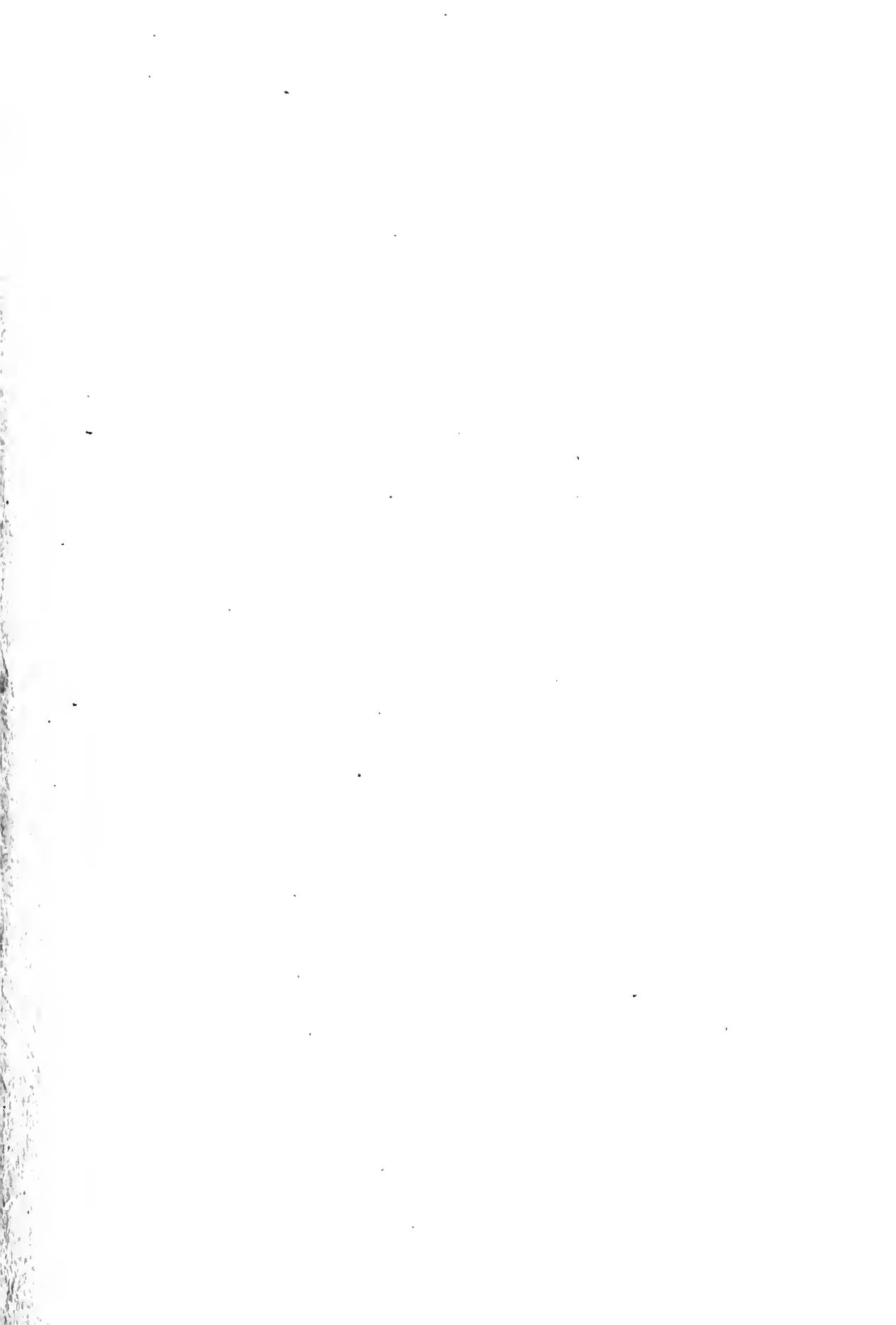


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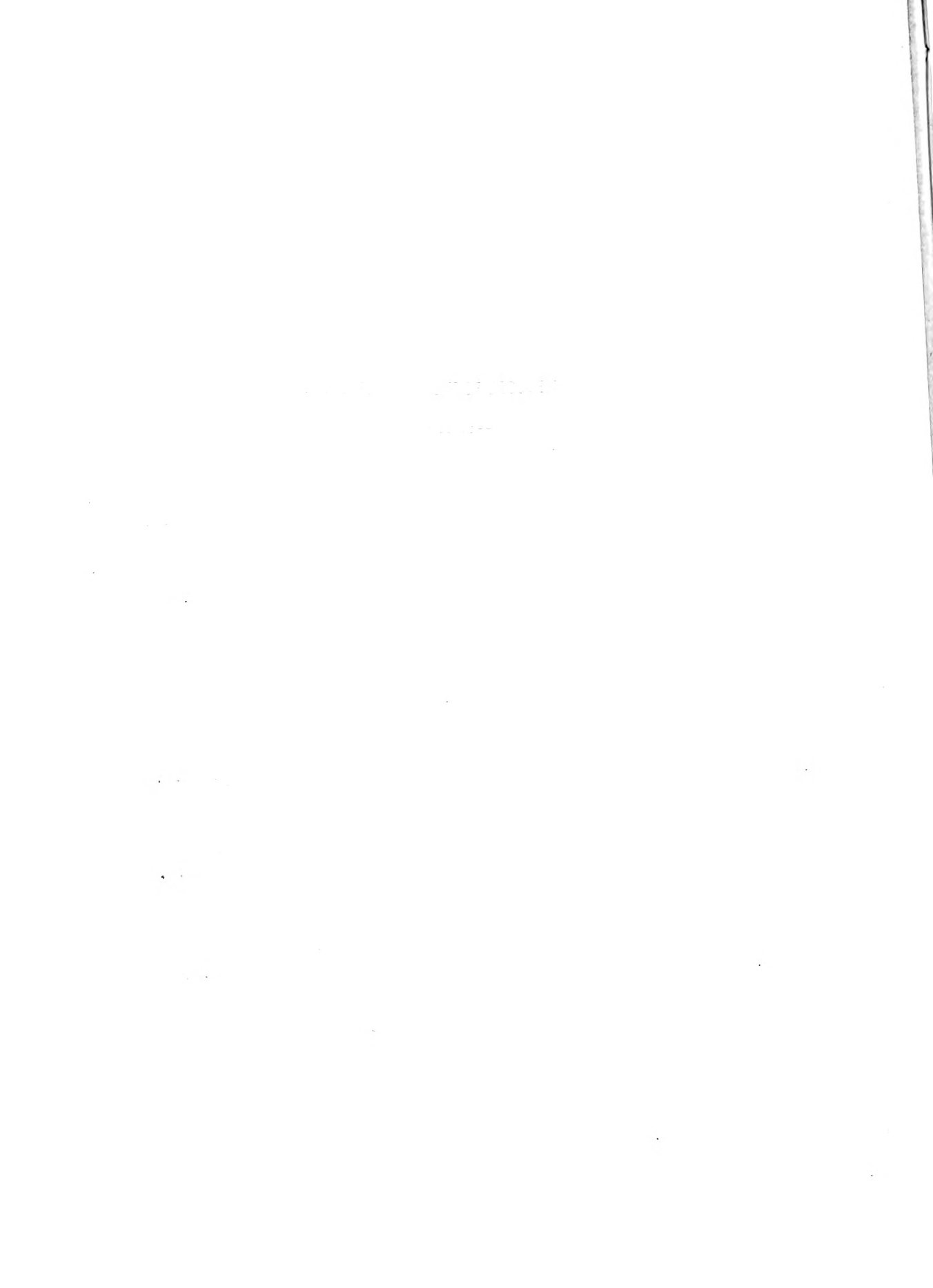
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The War

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT ON CHRISTMAS EVE ¹

[Released to the press by the White House December 24]

I have just returned from extensive journeyings in the region of the Mediterranean and as far as the borders of Russia. I have conferred with the leaders of Britain and Russia and China on military matters of the present—especially on plans for stepping-up our successful attack on our enemies as quickly as possible and from many different points of the compass.

On this Christmas Eve there are over 10 million men in the armed forces of the United States alone. One year ago 1,700,000 were serving overseas. Today, this figure has been more than doubled to 3,800,000 on duty overseas. By next July that number will rise to over 5 million.

That this is truly a World War was demonstrated when arrangements were made with our overseas broadcasting agencies for time to speak today to our soldiers, sailors, marines, and merchant seamen in every part of the world. In fixing the time for the broadcast we took into consideration that at this moment here in the United States, and in the Caribbean and on the northeast coast of South America, it is afternoon. In Alaska and in Hawaii and the mid-Pacific, it is still morning. In Iceland, in Great Britain, in North Africa, in Italy, and the Middle East, it is now evening. "

In the Southwest Pacific, in Australia, in China and Burma and India, it is already Christmas Day. We can correctly say that at this moment, in those far eastern parts where Americans are fighting, today is tomorrow.

But everywhere throughout the world—throughout this war which covers the world—there is a special spirit which has warmed our

hearts since our earliest childhood—a spirit which brings us close to our homes, our families, our friends and neighbors—the Christmas spirit of "peace on earth, good-will toward men".

During the past years of international gangsterism and brutal aggression in Europe and in Asia, our Christmas celebrations have been darkened with apprehension for the future. We have said, "Merry Christmas—Happy New Year", but we have known in our hearts that the clouds which have hung over our world have prevented us from saying it with full sincerity and conviction.

And even this year, we still have much to face in the way of further suffering and sacrifice and personal tragedy. Our men, who have been through the fierce battles in the Solomons, the Gilberts, Tunisia, and Italy know, from their experience and knowledge of modern war, that many bigger and costlier battles are still to be fought.

But—on Christmas Eve this year—I can say to you that at last we may look forward into the future with real, substantial confidence that, however great the cost, "peace on earth, good-will toward men" can be and will be realized and insured. This year I can say that. Last year I could not do more than express a hope. Today I express a certainty—though the cost may be high and the time may be long.

Within the past year—within the past few weeks—history has been made, and it is far better history for the whole human race than any that we have known, or even dared to hope for, in these tragic times through which we pass.

¹ Broadcast from Hyde Park, N.Y., Dec. 24, 1943.

A great beginning was made in the Moscow conference in October by Mr. Molotov, Mr. Eden, and our own Mr. Hull. There and then the way was paved for the later meetings.

At Cairo and Tehran we devoted ourselves not only to military matters, we devoted ourselves also to consideration of the future—to plans for the kind of world which alone can justify all the sacrifices of this war.

Of course, as you all know, Mr. Churchill and I have happily met many times before, and we know and understand each other very well. Indeed, Mr. Churchill has become known and beloved by many millions of Americans, and the heartfelt prayers of all of us have been with this great citizen of the world in his recent serious illness.

The Cairo and Tehran conferences, however, gave me my first opportunity to meet the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, and Marshal Stalin—and to sit down at the table with these unconquerable men and talk with them face to face. We had planned to talk to each other across the table at Cairo and Tehran; but we soon found that we were all on the same side of the table. We came to the conferences with faith in each other. But we needed the personal contact. And now we have supplemented faith with definite knowledge.

