to Security Council on 30 October; Mr. Dulles discussed with U.K. and French representatives application of Tripartite Declaration to situation.
U.S. nationals instructed to leave Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Israel, unless compelled to remain.
British subjects advised to leave Egypt and Jordan.
Insurgents' Committee at Györ sent ultimatum to M. Nagy asking for a democracy on the western model; M. Kádár became leader of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party.
Declaration abrogating the international status of Tangier signed by representatives of Morocco, France, Spain, U.K., U.S.A., Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Portugal.
30. Security Council considered urgently U.S. resolution calling upon Israel to withdraw behind armistice line and all members of U.N. to refrain from use of force: U.K. and France vetoed this resolution and Soviet amendment of it.
Iraq assured Egypt of any aid asked for as result of Israel attack.
Anglo-French ultimatum sent to Egypt and Israel for reply within 12 hours, calling for end of fighting, withdrawal 10 miles from Suez Canal, and permission for Anglo-French forces to move temporarily into Port Said, Ismailia, and Suez; accepted by Israel if Egypt accepted; rejected by Egypt (see p. 459).
Syria proclaimed martial law and general mobilization; President Kuwatli arrived in Russia for five-day visit.
Cardinal Mindszenty released and returned to Budapest.
Soviet Union declaration of policy on relations between the U.S.S.R. and other Communist States.
31. General Sir Charles Keightley appointed C.-in-C. Allied Forces for intervention in Egypt.
Anglo-French allies began bombing four Egyptian airfields and British cruiser sank Egyptian frigate.
Security Council adopted a Yugoslav resolution calling for an emergency session of the General Assembly by 7 votes to 2 (U.K. and France); Australia and Belgium abstained.
Iraq proclaimed martial law.
President Eisenhower declared that in his view the Anglo-French attack on Egypt had been launched in error.
Jordan proclaimed a state of emergency, imposed a censorship, and general mobilization.
Lord Malvern resigned as Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland; succeeded by Sir Roy Welensky.

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NOVEMBER

1. President Nasser proclaimed martial law and general mobilization; appointed himself Military Governor-General of Egypt.
   Egypt broke off diplomatic relations with Britain and France.
   Jordan broke off diplomatic relations with France; disallowed use of R.A.F. bases in Jordan for operations against Egypt.
   Syrian troops reported to have entered Jordan.
   Israel claimed that opposition in Sinai had collapsed.
   Mr. Nehru sent telegram to U.N. Secretary-General condemning Anglo-French invasion of Egypt.
   U.S. Administration suspended the Middle East Emergency Committee.
   Hungarian Government renounced Warsaw Treaty, appealed to the U.N. and the major Powers to guarantee Hungary's permanent neutrality; asked Secretary-General to place question of Hungary on General Assembly agenda; stated that Soviet troops had withdrawn from Budapest and their bases in Hungary; later, that Soviet troops were pouring across the frontier.
   Indian States Reorganization Act, the Bihar and West Bengal (Transfer of Territories) Act, and the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act came into force.
2. U.N. General Assembly adopted U.S. resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire in Egypt, and steps to re-open the Suez Canal and restore freedom of navigation: 64 votes to 5, 6 abstentions. Mr. Lester Pearson put forward idea of a U.N. force to keep peace in area (see p. 460).
   Egypt accepted cease-fire if attacking armies ceased their aggression.
   President Nasser announced seizure of all property at the British bases on the canal.
   Fall of Gaza; Israeli Government announced operations practically completed.
   Syria broke off diplomatic relations with U.K. and France.
   U.K., France, and U.S.A. requested Security Council to consider critical situation in Hungary; vetoed by Soviet Union.
3. U.K. and France accepted cease-fire subject to certain conditions, including establishment of U.N. force to keep the peace.
   Entry of Iraqi troops into Jordan at King Hussein's request confirmed.
4. U.N. General Assembly adopted Canadian resolution requesting Secretary-General to produce within 48 hours a plan for an emergency international U.N. force to secure and supervise hostilities in Middle East: 57 for, none against, 19 abstained including U.K., France, Israel, and Egypt. Egypt later accepted resolution and stated readiness to cease military operations by 20.00 hours (see p. 460).
   A resolution introduced by 19 Afro-Asian nations urged compliance within twelve hours with resolution of 2 November; adopted by 50 for, 5 against, 12 abstained.
   U.N. Secretary-General extended time-limit by nine hours.
   Israel claimed complete victory in Sinai; declared Israeli-Egyptian armistice was dead; invited direct and immediate talks with Egypt.
   Three oil-pumping stations in Syria seriously damaged.
   U.S. resolution on Hungary at Security Council vetoed by Soviet Union.
   U.N. General Assembly adopted U.S. resolution calling on Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from Hungary: 50 votes for, 8 against, 15 abstentions.
   M. Nagy broadcast that Soviet forces were attacking Budapest; was displaced as Minister President by M. Kádár, who announced new Government. M. Nagy took refuge in Yugoslav Embassy.
5. A resolution introduced by Canada, Colombia, and Norway establishing a U.N. emergency international force, with Major-General E. L. M. Burns in command, was adopted by 57 for, none against, 19 abstained (see p. 461).
   British and French paratroops landed at Port Said: surrender terms accepted by local Egyptian commander but later rejected from Cairo.
   U.K. and French Governments replied to U.N. welcoming idea of an international police force.
   Soviet Notes sent to U.K. and French Prime Ministers calling for immediate cessation of Anglo-French aggression in Egypt, alluding to possible use of rocket weapons against Britain and France.