It was well worth traveling thousands of miles over land and sea to bring about this personal meeting, and to gain the heartening assurance that we are absolutely agreed with one another on all the major objectives—and on the military means of obtaining them.

At Cairo, Prime Minister Churchill and I spent four days with the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek. It was the first time that we had had an opportunity to go over the complex situation in the Far East with him personally. We were able not only to settle upon definite military strategy but also to discuss certain long-range principles which we believe can assure peace in the Far East for many generations to come.

Those principles are as simple as they are fundamental. They involve the restoration of stolen property to its rightful owners and the recognition of the rights of millions of people

in the Far East to build up their own forms of self-government without molestation. Essential to all peace and security in the Pacific and in the rest of the world is the permanent elimination of the Empire of Japan as a potential force of aggression. Never again must our soldiers and sailors and marines be compelled to fight from island to island as they are fighting so gallantly and so successfully today.

Increasingly powerful forces are now hammering at the Japanese at many points over an enormous arc which curves down through the Pacific from the Aleutians to the jungles of Burma. Our own Army and Navy, our Air Forces, the Australians and New Zealanders, the Dutch, and the British land, air, and sea forces are all forming a band of steel which is closing in on Japan.

On the mainland of Asia, under the Generalissimo's leadership, the Chinese ground and air forces augmented by American air forces are playing a vital part in starting the drive which will push invaders into the sea.

Following out the military decisions at Cairo, General Marshall has just flown around the world and has had conferences with General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz—conferences which will spell plenty of bad news for the Japs in the not too far distant future.

I met in the Generalissimo a man of great vision and great courage and remarkably keen understanding of the problems of today and tomorrow. We discussed all the manifold military plans for striking at Japan with decisive force from many directions, and I believe I can say that he returned to Chungking with the positive assurance of total victory over our common enemy. Today we and the Republic of China are closer together than ever before in deep friendship and in unity of purpose.

After the Cairo conference, Mr. Churchill and I went by airplane to Tehran. There we met with Marshal Stalin. We talked with complete frankness on every conceivable subject connected with the winning of the war and the establishment of a durable peace after the war.

Within three days of intense and consistently amicable discussions, we agreed on every point

concerned with the launching of a gigantic attack upon Germany.

The Russian Army will continue its stern offensives on Germany's eastern front; the Allied Armies in Italy and Africa will bring relentless pressure on Germany from the south; and now the encirclement will be complete as great American and British forces attack from other points of the compass.

The commander selected to lead the combined attack from these other points is Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. His performances in Africa, Sicily, and Italy have been brilliant. He knows by practical and successful experience the way to coordinate air, sea, and land power. All these will be under his control. Lt. Gen. Carl Spaatz will command the entire American strategic bombing force operating against Germany.

General Eisenhower gives up his command in the Mediterranean to a British officer whose name is being announced by Mr. Churchill. We now pledge that new commander that our powerful ground, sea, and air forces in the vital Mediterranean area will stand by his side until every objective in that bitter theater is attained.

Both of these new commanders will have American and British subordinate commanders whose names will be announced in a few days.

During the last two days at Tehran, Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill, and I looked ahead to the days and months and years which will follow Germany's defeat. We were united in determination that Germany must be stripped of her military might and be given no opportunity within the foreseeable future to regain that might.

The United Nations have no intention to enslave the German people. We wish them to have a normal chance to develop, in peace, as useful and respectable members of the European family. But we most certainly emphasize that word "respectable"—for we intend to rid them once and for all of Nazism and Prussian militarism and the fantastic and disastrous notion that they constitute the "master race".

We did discuss international relationships from the point of view of big, broad objectives,

rather than details. But on the basis of what we did discuss, I can say even today that I do not think any insoluble differences will arise among Russia, Great Britain, and the United States.

In these conferences we were concerned with basic principles—principles which involve the security and the welfare and the standard of living of human beings in countries large and small.

To use an American and ungrammatical colloquialism, I may say that I "got along fine" with Marshal Stalin. He is a man who combines a tremendous, relentless determination with a stalwart good humor. I believe he is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia; and I believe that we are going to get along well with him and the Russian people—very well indeed.

Britain, Russia, China, and the United States and their Allies represent more than three quarters of the total population of the earth. As long as these four nations with great military power stick together in determination to keep the peace there will be no possibility of an aggressor nation arising to start another world war.

But those four powers must be united with and cooperate with all the freedom-loving peoples of Europe and Asia and Africa and the Americas. The rights of every nation, large or small, must be respected and guarded as jealously as are the rights of every individual within our own republic.

The doctrine that the strong shall dominate the weak is the doctrine of our enemies—and we reject it.

But, at the same time, we are agreed that if force is necessary to keep international peace, international force will be applied—for as long as it may be necessary.

It has been our steady policy—and it is certainly a common-sense policy—that the right of each nation to freedom must be measured by the willingness of that nation to fight for freedom. And today we salute our unseen allies in occupied countries—the underground resistance groups and the armies of liberation. They will

provide potent forces against our enemies, when the day of invasion comes.

Through the development of science the world has become so much smaller that we have had to discard the geographical yardsticks of the past. For instance, through our early history the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were believed to be walls of safety for the United States. Time and distance made it physically possible for us and for the other American republics to obtain and maintain our independence against infinitely stronger powers. Until recently very few people, even military experts, thought that the day could ever come when we might have to defend our Pacific coast against Japanese threats of invasion.

At the outbreak of the first World War relatively few people thought that our ships and shipping would be menaced by German submarines on the high seas or that the German militarists would ever attempt to dominate any nation outside of central Europe.

After the Armistice in 1918, we thought and hoped that the militaristic philosophy of Germany had been crushed; and being full of the milk of human kindness we spent the next 15 years disarming, while the Germans whined so pathetically that the other nations permitted them—and even helped them—to re-arm.

For too many years we lived on pious hopes that aggressor and warlike nations would learn and understand and carry out the doctrine of purely voluntary peace.

The well-intentioned but ill-fated experiments of former years did not work. It is my hope that we will not try them again. No—that is too weak—it is my intention to do all that I humanly can as President and Commander in Chief to see to it that these tragic mistakes shall not be made again.

There have always been cheerful idiots in this country who believed that there would be no more war for us, if everybody in America would only return into their homes and lock their front doors behind them. Assuming that their motives were of the highest, events have shown how unwilling they were to face the facts.

The overwhelming majority of all the people in the world want peace. Most of them are fighting for the attainment of peace—not just a truce, not just an armistice—but peace that is as strongly enforced and as durable as mortal man can make it. If we are willing to fight for peace now, is it not good logic that we should use force if necessary, in the future, to keep the peace?

I believe, and I think I can say, that the other three great nations who are fighting so magnificently to gain peace are in complete agreement that we must be prepared to keep the peace by force. If the people of Germany and Japan are made to realize thoroughly that the world is not going to let them break out again, it is possible, and, I hope, probable, that they will abandon the philosophy of aggression—the belief that they can gain the whole world even at the risk of losing their own souls.

I shall have more to say about the Cairo and Tehran conferences when I make my report to the Congress in about two weeks' time. And, on that occasion, I shall also have a great deal to say about certain conditions here at home.

But today I wish to say that in all my travels, at home and abroad, it is the sight of our soldiers and sailors and their magnificent achievements which have given me the greatest inspiration and the greatest encouragement for the future.

To the members of our armed forces, to their wives, mothers, and fathers, I want to affirm the great faith and confidence we have in General Marshall and Admiral King who direct all our armed might throughout the world. Upon them falls the great responsibility of planning the strategy of determining when and where we shall fight. Both of these men have already gained high places in American history, which will record many evidences of their military genius that cannot be published today.

Some of our men overseas are now spending their third Christmas far from home. To them and to all others overseas or soon to go overseas, I can give assurance that it is the purpose of their Government to win this war and to bring them home at the earliest possible date.

And we here in the United States had better be sure that when our soldiers and sailors do come home they will find an America in which they are given full opportunities for education, rehabilitation, social security, employment, and business enterprise under the free American system—and that they will find a Government which, by their votes as American citizens, they have had a full share in electing.

The American people have had every reason to know that this is a tough, destructive war. On my trip abroad, I talked with many military men who had faced our enemies in the field. These hard-headed realists testify to the strength and skill and resourcefulness of the enemy generals and men whom we must beat before final victory is won. The war is now reaching the stage where we shall have to look forward to large casualty lists—dead, wounded, and missing.

War entails just that. There is no easy road to victory. And the end is not yet in sight.

I have been back only for a week. It is fair that I should tell you my impression. I think that I should tell you my impression. I think I see a tendency in some of our people here to assume a quick ending of the war—that we have already gained the victory. And, perhaps as a result of this false reasoning, I think I discern an effort to resume or even encourage an outbreak of partisan thinking and talking. I hope I am wrong. For, surely, our first and foremost tasks are all concerned with winning the war and winning a just peace that will last for generations.

The massive offensives which are in the making—both in Europe and the Far East—will require every ounce of energy and fortitude that we and our Allies can summon on the fighting fronts and in all the workshops at home. As I have said before, you cannot order up a great attack on a Monday and demand that it be delivered on Saturday.

Less than a month ago I flew in a big Army transport plane over the little town of Bethlehem, in Palestine.

Tonight, on Christmas Eve, all men and women everywhere who love Christmas are

thinking of that ancient town and of the star of faith that shone there more than 19 centuries ago.

American boys are fighting today in snow-covered mountains, in malarial jungles, and on blazing deserts; they are fighting on the far stretches of the sea and above the clouds; and the thing for which they struggle is best symbolized by the message that came out of Bethlehem.

On behalf of the American people—your own people—I send this Christmas message to you who are in our armed forces:

In our hearts are prayers for you and for all your comrades-in-arms who fight to rid the world of evil.

We ask God's blessing upon you—upon your fathers and mothers, wives and children—all your loved ones at home.

We ask that the comfort of God's grace shall be granted to those who are sick and wounded, and to those who are prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy, waiting for the day when they will again be free.

And we ask that God receive and cherish those who have given their lives, and that He keep them in honor and in the grateful memory of their countrymen forever.

God bless all of you who fight our battles on this Christmas Eve.

God bless us all. God keep us strong in our faith that we fight for a better day for humankind—here and everywhere.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION BY UNITED NATIONS

[Released to the press by the White House January 1]

Many of us in the United States are observing this first day of the New Year as a day of prayer and reflection and are considering the deeper issues which affect us as part of the family of nations at a crucial moment in history. It is fitting on this day that we direct our thoughts to the concept of the United Nations

which came into being on another and infinitely bleaker New Year's Day two years ago.

It was but three weeks after Pearl Harbor that the Declaration by United Nations was promulgated at Washington. Twenty-six nations subscribed immediately, eight more have adhered subsequently, all pledging themselves to stand together in the struggle against common enemies.

Two years ago the United Nations were on the defensive in every part of the world. Today we are on the offensive. The walls are closing in remorselessly on our enemies. Our armed forces are gathering for new and greater assaults which will bring about the downfall of the Axis aggressors.

The United Nations are giving attention also

to the different kind of struggle which must follow the military phase, the struggle against disease, malnutrition, unemployment, and many other forms of economic and social distress.

To make all of us secure against future aggression and to open the way for enhanced well-being of nations and individuals everywhere, we must maintain in the peace to come the mutually beneficial cooperation we have achieved in war. On the threshold of the New Year, as we look toward the tremendous tasks ahead, let us pledge ourselves that this cooperation shall continue both for winning the final victory on the battlefield and for establishing an international organization of all peace-loving nations to maintain peace and security in generations to come.

WAR AND POST-WAR PROBLEMS IN THE FAR EAST

Address by Joseph C. Grew¹

[Released to the press December 29]

Among the many invitations to speak which come to me from all over the country, I know of none that I accepted more promptly and gladly than the invitation to meet tonight the members of the Illinois Education Association, even though it meant coming from Washington for this single engagement. For in fighting the war and in approaching the eventual problems of the peace tables, we need—as perhaps never before so urgently—the development of an enlightened public opinion, especially among the youth of our country—the younger generation in whose hands will largely lie the shaping of our future world. To whom therefore shall we turn rather than to the teachers of our young men and women to guide their thinking broadly and wisely so that the coming generation may be fitted effectively to influence or to deal directly with the solution of the tremendous problems that will face them on emerging from their scholastic years and crossing the threshold into life? The duties, the responsibilities, and the

opportunities that you yourselves face in inculcating that training, my friends of the Illinois Education Association, are of immense importance, and I therefore heartily welcome this occasion which permits me to speak to you tonight. As for the opportunities, it may do no harm to remember the difference between a pessimist and an optimist: a pessimist is one who sees a difficulty in every opportunity, while an optimist is one who sees an opportunity in every difficulty.

Some six weeks ago we passed an anniversary of solemn and significant memory, the Armistice of 1918. How well I remember that day in Paris! Guns booming, bells pealing, the people of Paris in the streets singing and dancing, laughing and weeping. The war to end wars

¹ Delivered at the annual banquet celebrating the 90th anniversary of the Illinois Education Association, Chicago, Dec. 29, 1943. Mr. Grew, former American Ambassador to Japan, is now Special Assistant to the Secretary of State.

was over. Thenceforth we were to emerge from battle to a bright new world, a world of peace on earth, good-will toward men. And then, what happened? We in America and people elsewhere quite simply got into bed and pulled the covers over our heads, unwilling to see what was going on about us, asleep to actualities. And now, once again the world is drenched in blood.

Shall we make that grim mistake again? I do not believe so. Human nature may not change much through the ages, but at least mankind learns something from experience, and I believe that we in our country have learned that in this modern world of ours—in which the nations, through developments in communications and transit, have been drawn into inevitable intimacy—isolation has become an anachronism. We cannot kill the seeds of war, for they are buried deep in human nature. But what we can do and I am convinced we shall do is precisely what we did in permanently stamping out yellow fever from our country—remove the conditions under which those seeds of war can germinate anywhere in the world. It can be done and it must be done.

The guilty leaders among our enemies and those individuals responsible for the barbarous acts of crime and senseless cruelties that have been committed under the cloak of war must and shall be punished, and just retribution must and shall be meted out to the enemy countries so that the people of those countries shall be forever cured of the illusion that aggression pays. Their false philosophy can never be discredited until the results are brought home to them in defeat, humiliation, and bitter loss. Measures must and shall be taken to prevent that cancer of aggressive militarism from digging in underground, once again to rear itself in malignant evil and once again to overrun the world, calling upon our sons and grandsons to fight this dreadful war over again in the next generation. Let us assure our defenders on the battle-fronts that this time their heroism shall forever finish the job begun in 1914.

But those self-evident measures will not be

enough. In approaching the eventual peace tables, we shall need the highest qualities of far-sighted statesmanship. We must abandon all promptings of vindictiveness or of pride and prejudice.

First we must clear away the poisonous growth in order to lay the foundations for the erection of an invulnerable and enduring world edifice. Two great cornerstones for that foundation have already been swung into place. One was the Atlantic Charter; the second was the Moscow agreement supplemented and strengthened by the declarations of Cairo and Tehran. Others will follow.

And then we must build. Re-education in certain areas will become essential. I visualize a helpful, cooperative, common-sense spirit in conducting that system of re-education, devoid of browbeating or vindictiveness, with emphasis upon what our enemies will have to gain by playing the game with the rest of the world and what they would lose by recalcitrance. The healthy growth must ultimately come from within. When our enemies find that in cooperation lies their only hope of salvation, they will cooperate. Weariness of the sufferings of war will work in our favor. We do not want festering sores anywhere in our future world for the building of which we and our Allies are fighting and striving today. We do not want the nursing of grudges, rebelliousness and bitterness. We want the people of the world, including our present enemies, to look forward, not back, and to look forward not to the day when they can achieve revenge but forward to a peaceful, lawful, cooperative, solvent, productive, and prosperous national and international life, purged forever of the poison of aggressive militarism. That should be our aim. That should be the ultimate goal of far-sighted statesmanship, and that should be the guiding spirit at the peace tables. We shall need the wisdom of Solomon in approaching those eventual problems. Pray God that we may find it.

Thus may our defenders on the battle lines know that they are not fighting or dying in vain. Thus may they know that we on the

home-front are not only with joyful determination supporting them through the war until total victory is achieved, but that we pledge to them our inexorable determination to carry that support into the post-war world, where the final monument to their heroism shall be the creation of a permanent international structure based on the principles of law, truth, liberty, justice, and peace.

Now, having always in mind those landmarks which I feel should guide our general course in the post-war world, I should like to turn to our war with Japan and its eventual aftermath. In moving around the country, as I have done more or less continually since returning to the United States from Japan some 16 months ago, I have found among our people a great deal of muddled thinking on those problems, which arises largely from an inadequate grasp of facts.

First, with regard to the war itself, there seems to me to be a general tendency to underestimate the difficulties, the length of time, and the potential losses that we face in bringing Japan to eventual unconditional surrender. Over-optimism is not likely to further our steadily strengthening war effort, and I have conceived it as my own best contribution to our war effort to try to overcome in some small degree that dangerously complacent if not wishful thinking among our people. I have already spoken so often on this subject that I shall not try your patience by harping upon it tonight, but I think we all ought to bear in mind certain palpable facts, namely, that the Japanese are fanatical, do-or-die fighters and no mean fighters while still alive; that they control today tremendous areas with all the raw materials and all the native labor for processing those materials that any country could desire; that they are hard-working, pertinacious, foresighted, thorough, and scientific in their methods, and will let no grass grow under their feet in rendering those far-flung areas—through the building of industries, warplants, and stockpiles—so far as possible economically and militarily self-sustaining, against the day when by crippling their maritime transport system we shall have

partially or wholly cut them off from their homeland. At a given moment, with defeat staring them in the face, their leaders are more than likely to try to get us into an inconclusive peace, but that is something that we must never under any circumstances be lured into accepting. The show-down must be complete and irrevocable if we are to avoid another war in the Pacific in the next generation. Surveying that war problem from the most pessimistic angle, I can therefore conceive of a situation where even after we had crippled or destroyed their cities, their navy, their transport shipping, and their air power, even after we had invaded the Japanese homeland, the Japanese forces in those vast occupied areas might continue to fight to the last cartridge and the last soldier. I do not believe that this will happen, but I do believe that our people had better visualize what *might* happen and that we had better foresee the possible worst so that we shall not for a moment relax our maximum war effort. We shall have to fight, I fear, for a long time to come.

Now let us turn to some of the post-war problems that we shall inevitably have to face when once the Japanese *have* been brought to unconditional surrender or at least to a situation when they can fight no further. Here again there is much obscure thinking in our country arising from an inadequate grasp of facts, which has brought about a deep-rooted prejudice against the Japanese people as a whole. In the light of Pearl Harbor, the Attila-like aggressions, and the senseless cruelties of the Japanese military, that prejudice is perfectly natural. I remember that in the last war a similar prejudice and suspicion extended even to Americans with German names, and many people with German names changed them. That blind prejudice against the German race fortunately does not exist today. Although this subject is controversial, most of our people feel that we are chiefly fighting the Nazis and the militaristic caste and cult and doctrine in Germany and not the Germans as a whole. But today comparatively few of our people are able or willing to

admit that there can be anything good in Japan or any good elements in the Japanese race. The prejudice is all-embracing.

Not long ago after one of my talks somewhere in the South, after I had tried to paint a fair and carefully balanced picture of the Japanese people as I know them, a prominent businessman, with whom I had discussed the subject at dinner, came up to me and said: "That was a very interesting talk you gave tonight." I said, "Thank you." "But", he added, "you haven't changed my opinion in the slightest. The only good Jap is a dead Jap." I asked: "Have you ever lived in Japan?" "No", he replied, "but I know that they are all a barbarous, tricky, brutal mass that we can have no truck with, ever again." That sort of attitude I have frequently encountered. It is wide-spread in our country, and through the force of public opinion it can have a serious influence against an intelligent and practical solution of some of the complicated problems we shall have to face in the Far East when the war is over through the destruction of Japan's military machine.

You can't live among a people for 10 years without coming to know them—all classes of them—fairly well. Heaven knows that I should be the last person in our country to hold a brief for any Japanese, for not only have I closely watched that cancer of Japanese aggressive militarism, chauvinism, truculence, vain-gloriousness, and over-weening ambition grow throughout those 10 years, but I have known by first-hand intimate reports of the medieval barbarity of those militarists—the rape of Nanking, which will forever and ineradicably stain Japan's escutcheon in the records of history; the utterly ruthless destruction by bombing of innocent and undefended cities, towns, and villages in China and of our own religious missions throughout China—for the purpose of stamping out American interests and Christianity from all of East Asia—and finally of the indescribable treatment inflicted alike upon helpless Chinese, British, and Canadian prisoners-of-war and upon many of our own American citizens subsequent to Pearl Harbor. Those things one can

never forget or ever forgive. The guilty will in due course be brought to the bar of justice and duly punished, but no punishment under our civilized code can ever repay what has been wrought or wipe out the memory of those utterly barbarous crimes. It would be very easy for me, with my background of many days of bitter experience and many sleepless nights of bitter memory, to assimilate my own thinking with that of the mass of our compatriots who can see no good among the Japanese.

Yet we Americans are generally fair-minded. We are not prone to condemn the innocent because they are helplessly associated with the guilty. I have said that you can't live for 10 years in a country without coming to know all classes of the people of that country, their problems, their predilections, and, in some measure, their trends of thought. Even in our own country we have our Dillingers and our reputable citizens residing in the same street. The main difference is that in our country it is the reputable citizens who control. In Japan it is the military gangsters who control. Only a few years before Pearl Harbor a prominent Japanese said to me: "If our military leaders continue to follow their present course, they will wreck the country."