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5. Soviet Note to Israel stating that Soviet Ambassador at Tel Aviv was being withdrawn as a warning.
   Soviet proposal to United States that U.S.A., Soviet Union, and other U.N. members should combine in an effort to control Anglo-French aggression in Egypt.
   U.S.A. replied that it would oppose any effort of Soviet or other military forces to enter Middle East area.
   Israel accepted U.N. call for cease-fire.
   Baghdad Pact meeting at Teheran, attended by Turkey, Pakistan, Persia, Iraq, to discuss Middle East situation.
6. General Dwight D. Eisenhower re-elected President of the United States.
   Anglo-French amphibious assault forces landed at Port Said and Port Fuad.
   Sir Anthony Eden in House of Commons announced Anglo-French cease-fire in Egypt from midnight.
   Switzerland sent telegrams to U.S.A., France, U.K., India, and the Soviet Union calling for immediate five-Power conference to preserve world peace; accepted by Soviet Union, welcomed by India, declined by others as impracticable.
   Soviet Union summoned Security Council to endorse joint U.S.-Soviet military force in the Middle East unless Anglo-French forces halted within 12 hours; Security Council rejected motion to debate proposal by 3 for, 4 against, 4 abstentions.
   Saudi Arabia broke off diplomatic relations with U.K. and France; cut off flow of oil to the Bahrein refinery.
   Egypt broke off diplomatic relations with Australia.
7. U.N. General Assembly adopted resolution setting up an Advisory Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Hammarskjöld to develop those aspects of the planning and operation of the U.N.E.F. not already dealt with by the Assembly.
   U.N. General Assembly adopted an Afro-Asian resolution calling upon the U.K., France, and Israel to withdraw their troops from Egypt immediately: voting was 65 for, 1 against (Israel), 10 abstentions, including U.K. and France. U.K. representative declared withdrawal must be contingent on arrival of U.N. Emergency Force.
   Britain's first large heavy water reactor (Dido) inaugurated at Harwell.
8. Israel stated that Israeli forces would withdraw from Egyptian territory after entry of an international force into the Suez Canal area.
   Iraq broke off diplomatic relations with France.
   Chinese Communist Government issued statement supporting Egypt.
   U.N. General Assembly held second emergency session on Hungary, 8-9 November, and adopted a five-Power resolution and a U.S. resolution calling upon the Soviet Union to withdraw her forces immediately, and an Austrian resolution on relief for the Hungarian people.
   Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and Mr. Nehru signed joint statement expressing belief in the five principles of coexistence and deploring the use of force in settling international problems.
   Asian Socialist Conference at Bombay passed resolution calling for universal U.N. membership and an effective international ban on atomic weapons.
9. Communist China and Burma issued joint statement providing for withdrawal of Chinese troops from the 1941 line and of Burmese troops from Hpimaw, Kangtang, and Gawlum by end of year.
   South Vietnam's Constituent Assembly inaugurated the Republic's first National Legislative Assembly.
10. Indonesian Constituent Assembly inaugurated in Bandung.
11. President Tito defined Yugoslav Government's attitude to the Hungarian crisis.
12. Eleventh Session of U.N. General Assembly opened in New York.
    Egypt accepted stationing of U.N.E.F. in Egypt.
    Iraq Petroleum Company's pipeline south-west of Irbid, North Jordan, blown up.
    Colombo Powers, except Pakistan, met in Delhi to confer on Middle East and Hungarian situations.
    M. Kádár's Government refused permission to U.N. observers to enter Hungary.
    U.K. and Australia announced heads of new five-year trade agreement to replace Ottawa Agreement of 1932.
    Trial of Dr. Otto John opened at Karlsruhe.