Throughout those 10 years I was in touch with people in Japan from the highest to the lowest, from the Emperor and his statesmen to the servants in our house, the academic world, the businessmen, the professionals, the tradespeople, and the gardeners on our place. I was never taken in by the often-expressed opinion that a great mass of liberal thought in Japan was just beneath the surface, ready, with a little encouragement from the United States, to emerge and to take control. I knew the power of the stranglehold of the militarists, only awaiting the day when they should find the moment ripe to put into operation their dreams of world conquest. But I also knew that many of the highest statesmen of Japan, including the Emperor himself, were laboring earnestly but futilely to control the military in order to avoid war with the United States and Great Britain,

and I did know that many of the rank and file of the Japanese people were simply like sheep, helplessly following where they were led.

There is no extenuation implied in that statement. It is simply a statement of fact. There of course arises the question as to what effect the impact of the war and the inculcation by the military leaders of the doctrine of hatred against the democracies may have altered the attitude and thinking of the rank and file of the people of Japan since Pearl Harbor. That question cannot with certainty be answered, especially in view of the activities of the "Thought Control" section of the Japanese police who are always searching out what they call "dangerous thoughts". Those in Japan who deplore the war and who cherish no inherent hatred against the white man must be and are inarticulate. Besides, all Japanese are fundamentally loyal to the Emperor at least in spirit, and since the Emperor, after the militarist *fait accompli* of Pearl Harbor, was obliged, willy-nilly, to sign an Imperial Rescript declaring war and calling for the destruction of the United States and Great Britain, very few Japanese would allow their thoughts to run counter to that edict. The Japanese people, under the Emperor, are unquestionably more united in thought and spirit than are the Germans under Hitler.

Yet I repeat that the Japanese rank and file are somewhat like sheep and malleable under the impact of new circumstances and new conditions. I will tell you two short stories—true stories in my own experience—which I think tend to illustrate what I have just said.

On December 12, 1937 the United States ship *Panay* was bombed and sunk in the Yangtze River near Nanking by Japanese planes. From the facts, there could be no question but that the act was deliberate, carried out by Japanese fliers for the very same purpose that had led them to bomb and destroy many of our American religious missions—churches, hospitals, schools, residences—in various parts of China. That purpose was to drive all American interests out of East Asia. After sinking our naval

ship, the planes returned and machine-gunned the officers and men who had taken refuge in the high reeds on the shore, in an endeavor to wipe them out. You no doubt remember what happened after that incident. The Japanese Government did not want war with the United States; perhaps the Japanese Army and Navy did not yet feel prepared for war with us at that time. At any rate, the Government abjectly apologized for what they alleged was an accident—as they had apologized in so many previous cases—met all of our demands, and promptly paid the full indemnity we asked. The incident was closed.

But then the Japanese people had their say. They were ashamed. From all over Japan, from people in high places down to schoolboys, from professors in the universities to taxi drivers and the corner grocer, I received letters of profound apology and regret for the incident. Gifts of money poured in to the Embassy—for that is the Japanese way of expressing sympathy; considerable sums from those who were well off, a few cents from groups of schoolboys. Suggestions were received from home that I return the money, but the money could not be returned, first because it would have been an insult to refuse to accept the gifts in the spirit in which they were given, and second because many of the donations were received anonymously. The money was placed in a "*Panay* Fund" and invested, and the income was to be used for the upkeep of the graves of American sailors who had died in Japan.

But the most touching incident of that wholly spontaneous expression of friendship for the American people by many elements of the people of Japan was when a young Japanese woman came into my office and asked my secretary for a pair of scissors. The scissors were handed to her; she let down her beautiful long hair, cut it off to the neck, wrapped her hair in a parcel, and, taking a carnation from her head, placed it on the parcel and handed the parcel to my secretary with the words: "Please give this to the Ambassador. It is my apology for the sinking of the *Panay*."

Those people did not want war with the United States.

Another little story, not important, perhaps, but still significant. During the early stages of the war, while we in the Embassy were still interned in Tokyo, the Japanese military police occasionally arranged demonstrations in front of our Embassy, and on the day of the fall of Singapore, while Tokyo was celebrating with processions and brass bands, the police gathered several hundred Japanese—from the streets, the shops, and the homes—and brought them down to the square in front of our office to demonstrate. They pressed close to the bars of the Embassy fence behind which we were caged, waving Japanese flags and howling like a pack of angry wolves. “Down with the United States”, they shouted. It was a really terrifying sight, and for a moment I almost feared that they might get over the wall and run amuck in the Embassy compound.

At the height of this demonstration, a member of my staff, who was standing on a balcony overlooking that howling pack of wolves, pulled out his pocket handkerchief and cheerfully waved it at the demonstrators. The Japanese were of course astonished at this unexpected gesture. Their jaws fell open in surprise, and for a moment they ceased their howling. But the member of my staff kept right on, blithely waving his handkerchief. And then, wonder of wonders, those Japanese laughed and pulled out *their* handkerchiefs and waved back in most friendly spirit. The police of course were furious; they dashed around trying to stop the unexpected form their carefully regimented hostile demonstration had taken, but nothing could be done, and that whole pack of erstwhile snarling wolves went off up the street, still heartily laughing.

I submit that little anecdote merely by way of concrete evidence to support my belief, indeed my knowledge, that the Japanese people as a whole are somewhat like sheep, easily led and malleable under the impact of new circumstances and new direction. They have followed false gods. They have been and are helpless and in-

articulate under their gangster leadership. And when once the false philosophy of those leaders comes back to the Japanese people in defeat, humiliation, and bitter loss, they themselves, I confidently believe, will be their own liberators from the illusion that military gangsterism pays.

It is my belief—a belief not subject to proof but based on my long experience among the Japanese people—that when once the Japanese military machine—that machine which the Japanese people have been told is undefeatable, having never yet lost a war and being allegedly protected by their sun goddess and by the “august virtues” of the Emperor—has been defeated, largely destroyed and rendered impotent to fight further, it will lose one of the most important of oriental assets—namely “face”—and will become discredited throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is furthermore my belief that if at the time of the eventual armistice or at the eventual peace table—while putting into effect every measure necessary, effectively to prevent that cancer of militarism from digging underground with the intention of secretly building itself up again as it did in Germany—we offer the Japanese people hope for the future, many elements of the rank and file of the Japanese will give a sigh of relief that the war is over and will—perhaps sullenly at first but not the less effectively—cooperate with us in building a new and healthy edifice. This concept also is not subject to proof, but from my knowledge of the Japanese it seems to me to be a fair postulate.

The Japanese people have suffered acutely; they are going to suffer a great deal more acutely for a long time to come. They will see their shipping destroyed and their cities bombed; they will lack adequate food and fuel and clothing; their standard of living will steadily deteriorate; their military police will outdo the Gestapo in cruelties, and when the reckoning comes, the Japanese people will learn of the preposterous lies and of the baseless claims of continual victories over their enemies with which they are daily fed by their military leaders. Even their hardened fanat-

icism—even their last-ditch, do-or-die philosophy—can hardly withstand such an impact. I saw obvious signs of weariness of war among the Japanese people even during the unsuccessful campaign against heroic China between 1937 and 1941. How much greater will that weariness of war become in the years ahead!

That leads us to the problems of the eventual peace settlement with Japan. In approaching this subject I must make perfectly clear the fact that I am speaking solely for myself and that although an officer of the Government I am presuming in no respect to reflect the official views of the Government. Those official views, so far as I am aware, have not yet crystallized. With so many still imponderable factors in the situation I do not see how they could yet crystallize. Studies, of course, are constantly being pursued with regard to post-war problems, and I do not doubt that those studies will lead to a variety of opinions as to the treatment that should eventually be accorded to the enemy nations. In any group of men, in official or unofficial life, it is inconceivable that views and opinions should be unanimous. In the last analysis it is of course the President and the Secretary of State, in conference with the leaders of other members of the United Nations, and with due regard to the views of the American people as expressed by the Congress, who will determine and formulate our own course. With regard to Japan it is therefore of the highest importance that the American people—woefully uninformed as most of them are with regard to Japan and the Japanese—should be enlightened in their thinking not by armchair theorists but by those who know the subject by first-hand experience, by those who have lived long in Japan. The approach to the peace table should be guided by those who intimately know the Japanese people and should be formulated on a basis of plain, practical common sense, without pride or prejudice, or the vindictiveness which is inherent in human nature—formulated with the paramount objective of insuring the future peace and security of the Pacific area and of all the countries contiguous

thereto. Seldom if ever will the United States be called upon, in conjunction with allied nations, to face and to deal with a problem of more momentous import to the future welfare of our country and of the world.

I spoke a moment ago of armchair theorists, and this reminds me of a story told by an American businessman who had lived in Japan, representing a prominent American firm, for some 40 years. During my stay in Tokyo he was called home by his company for consultation. The president and vice presidents of the firm were gathered around the table. "Now, Mr. So-and-so", said the president, "please tell us what Japan is going to do." "I don't know", replied the agent. "What?" thundered the president; "After we have paid your salary for 40 years to represent us in Japan, you have the face to tell us you don't know?" "No," said the agent, "I don't know. But ask any of the tourists; they'll tell you." That anecdote, which was confirmed to me a few days ago by the businessman under reference as substantially correct, is more significant than it may seem. Many Americans visit Japan for a few days or weeks or months and come home and write articles or books about the Japanese. But they haven't got to first base in understanding Japanese mentality. The Japanese dress like us and in many respects they live and act like us, especially in their modern business and industrial life. But they don't think as we do, and nothing can be more misleading than to try to measure by Western yardsticks the thinking processes and sense of rationality and logic of the average Japanese and his reaction to any given set of circumstances. We have armchair statesmen galore; we have volumes galore written by Americans who have spent a few weeks or months, or even a year or two, in Japan, yet whose diagnoses and assessments of Japanese mentality and psychology are dangerously misleading. Many of them have observed Japan and the Japanese solely from the vantage point of that international hostelry, the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo. We who have lived in Japan for 10 or 20 or even 40 years know at least how

comparatively little we really do know of the thinking processes of the Japanese. But we are at least in a better position to gage those processes and their results than are the "armchair statesmen".

First of all, I know that there are among us today those who advocate building a fence about Japan and leaving her—I have heard the phrase used in that connection—"to stew in her own juice". The thought has been expressed that during the period of her existence as a world power Japan, through the competition of her export trade and her military aggressiveness, has proved to be more of a nuisance and a handicap in world affairs than an asset. Control of Japanese imports, it is said, could be relied upon to prevent rearmament in future.

With regard to the competition of her export trade having been a nuisance, I might merely inquire whether our cotton exporters and our silk importers would share that opinion. In any case, it is open to question whether we should use our military victory to destroy the legitimate and peace commerce of a commercial competitor and thus betray the principles of the Atlantic Charter. As for the nuisance of Japan's military aggressiveness, it is my assumption that our primary and fundamental objective in the eventual post-war settlement with Japan will be the total and permanent elimination of that military cancer from the body politic of Japan.

I myself do not doubt that this major operation can and will be successfully performed and that effective measures can and will be taken to prevent the re-growth of that cancer in future. Otherwise we shall have fought Japan in vain. In any future system of re-education in Japan I visualize, as I have said, a helpful, cooperative, common-sense spirit, devoid of browbeating or vindictiveness, with emphasis laid upon what the Japanese would have to gain by playing the game with the rest of the world and what they would have to lose by recalcitrance. It was always my regret that these things were not more forcibly brought before the Japanese people in the years before Pearl Harbor. I myself did everything in my power in that

direction, but I was a voice crying in the wilderness. The Japanese people were told by the propaganda of their leaders that the United States and Great Britain were crowding them to the wall, intent upon grabbing control of East Asia and cutting Japan off from the raw materials which she needed for her very existence. At times some of the highest Japanese liberal statesmen did everything in their power, even at the constant risk of assassination by the fire-eaters, to bring their country back to a reputable international life, but they failed. That is all water over the dam now. Now we must look to the future.

The question of determining what kind and how much of Japan's industrial equipment should be left to her after the war will require systematic study. The United Nations must be in a position to determine the factories and machinery necessary for the maintenance of a peace economy, and to dispose of the balance as they think wise—through the dismantling of arsenals and dockyards and of heavy industries designed for or capable of the manufacture of implements of war.

President Roosevelt, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and Prime Minister Churchill conferring at Cairo in November of this year declared that "all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China", adding: "Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed." The three Chiefs of State also declared that the "three great powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent." And along with these measures, I visualize a grim determination that the Japanese shall make some sort of amends to China and to other countries for the unspeakable acts of brigandage and the barbarous cruelties inflicted upon the innocent people of those countries.

Now to return to the theory that a fence should be built around Japan and that the Japanese should be left "to stew in their own juice". I cannot see any signs of high statesmanship

in such a tenet. Any careful student of international affairs and of history must see at a glance to what such a measure would lead. It would lead to the creation of a festering sore with permanent explosive tendencies—and, as I have said, we do not want festering sores anywhere in the future world for the building of which we and our Allies are fighting and striving today.

But there is another reason why that proposed monastic wall around Japan could lead only to disaster. Up to the restoration in 1868, Japan was exclusively an agricultural country with a population of approximately 25 million people, living chiefly on their rice and vegetables and fish. After the opening of Japan to the world, the Japanese, imitating the West, industrialized the country, importing raw materials, manufacturing goods, and selling the produce in foreign markets. As a direct result of that industrialization the population of Japan grew to some 75 million. If once again Japan is to become a hermit nation, what is to become of that excess population of 50 million souls? They could not possibly support themselves on the meager land subject to cultivation, for in the mountainous terrain and volcanic soil of the Japanese isles, such land is even now worked to the last square foot, and even now the Japanese depend on fertilizer from Manchuria, sugar from Formosa, and supplementary rice supplies from Korea, among other basic commodities. That excess population of 50 million souls—or such part of it as survived the war—would quite simply starve. I doubt if even the most bloodthirsty of our fellow citizens could with equanimity countenance such a situation.

I now refer to the subject of Shintoism. There are really two forms of Shintoism. One is the indigenous *religion* of the Japanese, a primitive animism which conceives of all nature—mountains, rivers, trees, etc., as manifestations of or the dwelling-places of deities. It has only slight ethical content.

The other form of Shintoism is a *cult*. It has but little religious content and has ethical content to the extent that it is designed to support

the idea of the divine origin of the Emperor and ancestor-veneration, and to instil in the subject habits of obedience and subservience to the state. The military leaders of Japan have for long used this aspect of Shintoism to further their own ends and to inculcate in the Japanese a blind following of their doctrines as allegedly representing the will of the Emperor.

But fundamentally Shintoism is the worship of ancestors. The other day I was talking to a well-known American who visited us in Tokyo a few years before Pearl Harbor. He said that before sailing for Japan he had visited his family tomb up in New England where his forebears for several generations back—one of them having been a member of George Washington's Cabinet—were buried. Later he stood before the Japanese national shrine at Ise. He said that he was deeply moved by the scene. He told a Japanese friend of his own feeling when standing before his own family shrine in America and said that that feeling helped him to understand the reverence of those who came to pray at Ise. The Japanese, his face radiant, grasped the American's hand in both of his and said: "You understand."

There are those in our country who believe that Shintoism is the root of all evil in Japan. I do not agree. Just so long as militarism is rampant in that land, Shintoism will be used by the military leaders, by appealing to the emotionalism and the superstition of the people, to stress the virtues of militarism and of war through emphasis on the worship of the spirits of former military heroes. When militarism goes, that emphasis will likewise disappear. Shintoism involves Emperor-homage too, and when once Japan is under the aegis of a peace-seeking ruler not controlled by the military, that phase of Shintoism can become an asset, not a liability, in a reconstructed nation. In his book *Government by Assassination* Hugh Byas writes: "The Japanese people must be their own liberators from a faked religion."

I think we should bear in mind an important historical fact. The attempt in Japan to erect a free parliamentary system was a grim failure.

That attempt was bound to fail because Japan's archaic policy ruled out any possibility of parties dividing over basic political problems which are elsewhere resolved by parliamentary processes. So long as the constitution fixed sovereignty in the Emperor, it was impossible for any party to come forward with the doctrine that sovereignty resided in the people or for another party—in the absence of any such issue—to deny that doctrine. The promulgation of archaic ideas as the fundamental doctrine of the state made impossible any such struggle as that which took place in England between the Whigs and the Tories. Thus, lacking anything important over which party lines could be drawn, Japanese political parties developed into factions grouped around influential political personages, such as Prince Ito and Count Okuma, and, when these men died, second-rate politicians tried to take their place but without success.

When certain constitutional changes are made and the Japanese are given adequate time to build up a parliamentary tradition, Japan will then, for the first time, have an opportunity to make the party system work.

To summarize my thoughts on this general subject of post-war Japan I would put it this way: First of all we must of course by force of arms reduce the Japanese Army and Navy and air force to impotence so that they can fight no further. That, I fear, is going to be a far longer and tougher job than most of our people conceive, for we are, as I have said, dealing with a fanatical enemy. As one American officer put it: "The Japanese soldier fights to die; the American soldier fights to live." To try to predict even an approximate date for the total defeat of that enemy seems to me to be senseless. I would not hazard a guess within a period even of years. Time means nothing to the Japanese except as a much-needed asset. They blithely think and talk of a 10- or 50- or 100-year war. What they need is time to consolidate their gains. But when their leaders know beyond peradventure that they are going to be beaten, then I shall confidently look for efforts

on their part to get us into an inconclusive peace. Let us be constantly on guard against such a move, for any premature peace would simply mean that the militaristic cancer would dig in underground as it did in Germany, and our sons and grandsons would have to fight this whole dreadful war over again in the next generation. The Japanese would be clever. They would certainly present the pill in a form to appeal to the American people. But whatever terms they might suggest for any premature peace, it is certain that they will never, until reduced to military impotence, abandon their determination to exert control in East Asia. We must be constantly ready for such a move. We must go through with our war with Japan to the bitter end, regardless of time or losses.

In approaching a peace settlement with Japan we must remember that during the second half of the 19th century and the first three decades of the 20th century Japan developed a productive power comparable to that of many Western powers; that the rewards of this increased production were not distributed to the Japanese masses but were diverted to the building up of armaments; and that thus the failure of the Japanese people to obtain a more abundant life was not due to lack of economic opportunity but to the aggressive aims of their leaders. The Japanese, notwithstanding the advantages of propinquity to the nations of Asia, did not want to trade on a basis of open competition with other powers but wanted to create exclusive spheres in which their military would be in charge. No wonder that Japanese penetration and development abroad were viewed with suspicion, and efforts made to resist them. In the light of our past experience, in the post-war world Japan can only be taken back as a respectable member of the family of nations after an adequate period of probation. When and as Japan gives practical evidence of peaceful intentions and shows to our complete satisfaction that she has renounced any intention of resuming what Japanese leaders refer to as a 100-year war will we be safe in relaxing our guard. When and as Japan takes concrete steps

along the paths of peace, then there will be found opportunities for extending to Japan helpful cooperation. All this, however, is so far in the future that we cannot undertake now the laying down of a definite policy.

One more point I should like to make and that is this: In victory we must be prepared to implement the principles for which we are fighting. To allow our attitude as victors to be dominated by a desire to wreak vengeance on entire populations would certainly not eliminate focal points of future rebelliousness and disorder. And perhaps even more important would be the effect which such an attitude would generate in time, among the people of the victor nation, possibly in our own children, namely, a profound cynicism with regard to the avowed principles for which we are now fighting.

Before terminating this soliloquy I would like to quote passages from three well-known authorities: First Hillis Lory, whose book *Japan's Military Masters* I consider one of the soundest works that has been written on that subject; second Sir George Sansom, long a member of the British Embassy in Tokyo and one of the world's most eminent writers and experts on Japan; and third, Hugh Byas, a resident in Japan for many years and long correspondent of the *New York Times* in Tokyo. With both Sansom and Byas I maintained close relations during my own stay in Japan, and on most issues in the Far East we saw eye to eye.

Lory writes:

"An appalling blunder in our thinking is the widespread belief that time is with us. On the contrary time is with Japan. It may seem almost inconceivable to many that Japan could possibly compete seriously with us in our war production. But what is there to prevent this? The Japanese have the raw materials. They have the manpower that can be trained. We have no monopoly on mass production. Japan, even in conquered areas, is adapting it to her needs. Japan's most urgent need is time. That we must not give her.

"The longer she has to entrench herself in her conquered territories, the more formidable

will be the military task of dislodging her. The longer she has to utilize her rich booty of war—the tin, the copper, the iron, her vast supplies of oil and rubber; the longer she has to lash the whip over the masses of China, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya, Burma, and the Philippines—labour that transforms these raw materials into guns and planes and tanks and ships, the longer must be the years of terrible fighting with its cost of American dead to defeat Japan.

"Every Japanese knows that now they are in to win all or lose all. This war is literally a life-and-death struggle. If Japan wins, no nation on earth can successfully challenge her."

In a paper read to the Eighth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Canada in December 1942, Sansom, speaking personally and not officially, summed up his thesis in the following words:

"I believe that the past social and political history of the Japanese have produced in them as a nation a remarkable incapacity to grasp the essentials of cultures other than their own, which accounts for their failure to take over, with the physical apparatus of Western Civilization, anything beyond the most superficial aspects of its moral elements. I do not see how this is to be broken down except by increased association between Japanese and people of other nations, and I have to admit that the facts of geography and international politics are unfavourable to that process. Yet, unless this difficulty is somehow overcome, the prospects of a useful contribution by Japan to postwar reconstruction and reform are poor indeed. An outlawed Japan, even weakened to the point of despair, cannot be other than a danger, a kind of septic focus.