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13. General Gruenther, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, announced retaliation if rockets were used against Western Powers.
    Arab heads of State and their ministers met at Beirut on initiative of President Chamoun of the Lebanon.
    M. Kádár's Government welcomed offer of U.N. relief aid for Hungary.
    Polish five-year plan for 1956-60 adopted.
    Marshal Rokossovsky, Russian army officer, resigned as C.-in-C. Polish Army and Minister of Defence.
14. Mr. Hammarskjöld informed Hungarian Government of his satisfaction at its willingness to co-operate with U.N. relief agencies, but regretted refusal to admit U.N. observers.
    U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees announced that 25,000 Hungarian refugees had been offered asylum.
    Iceland-U.K. agreement settling fisheries dispute announced by O.E.E.C.
15. Vanguard of U.N. Emergency Force landed near Ismailia.
    M. Gomulka and other Polish leaders arrived in Moscow for discussion on Polish-Soviet relations.
    The Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama arrived in India for five-week visit.
    Soviet long-term loan to India of 500 million roubles announced.
    Establishment announced of Asian Legal Consultative Committee in Delhi, by Governments of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Syria.
16. Hungarian Government offered to arrange meeting with Mr. Hammarskjöld in Rome.
    U.N. General Assembly decided not to admit Communist China to membership during current session.
    Lebanese Prime Minister resigned; new Government formed by M. Sami es- Solh on 19 November.
17. Soviet proposals on disarmament, modifying previous attitude to 'open skies' proposal, sent to U.S.A., U.K., France, China, India.
    Tass Agency announced successful nuclear test at great height over Soviet territory.
    Indian Note to Portugal warned that India would take 'preventive action' to stop violation of Indian air space by aircraft serving Portuguese possessions.
    Kashmir Constituent Assembly adopted Constitution for Kashmir declaring the State to be an integral part of the Union of India, to come into force on 26 January 1957.
18. Egypt requested U.N. to help to clear Suez Canal of obstructions.
    Baghdad Pact meeting at Baghdad, again excluding U.K. *Communiqué* on subversion on 23rd.
    Hungarian Government, International Red Cross, and Hungarian Red Cross signed agreement at Geneva for channelling of all relief to Hungary through I.R.C.
    Poland-Soviet Union signed agreement on stationing of Soviet forces in Poland.
19. M. Djilas arrested on charge of spreading hostile propaganda against the State.
    Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia arrived in Japan for 10-day visit.
20. General Gruenther handed over Supreme Command of NATO forces in Europe to General Norstad.
21. Mr. Hammarskjöld issued two reports on the organization of the U.N. Emergency Force and on clearing the Suez Canal.
    U.N. General Assembly again censured Soviet Union for her action in Hungary.
    Moscow announcement that M. Molotov had been appointed Minister of State Control.
22. British conditions for withdrawal from Egypt stated in House of Commons.
    M. Nagy left Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest under guarantee against political reprisal; understood to have been kidnapped and sent to Rumania.
    Death penalty in Cyprus extended following savage brutality of terrorists.
    French Assembly voted in favour of ratifying Franco-Libyan treaty with reserve that ratification should not be deposited until Algerian-Libyan frontier had been delimited.
    16th Olympic Games opened by the Duke of Edinburgh in Melbourne.
23. Sir Anthony Eden left London for three weeks rest in Jamaica.
    Last Commonwealth contingent in Japan, 200 British troops, left for home.
24. U.N. General Assembly again called upon U.K., France, and Israel to withdraw their forces from Egypt.
    Afghan Prime Minister, Prince Mohammad Sardar Daud Khan, paid official visit to Pakistan.