"I therefore see no escape from the conclusion that, in their own interests, the United Nations must after the war endeavour to enlist the collaboration of Japan in their projects for security and welfare in the Pacific area. I cannot suggest specific and positive methods, because it is too early to envisage the state of affairs at the end of the war, the relative military and

economic strengths of the combatants and the state of mind of their peoples. But I do believe that an attempt by the victors to prescribe the form or the content of Japanese domestic policy would make their task, already difficult enough, impossible of execution.

"Similar difficulties are likely to arise out of plans to dictate to Japan reforms in her system of domestic government. They are likely to engender more antagonism than agreement. The important thing is not so much that the Japanese should be told to abolish distasteful features of their system as that they should have some positive notions of what to put in their place.

"The liberal democracies now fighting Japan have reason to be proud of their past political history and of the freedoms which they have gained; but we are most of us now agreed that our political philosophies are due for some drastic revision. It is only under the strain of war that we begin to realize that the liberty of the individual citizen has its essential counterpart in his obligations. We find that our enemies, who are not by our standards—or by any standards, for that matter—free men, are able to gain victories which, making all allowance for their material strength, depend in no small measure upon a militant faith. It is, we believe firmly, a mistaken, heretical faith, and its tenets are propounded by its leaders in the language of lunacy. But beneath all the mystical rubbish, the mumbo-jumbo of the master race, the special position in the universe, the divine mission and suchlike foolishness, there is a core of genuine sentiment, a strong feeling of national unity and national purpose in a society where men's duties are felt to be more important than their rights.

"Unless at the end of the war the Japanese are in a state of helpless despair, and ready to follow any strong lead, they are not likely to adopt a ready-made 'way of life' of Western pattern which does not offer better prospect of reconciling rights and duties throughout the community than does our own peace-time system of liberal democracy. They will, I feel

sure, for better or worse work out their own system by trial and error upon the basis of their own traditions.

"I do not venture to hazard a prediction, but I should not be surprised if, in favourable conditions, they developed a more modern and democratic type of constitutional monarchy; and I am interested to find that Dr. Hu Shih, for whose judgment I have great respect, thinks that this is not unlikely."

Byas, in his admirable book *Government by Assassination*, writes:

"Japan's spiritual malady is the same as Germany's—a false philosophy. It is a belief that the Japanese race and state are one and the same and that it has unique qualities that make it superior to its neighbors and give it a special mission to perform . . .

"This false philosophy has been so sedulously inculcated and so eagerly swallowed that at last a policy of live and let live, a position of equality, and a willingness to compromise seem intolerable humiliations. The only position Japan will consider is that of overlord and protector of East Asia. . . .

"For our own future and not for that of Japan we must continue the war until the Japanese forces have been driven from the regions they have invaded. Yet in saving ourselves we are saving the Japanese people. The false philosophy they have taken to their heart will never be discredited until it comes back to them in defeat, humiliation, and loss. Peace without victory, if we accepted it, would be to them a mere cloak to save our face. They would readily join in the fraud for the benefits it would bring them, but the whole false morality which underlies their policy would be reinforced, and their gains would be the jumping-off place for fresh wars. . . .

"The Japanese people must be their own liberators from a faked religion and a fraudulent Constitution. But our victory will start the process and help it along. It will cure them of the illusion that aggression pays and it will open wide a better way to their renescent national energies. . . .

"We want the Japanese people to recognize the war for what it was—a bloody and useless sacrifice to false gods. . . .

"We are laying the foundations of a new order which we conceive to be suited to the modern world in which we live. The riches of the earth will be freely and fairly open to all nations, and the primitive or backward or simply weak peoples will have the protection of an authority representing civilized humanity instead of being left to the chance that may give them a mild or a harsh taskmaster.

"If we consider fifty years of modern Japan and not the gangster decade alone, we are entitled to believe that Japan has qualities that will again fit it to be a member of this new order. Japan is now possessed by the evil genius that it loves, but there is another Japan and it has a contribution to make to the world. . . .

"We want to live in peace and devote our energies to our own well-being. We want to start on the tremendous task of adjusting our lives to a civilization of abundance. We want to raise the level of subsistence and to create economic security for all and on that founda-

tion to erect a free universal culture such as the world has not seen.

"In that order there can be a place for Japan."

ENEMY BROADCASTS ALLEGING RECOGNITION BY SPAIN OF THE MUSSOLINI REGIME

[Released to the press December 31]

The Department of State, on hearing the German and Italian Fascist broadcasts that Spain had recognized the Mussolini regime, immediately instructed the American Ambassador at Madrid to inquire of the Spanish Government whether these reports were true.

The American Ambassador at Madrid has replied as follows: A high official of the Spanish Foreign Office has stated that the German and Italian broadcasts which alleged recognition by Spain of the Mussolini regime are flagrant lies and that the Government of Spain has not recognized and has no intention of recognizing the Mussolini regime. This Foreign Office official described the broadcasts in question as propaganda designed to create difficulties between Spain and the United Nations.

American Republics

RESOLUTION REGARDING RECOGNITION OF NEW GOVERNMENTS INSTITUTED BY FORCE

[Released to the press December 27]

The English text of a telegram to the Secretary of State from Dr. Alberto Guani, President, Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, follows:

MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY,
December 24, 1943.

I have the honor of transmitting to Your Excellency the text of the recommendation approved this date by the Emergency Consultative Committee for Political Defense:

"WHEREAS:

"(a) That notwithstanding the lack of success in its purposes of annulling the contribution which the American peoples are making to the war effort and to the political defense of the continent, in compliance with the agreements in effect, it is evident that the Axis continues to exert itself to carry out these designs, with grave danger that totalitarian elements may through force take possession of governments of American Republics, separating them from the principles of union and solidarity adopted

in the face of the common enemy and from support to the cause of the United and Associated Nations;

“(b) That rights and duties are derived from the aforementioned agreements which consecrate the solidarity which should exist between said Republics for the defense of the continent against the dangers indicated in the preceding paragraph;

“(c) That the third consultative meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, in creating this Committee, assigned to it the mandate of recommending measures with respect to the problems relating to all aspects of the defense of the continent against the political aggression of the Axis;

“The Emergency Consultative Committee for Political Defense

“RESOLVES:

“To recommend to the American Governments which have declared war on the Axis powers or have broken relations with them, that for the duration of the present world conflict they do not proceed to the recognition of a new government instituted by force, before consulting among themselves for the purpose of determining whether this government complies with the Inter-American undertakings for the defense of the continent, nor before carrying out an exchange of information as to the circumstances which have determined the establishment of said government.”

“In communicating said resolution and by express provision of the Committee, I have the particular honor to express that it does not refer to any particular case, but has been adopted having in view the general interests of continental political defense.”

I greet Your Excellency with my highest and most distinguished consideration.

ALBERTO GUANI

The Secretary of State on December 27 sent the following reply to Dr. Guani:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency’s telegram of December 24 transmitting the text of a resolution approved by the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense on December 23 in which it resolved:

“To recommend to the American Governments which have declared war on the Axis powers or have broken relations with them, that for the duration of the present world conflict they do not proceed to the recognition of a new government instituted by force, before consulting among themselves for the purpose of determining whether this government complies with the Inter-American undertakings for the defense of the continent, nor before carrying out an exchange of information as to the circumstances which have determined the establishment of said government.”

I desire to inform you that this Government wholeheartedly approves of the foregoing resolution. In accordance with it, this Government stands ready to consult and exchange information with the other American Republics which have declared war against or have severed diplomatic relations with the Axis, in situations to which the resolution applies.

CORDELL HULL

General

NEW YEAR MESSAGE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press December 31]

The Secretary of State, in reply to a correspondent’s question whether he had in mind a New Year message to the American people, made the following statement:

“We have just ended a year which shook our Axis enemies to their very foundations and which witnessed on our side an upsurge of united power that will carry us to victory. Our confidence in victory must, however, be dependent on the unremitting and all-embracing efforts of every man and woman.”

Treaty Information

AUTOMOTIVE

Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic

[Released to the press December 31]

On December 31, 1943, the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State and representative of the United States of America on the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, signed in his office the Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic.

The convention was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on December 15, 1943 and was signed on that date by the representatives of nine of the American republics, namely, Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Peru.

The convention contains a preamble and 22 articles, with 2 annexes. In general, the provisions are designed to stimulate and facilitate motor travel between the countries of this hemisphere by simplifying certain formalities so far as practicable. The convention establishes certain uniform rules for international automotive traffic, in relation to such matters as registration, driving licenses, standards of size and equipment, and the keeping of records of international automotive traffic.

It is provided in article XIX that the convention in Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French shall be opened for signature by the American republics, and also that it shall be opened for the adherence and accession of American states which are not members of the Pan American Union. It is provided in article XX that the convention shall be ratified in conformity with the respective constitutional procedures of the signatories, the instruments of ratification to be deposited with the Pan American Union. Article XXI provides that the convention shall come into force between the parties in the order in which they deposit

their respective ratifications. Article XXII provides that the convention shall remain in effect indefinitely but may be denounced by any party, so far as such party is concerned, by means of one year's notice given to the Pan American Union.

The convention was signed for the United States subject to a reservation with respect to article XV. Article XV provides that each government may establish requirements deemed necessary to record the passage of vehicles and operators into and out of its territory and that, if such records be maintained, they shall include a notation that the vehicle has complied with certain provisions of the convention relating to standards of size and equipment. The reservation indicates that nothing in article XV shall be construed to require the use of personnel and facilities for the purpose of determining compliance with such provisions whenever, in the opinion of the competent authorities, there would result an impairment of essential services or an undue hindrance to the movement of automotive traffic into and from the territory of the United States. This reservation is consistent with article IV of the convention, which provides that the contracting states shall not allow to be put into effect customs measures which will hinder international travel.

MILITARY AND NAVAL MISSIONS

Agreement With Iran

The American Legation at Tehran has transmitted to the Department of State with its despatch 748 of December 1, 1943 the signed originals in English and Persian of a military-mission agreement between the United States and Iran, signed at Tehran November 27, 1943 by Louis G. Dreyfus, Jr., American Minister at Tehran, and Mohammed Saed, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran.

This agreement, which was concluded in conformity with the request of the Government of Iran, is made effective as of October 2, 1942 and will continue in force for two years, but may be extended beyond the two-year period

by mutual agreement of the two Governments.

The purpose of the military mission to which the agreement relates is to advise and assist the Ministry of Interior of Iran in the reorganization of the Imperial Iranian Gendarmerie. The agreement contains provisions similar in general to provisions contained in agreements between the United States and a number of the other American republics providing for the detail of officers of the United States Army or Navy to advise the armed forces of those countries.

The Department

RESIGNATION OF THOMAS BURKE AS CHIEF OF DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS

[Released to the press December 30]

The Secretary of State has sent the following letter to Mr. Thomas Burke, who for the past five and a half years has been Chief of the Division of International Communications and who has resigned that position in order to enter private business.

DECEMBER 30, 1943.

DEAR MR. BURKE:

I have received your letter of December twenty-first tendering your resignation as Chief of the Division of International Communications effective upon the termination of such leave of absence to which you may be entitled.

I very much appreciate the splendid services which you have rendered during the past five and a half years. I recognize, however, the force of the reasons which have led you to conclude that you should transfer your activities to another field and I therefore accept your resignation with regret, to be effective at the close of business on April 28, 1944, and I authorize you to take leave of absence to begin at the close of business on December 31, 1943.

With best wishes for your future happiness and success, I am

Sincerely yours,

CORDELL HULL

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

- Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and the Dominican Republic—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Ciudad Trujillo June 19 and July 7, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 346. Publication 2032. 6 pp. 5¢.
- Military Service: Agreement Between the United States of America and Czechoslovakia—Effected by exchanges of notes signed at Washington April 3, 1942 and September 29 and October 21, 1943; effective September 29, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 341. Publication 2037. 6 pp. 5¢.
- Military Aviation Mission: Agreement Between the United States of America and Paraguay—Signed at Washington October 27, 1943; effective October 27, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 343. Publication 2038. 10 pp. 5¢.

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The War

LEND-LEASE OPERATIONS

On January 6 the President sent the following letter of transmittal on lend-lease operations to Congress:

“I am transmitting herewith, pursuant to law, the Thirteenth Report of Operations under the Lend-Lease Act.

“The coming year will be a year of decisive actions in the war. By combining their strength, the United Nations have increased the power of the common drive to defeat the Axis. We have already beaten back our enemies on every front on which we are engaged.

“At Teheran and Cairo, plans were agreed upon for major offensives, which will speed the day of victory. With the closer unity there achieved, we shall be able to strike ever-increasing blows until the unconditional surrender of the Nazis and Japanese.

“Mutual aid has contributed substantially to the strength of the United Nations. The flow of lend-lease assistance from the United States to our allies and of reverse lend-lease assistance from our allies to us has increased the power of our united offensives. The lend-lease program has made stronger the ties that bind the United Nations together for common victory and in common determination to assure a lasting peace.

“Each of the United Nations is giving what it can to the accomplishment of our objectives—in fighting manpower and in war production. Some countries, like the United States and Can-

ada, located away from the fighting theaters of war, are able to make available to other United Nations large quantities of food and manufactured arms. Others, like the Soviet Union and China, require virtually everything they can raise and produce in order to fight the enemy on their own soil. And still others, like the United Kingdom and Australia, can make available substantial quantities of war material to their allies but must necessarily retain most of their war supplies and food for their own forces.

“Whether food and war supplies should be transferred by one of the United Nations to another or retained for its own forces depends on the strategic military necessities of war.

“Our common objective is that all the planes and all the tanks and all the food and other equipment that all the United Nations together can produce should be used as effectively as possible by our combined forces to hasten the defeat of the enemy.

“The cost of the war to us, and to our allies, is high in any terms. The more fully we can now mobilize our manpower, our supplies, and our other resources for the decisive tasks ahead, the earlier will victory be ours and the lower the final cost—in lives and in material wealth.

“The United Nations enter the new year stronger and more firmly united than ever before. Germany and Japan will both soon learn that to their sorrow.”

American Republics

THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN BOLIVIA

Resolution of the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense Regarding Recognition

[Released to the press January 6]

The English text of a telegram to the Secretary of State from Dr. Alberto Guani, President of the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, and the Secretary's reply thereto, follow:

MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY,

January 5, 1944.

I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency the text of the recommendation approved this date by the Emergency Consultative Committee for Political Defense:

"Whereas:

"(a) The Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense in its resolution XXII, approved and transmitted December 24, 1943, recommended 'to the American Governments which have declared war on the Axis powers or have broken relations with them, that for the duration of the present world conflict they do not proceed to the recognition of a new government instituted by force, before consulting among themselves for the purpose of determining whether this government complies with the Inter-American undertakings for the defense of the continent, nor before carrying out an exchange of information as to the circumstances which have determined the establishment of said government';

"(b) Almost all of the governments to which the recommendation was transmitted have already advised the Committee of their acceptance, confirming the principles of Inter-American solidarity for the defense of the continent upon which the said resolution is based and recognizing that the resolution respects the free decision of each Government;

"(c) Subsequent to the adoption of the said resolution by the Committee developments relating to the situation created through the establishment by force of a new government in Bolivia indicate, as the American Governments will appreciate, the urgent need for the application of the procedure which the Committee has recommended;

"The Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense

"RESOLVES:

"To recommend to the Governments of the American Republics which have declared war on the Axis powers or have broken diplomatic relations with them, that before proceeding to recognize the new government of Bolivia they carry out as soon as possible, through regular diplomatic channels, both the consultations and the exchange of information recommended in resolution XXII of this Committee, for the purposes therein indicated."

I greet Your Excellency [etc.]

ALBERTO GUANI

JANUARY 6, 1944.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's telegram of January 5 transmitting to me the text of the resolution adopted by the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense on that day resolving:

"to recommend to the Governments of the American Republics which have declared war on the Axis Powers or have broken diplomatic relations with them, that before proceeding to recognize the new Government of Bolivia they carry out as soon as possible, through regular

diplomatic channels, both the consultations and the exchange of information recommended in Resolution XXII of the Committee, for the purposes therein indicated.”

In reply, I desire to inform you that this Government is in hearty accord with this resolution, as with the prior resolution to which it refers, and that this Government will promptly engage in the recommended consultations and exchanges of information with the other eighteen interested Republics. In adopting these resolutions, the Committee over which you have the honor to preside has, in the judgment of this Government, rendered distinguished service to the cause of hemispheric solidarity and security.

CORDELL HULL

Statement by the Secretary of State

[Released to the press January 7]

It is my information that by the consultation now in progress there is already taking place considerable exchange of information regarding the origin of the revolution in Bolivia. This assembling of facts should soon permit each government to reach its own conclusions. The information now available here increasingly strengthens the belief that forces outside of Bolivia and unfriendly to the defense of the American republics inspired and aided the Bolivian revolution.

PAYMENT BY MEXICO UNDER THE SPECIAL CLAIMS CONVENTION OF 1934

[Released to the press January 3]

The Ambassador of Mexico has presented to the Secretary of State the Mexican Government's check for \$500,000 in payment of the tenth annual instalment, due January 1, 1944, in accordance with article II of the convention between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, signed at Mexico City on April 24, 1934, providing for the en bloc settlement of the claims presented by the Government of the United States to the commission

established by the Special Claims Convention, concluded September 10, 1923.

The Ambassador of Mexico also presented a check covering interest due under article III of the convention of April 24, 1934.

The Secretary of State requested the Ambassador of Mexico to convey to his Government an expression of this Government's appreciation.

VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES OF THE PRESIDENT OF VENEZUELA

[Released to the press January 5]

His Excellency General Isaías Medina Angarita, President of Venezuela, will arrive in Washington on January 19 as a guest of the United States Government.

President Medina and the members of his party will remain in Washington for about four days, and while here they will be received by President Roosevelt at the White House, where a dinner will be given in honor of the visiting head of state. The Secretary of State and others will also entertain the presidential party while here. President Medina will also be received at the Capitol, where it is expected that he will be invited to address the Congress. A special session of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union will be held in his honor.

Following his visit to Washington President Medina will spend a day in Philadelphia and visit Independence Hall. He will be the guest of honor at a luncheon given by Mayor Bernard Samuel. From Philadelphia the President of Venezuela will go to New York and remain there for about a week.

The members of the Venezuelan presidential party are as follows: Señor Don Rodolfo Rojas, Minister of the Treasury; Señor Dr. Manuel Silveira, Minister of Public Works; Señor Dr. Gustavo Manrique-Pacanins, Attorney General; Comdr. Antonio Picardi, Chief of the Naval Division of the Ministry of War and Navy; Señor Don Jesús María Herrera-Mendoza, President of the Central Bank of Vene-

zuela; Señor Don Eugenio Mendoza, former Minister of National Development; Señor Dr. Manuel Pérez-Guerrero, Acting Secretary to

the President; Col. Alfredo Jurado, Aide to the President; and Ensign Elio Quintero-Medina, Aide to the President.

The Department

“THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE SPEAKS”

[Released to the press January 8]

The text of the first of a series of four broadcasts over the National Broadcasting Company entitled “The Department of State Speaks”, follows:

Participants

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.	Under Secretary of State
JAMES CLEMENT DUNN	Adviser to the Secretary of State on Political Relations, for the European area
LEO PASVOLSKY	Special Assistant to the Secretary, in charge of post-war planning
MICHAEL J. McDERMOTT	Chief of the Division of Current Information
RICHARD HARKNESS	Representing the public

WASHINGTON ANNOUNCER: For the American people, the National Broadcasting Company launches tonight a limited series of programs called “The State Department Speaks”. To introduce the series—to tell you the ideas behind it—we present the Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Under Secretary of State. Mr. Stettinius.

STETTINIUS: A few weeks ago the National Broadcasting Company invited the Department of State to participate in four broadcasts to tell the American people more about our work in the Government, and something about the problems involved in carrying out an American foreign policy. We in the Department of State were very glad to accept this proposal because we want to use every opportunity to keep the

public informed about what the Government of the United States is doing to meet our international problems. It is your Government and it is you who in the long run determine what our foreign policy shall be. As most of you know, the Department of State is the only department of your Government which deals directly with governments of foreign countries. At its head is the President’s senior Cabinet officer, Secretary of State Cordell Hull.

During this evening’s program and the other programs in this series, Mr. Richard Harkness, NBC commentator, will undertake to represent you, the public, in putting questions to the State Department officials who appear on the program. Mr. Harkness has warned us that he is not going to be satisfied with any “handouts”. He says he is going to ask questions which he thinks you people would ask, if you had the chance. We have told Mr. Harkness that we would try to answer them as fully as we can.

We shall make available to him as many of the responsible officials of the Department as he wants to talk to, and his list for the four programs already includes Secretary Hull, all the Assistant Secretaries of State, several division chiefs, special advisers, at least one Ambassador, and myself as Under Secretary. Because the Department of State works closely with the Congress in the formulation of foreign policy, you will also hear from some of our congressional leaders during the course of these broadcasts. The National Broadcasting Company is to be congratulated for this effort to bring closer

together the State Department as a whole and the millions of people it represents in their dealings with foreign nations. Now Richard Harkness will carry on with the first program of "The State Department Speaks".

HARKNESS: Thank you, Mr. Stettinius, and good evening, ladies and gentlemen. This is Richard Harkness. I'm speaking to you from a large four-storied building on Pennsylvania Avenue, in Washington, next door to the White House. If you're ever looking out of a window in this building, and you see a man on the street shudder when he looks toward it, you can bet your life that man is an architect. For this building—the Old Lady of Pennsylvania Avenue they call it—is no aesthetic treat. Its pillars and columns and cupolas, its whole gingerbread granite construction, goes back to a time that is dead and gone. Amen. But don't get me wrong! The Old Lady of Pennsylvania Avenue has no hang-dog appearance! For this grand old building is the home of our Department of State—the official address of the man who would succeed to the Presidency in case of the death or incapacity of the President and Vice President. Its rooms are shrines to many stirring events that dot the pages of our national history—tragic reminders of others.