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26. Turkish Minister to Israel recalled.
Ethiopia expelled Egyptian Military, Naval, and Air Attaché.
New Municipal Council for Gaza, with Arab mayor, appointed by Israeli military governor.
27. President Eisenhower issued statement giving assurance of U.S. friendship for U.K. and France.
28. Mr. Chou En-lai, Chinese Prime Minister, arrived in Delhi in course of his tour of Asian countries.
U.S.A. and South Korea signed treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation.
U.K. Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, said in House of Commons that build-up of U.N. Emergency Force in Egypt must have important relationship to a phased withdrawal of allied troops.
29. U.S.A. declared that it would view with utmost gravity any threat to the territorial integrity or political independence of the Baghdad Pact Powers—Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq, Persia.
30. O.E.E.C. Council set up a Petroleum Industry Emergency Group consisting of representatives of the European international supplying countries.
M. Ethem Menderes, Turkish Acting Foreign Minister, visited London.
President Eisenhower reactivated work of the Middle East Emergency Committee.
First tanker to reach Britain via the Cape since Suez Canal blocked arrived in the Mersey.

DECEMBER

1. Liberia announced establishment of diplomatic posts in Soviet Union, Communist China, Nationalist China, Egypt and in Ghana (after independence).
3. U.K. and France sent identical Notes to U.N. Secretary-General confirming their intention 'to continue the withdrawal of their forces now in the Port Said area without delay'.
U.N. General Assembly called on Soviet Union and Hungary to comply before 7 December with previous resolutions and to permit U.N. observers to enter Hungary.
Soviet Union and Rumania issued joint statement on further development of economic relations and co-operation and agreement on retention of Soviet troops in Rumania.
U.S.A. announced suspension of cultural exchange programme with U.S.S.R.
4. Greek Prime Minister, M. Karamanlis, and Foreign Minister visited Belgrade.
5. Anglo-French Command began first phase of withdrawal of troops from Egypt.
Arrest of 140 people in South Africa on charges of treason.
Singapore Legislative Assembly approved proposals for Malayanization of the civil service.
Washington announced suspension of U.S.A. and Philippines negotiations on status of American bases there owing to disagreement.
Syria and Jordan ratified economic agreement providing for customs and monetary union.
6. U.K. jurisdictional rights in Morocco renounced.
Washington announced that Iceland would permit U.S. forces to remain at Keflavik.
8. Warsaw announced agreement on future relations of Church and State in Poland.
Washington announcement that Mr. Christian A. Herter, lately Governor of Massachusetts, had been appointed Under-Secretary of State from 1 February 1957.
9. Kádár Government outlawed Hungarian Workers' Councils and introduced martial law.
New political block formed in Syria consisting of all parties except the Shaab.
10. U.N. General Assembly again condemned Soviet Union for its action in Hungary.
U.K. arrangement with I.M.F. to purchase up to full amount of the U.K. quota announced.
U.K. rejection of proposals for partition in the Gold Coast announced in Accra.
11. North Atlantic Council met in Paris; M. Spaak appointed Secretary-General.
12. U.N. General Assembly condemned Soviet action in Hungary in stronger terms.
U.N. Security Council approved Japan's application for U.N. membership for recommendation to the General Assembly.
Terrorist raids by Irish Republican Army began in Northern Ireland.
U.K. Atomic Energy Authority announced that second reactor had started working at Calder Hall atomic power station.
M. Milovan Djilas sentenced to three years imprisonment.

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14. U.N. General Assembly had before it proposal from 19 Latin-American countries and Spain that Security Council membership should be increased to 13 by adding two more non-permanent members.
    Major modifications in U.S. disarmament proposals announced.
    Sir Anthony Eden returned to London from Jamaica.
15. Mr. Nehru called on Sir Anthony Eden when passing through London on his way to Washington.
    France and Western Germany mutually abolished passports.
16. Mr. Nehru arrived in Washington for four-day State visit.
17. Poland and Soviet Union signed agreement regulating status of Soviet troops in Poland.
    Nationalization on 1 June 1957 of installations in Greece of British-owned Cable and Wireless Ltd. announced.
18. Japan admitted to U.N. membership by General Assembly.
    Relaxation of emergency regulations in Cyprus announced.
    U.K. and Western Germany signed reciprocal agreements on social security.
    Ghana Independence Bill approved by U.K. House of Commons.
19. Lord Radcliffe's proposals for a Constitution for Cyprus published (Cmnd. 42).
    Mass treason trial opened in Johannesburg.
    Japanese Emperor signed sweeping amnesty to mark entry of Japan to U.N.
20. Sir Anthony Eden stated in House of Commons that there was no foreknowledge of Israel's attack on Egypt, though it was known there was a risk of it.
    Plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., 20-24 December, announced changes in the Soviet sixth five-year plan.
    Mr. Tanzan Ishibashi elected Prime Minister of Japan following resignation of Mr. Hatoyama on same day.
21. 472 British technicians at Suez, who had been interned by the Egyptians, released.
    U.S. Export-Import Bank announced authorization of a loan of up to $500 million to U.K. against collateral of British Government's dollar securities.
    U.K. announcement that renewed constitutional discussions on Singapore would begin on 11 March 1957.
    Mr. Nehru arrived in Ottawa for talks with Mr. St. Laurent and Mr. Pearson.
    Trade agreement announced between Portugal and Benelux countries.
    Federal German Bundesrat passed 12 months National Service Bill, to operate from 1 April 1957.
    Military Commander of North and Central Sumatra, Colonel Simbolon, announced that his territory disassociated itself from the central Government of Indonesia.
22. Last Anglo-French troops left Port Said and Port Fuad; units of Franco-British salvage fleet remained under authority of U.N.
    Dr. Otto John sentenced to four years penal servitude.
    Syrian Government resigned.
23. New Japanese Cabinet formed under Mr. Ishibashi; Mr. Nobusuke Foreign Minister.
    Elections in French trust territory of Cameroon for new territorial Assembly to consider territory's political future.
24. Mr. Nehru called on Sir Anthony Eden on his way back to India.
    Statue of Ferdinand de Lesseps at Port Said blown up by Egyptians.
25. Czechoslovak State Radio stopped playing the Soviet National Anthem at midnight each night.
26. 1,025 Japanese detainees returned to Japan from Russia after 11 year exile.
27. Suez Canal clearing operations by U.N. salvage fleet began.
    Israeli Notes delivered in London, Washington, and Paris, reporting renewal of Egyptian *fedayeen* activity on Israel territory, mainly from Jordanian bases.
    Yugoslav Defence Secretary announced that Yugoslavia would no longer need military aid from abroad.
    Army revolt in Sumatra spread to southern province; Government claimed to have reassorted control in the north.
28. French Senate approved Government project for re-organizing the Sahara into a single economic unit.
    Yemeni chargé d'affaires in London protested to British Government against alleged British raid on Qataba; refuted by Foreign Office.
    Brazil and Uruguay signed series of agreements on trade and navigation.

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28. Benelux countries and Denmark signed 12-month trade agreement.
Scientists in California announced discovery of new way of producing atomic energy requiring neither uranium nor excessive heat.
29. Northern Ireland outlawed the Republican political parties *Sinn Fein* and *Fianna Uladh*.
Anti-Muslim riots in European part of Algiers.
30. Swiss Federal Council asked Parliament to vote Sw. fr. 136 million for defence.
Agreement reached on admission of Pathet Lao to Laotian Cabinet.
31. Mr. Dulles expounded new U.S. policy for the Middle East in New Year message.
U.K. and Poland signed trade agreement.
Syrian Prime Minister, Sabri al-Asali, formed new coalition Cabinet.
President Sukarno proclaimed a state of war and siege in South Sumatra.
The death of Adolf Hitler ' the Führer and Reich Chancellor ' recorded as the last entry of 1956 in the Central Registrar's book in Berlin as having taken place on 30 April 1945.

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