I'm sitting here in the office of the Secretary of State. Across the way is the waiting-room where Messrs. Nomura and Kurusu sat on that fateful Sunday in 1941. Up on the walls of this room are the portraits of some of our most distinguished Secretaries of State—men who have moulded and guided our foreign policy down through the years. There's Stimson, Secretary of State when the Japanese first started their conquest in Manchuria in 1931—now our Secretary of War.

There's Kellogg, the author of the Kellogg pact, who tried so hard to outlaw war forever. There's Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of State Lansing, and the venerable, bearded Charles Evans Hughes, who served under Harding and Coolidge. Yes, there are memories in this room, many of them, and a spirit of dignity and in-

tegrity seems to be part of it—a spirit that is the proud heritage of our Department of State. Yes, this is the room where Secretary Hull meets the press every day, but I'm the only newsman here tonight. I'm here as *your* representative. I'm here to find out what goes on within these walls—to try to peek behind the veil of mystery and secrecy which popular tradition says surrounds the activities of the State Department. But I can be successful as your representative only if you help me. Write me the questions you want answered about our State Department. I can't promise to use them all, nor to acknowledge them, but I'll use some of them, and, in any case, your questions will help guide me in laying out my interviews with the individuals Mr. Stettinius mentioned a few moments ago.

And now let's get on with the first set of them. I found through experience that one of the best men to go to for information down here is Michael J. McDermott, known affectionately throughout the State Department and to every newspaperman in Washington as "Mac". He is the Chief of the Division of Current Information. He's the guy who keeps us newsmen posted on what's going on in foreign affairs and he's always ready for us, day and night. Mac is right here with me now, as are two other gentlemen you will be glad to meet. But before I talk to them, Mac, tell me, does your division have any share in formulating the foreign policy of the United States?

McDERMOTT: Let me answer you this way, Dick. Every man and woman in the United States who is so inclined can have a share in formulating our foreign policy, but in order to do this, they need accurate information to guide them in forming their opinions. We help to make information on foreign affairs available to them through press and radio fellows like yourself, and so we help them judge and analyze for themselves what is going on in the world. And, as I said before, they in turn—I am talking now about the man in the street—decide in the last analysis what our national foreign policy shall be.

HARKNESS: I see. In other words, you're saying that the work of our free press and radio has a lot to do with the actual formulation of our foreign policy by giving the people the facts on which they form their opinions.

McDERMOTT: Right, but I know what's on your mind primarily tonight, Dick. You're interested in getting some straight dope on the Moscow Conference and what goes on in our post-war planning work.

HARKNESS: You bet I am.

McDERMOTT: Well, here are two gentlemen, two experts, who will be able to help you out. Each of them has made a life study of international affairs. Mr. James C. Dunn has specialized particularly in international political relations, and Mr. Leo Pasvolsky is known as an outstanding expert on international economic affairs. And so all I can say to you, Dick, is go ahead and ask them anything you want. I am sure they'll do their best to answer you.

HARKNESS: O. K. Mac, I think I'll start with Mr. Pasvolsky, who, I understand, is a Special Assistant to the Secretary of State in charge of post-war planning. Is that right, sir?

PASVOLSKY: Yes, that's right.

HARKNESS: Well, do you mind telling me something about what you post-war planners do, and how you got started and what not?

PASVOLSKY: Certainly, Mr. Harkness. When war came in Europe we faced one of the most difficult jobs of international relations in our history. It entailed not only the conduct of foreign affairs in a world at war, but also preparation for meeting the problems which this country was bound to face after the fighting was over.

HARKNESS: Are you saying, Mr. Pasvolsky, that our State Department's preparations for meeting post-war problems began upon the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939?

PASVOLSKY: That's right. And, we were actually at work early in 1940.

HARKNESS: How did you begin?

PASVOLSKY: We started off with a group of

committees to study the future implications for this country of what was happening elsewhere in the world. In February 1941, the Department created a special research unit for this purpose. Of course, both the committee and research work became real post-war planning after December 7, 1941.

HARKNESS: Well, that's getting an early start; tell me—what are the main subjects your planning unit is working on today?

PASVOLSKY: First of all there is a group of subjects relating to arrangements necessary for the conclusion of the war. These comprise the terms to be imposed on the enemy nations after their surrender, including control of the enemy countries after they have been occupied by the United Nations forces, and the eventual definitive peace terms.

HARKNESS: I see.

PASVOLSKY: Another group of subjects relates to liberated areas. Briefly, this entails exploring the problems of reestablishment of independence in those countries which have been deprived of their freedom by the Axis invaders. Many of those countries, don't forget, will be starving and disorganized. They will need relief and other help in reestablishing their economic life.

HARKNESS: Of course. Go on, Mr. Pasvolsky.

PASVOLSKY: A third group of subjects relates to the all-important problem of providing for the future maintenance of peace and security.

HARKNESS: Now you are reaching right into the hearts of almost two billion people—two billion people who have learned now what total war is and who never want to see another one. What *are* our State Department's plans on how to preserve the peace, Mr. Pasvolsky?

PASVOLSKY: Well, we start with the basic assumption that the elimination of war and the establishment of security for all nations requires cooperative effort on the part of the peace-loving nations, based on order under law.

HARKNESS: Yes, but how are you going to get nations to cooperate? No one has ever yet succeeded in doing that for long.

PASVOLSKY: We know that, Mr. Harkness, only too well. But we are not and we must not be discouraged. We believe that cooperation between peace- and freedom-loving nations *can* be achieved in time of peace as it has been achieved in time of war. To do this these nations must create certain facilities and instrumentalities for international action.

HARKNESS: Such as—?

PASVOLSKY: Well, there must obviously be arrangements for settling international disputes by pacific means, rather than by recourse to war. But above all, there must be arrangements for suppressing aggression.

HARKNESS: Now wait a moment, Mr. Pasvol-sky. Seems to me that was tried once before, with the League of Nations.

PASVOLSKY: Yes, it was—up to a point. But this time, as Secretary Hull has long maintained, there must be the *clear* certainty for all concerned that breaches of the peace will not be tolerated, that they will be suppressed—by force, if necessary.

HARKNESS: Good! You suggested a question to me which I will ask you later, Mr. Pasvol-sky, but please continue. Sorry to interrupt.

PASVOLSKY: Think nothing of it, Mr. Harkness, we're used to interruptions. The fourth group of subjects in our post-war work covers the problem of developing relations among nations which will help improve their economic and social conditions. This field includes so many ramifications dealing with trade barriers, tariffs, cartels, aviation, shipping, labor standards, migration, education, and so forth, that I could keep you here for hours talking about them. We are trying hard not to miss one practical idea or plan through which international cooperation can help make this a better world to live in. I might add, Mr. Harkness, that we are not so foolish as to think we can solve these problems in the State Department alone or even in the Government as a whole. It's a tough job which will take the best thought and effort of all of us.

HARKNESS: I sure agree with you on that. But tell me, what happens to all these plans of

your group? As soon as they're formulated they immediately become part of our foreign policy—is that it?

PASVOLSKY: Oh, indeed no! Not that easy! It's more like the camel going through the eye of the needle. Here's what happens, Mr. Harkness. Each question is thoroughly explored by the Department's expert staff, in cooperation with experts of other departments and agencies. All available information is analyzed and woven into memoranda which set forth the pertinent facts about the particular problem and the alternative methods open to us for solving the problem. The memoranda are examined and discussed by committees or less formal groups, and the resulting conclusions are embodied in recommendations as to the most desirable of the alternative solutions. These recommendations go to the Secretary of State and, through him, to the President. But even then, before taking final decisions, the Secretary and the President discuss the matter with high officials of the Government and also with members of Congress and with competent persons outside the Government. These decisions become our basic line of policy to be pursued in negotiations with other governments.

HARKNESS: Safe and sane is the word for it, Mr. Pasvol-sky. Seriously though, it's good to know, as just an ordinary everyday American, that so much careful thought and consideration are being given to the planning of our foreign policy.

PASVOLSKY: Of course, you mustn't forget one important thing, Mr. Harkness. All the careful plans in the world are of no use until they are agreed to by the other nations involved, and such agreement can come only after discussions and negotiations with those nations.

HARKNESS: I can see that. Wouldn't you say that one of the best examples of translating post-war planning into action was the famous Moscow Conference?

PASVOLSKY: Without a doubt, Mr. Harkness.

HARKNESS: Fine! Let's see then what happened to those plans of yours at Moscow. Mr. McDermott, *you* went to Moscow, didn't you?

McDERMOTT: Yes, I did, but here's the man who really can tell you what happened there: Mr. James C. Dunn, Adviser to the Secretary of State on Political Relations for the European Area.

HARKNESS: O. K., Mr. Dunn. Let's get right down to business. You went to Moscow yourself, and I suppose you were in on all the arrangements that had to be made before the Conference could be held.

DUNN: Yes, I was.

HARKNESS: I imagine making the preparations for such a momentous meeting as the Moscow Conference is not exactly child's play, Mr. Dunn.

DUNN: You're certainly right about that, Mr. Harkness. The Moscow Conference didn't just up and happen over night. A lot of mighty hard work went into the preparations for that meeting of Mr. Hull, Mr. Molotov, and Mr. Eden. As Mr. Pasvolsky just explained, we had behind us almost three years of general preparations on post-war problems. That was the bedrock on the basis of which we were able to compress our final preparations into four or five weeks.

HARKNESS: That's very interesting and significant—you had four or five weeks' actual preparation for the Conference. Let's see now, your meeting in Moscow began on October 19—that means the actual decision to hold the Conference must have been made sometime in early September 1943. Am I about right, Mr. Dunn?

DUNN: Yes—you're 100 percent correct on that one, Mr. Harkness. The decision to hold the Moscow meeting was made by President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin, and Prime Minister Churchill very shortly after the Quebec Conference.

HARKNESS: That's an interesting piece of news. What were the reasons for the Moscow Conference? What did you expect to accomplish? What did Russia want—and what did we want?

DUNN: Well, bringing it down to almost ridiculous simplicity, the Russians were primar-

ily interested in matters of military aid and cooperation to crush Nazi Germany as quickly as possible. We, of course, were equally concerned with this question. But, in addition to that, we were vitally interested in finding out Russia's attitude on cooperation in building a durable peace after the victory had been won. Secretary Hull knew that that question had to be faced and that the sooner it *was* faced the better for all of us—Russia, Britain, China, and the United States. And that's why there was a Moscow Conference and why the Secretary traveled 25 thousand miles by air and sea to make our contribution to its success.

HARKNESS: Well, what happened at the Conference, Mr. Dunn?

DUNN: Secretary Hull, as soon as he arrived, pointed out to Marshal Stalin and Foreign Minister Molotov that the nations represented at the Conference and their leaders faced a greater responsibility for the future life, liberty, and happiness for their own and all other peoples than any nations or statesmen had ever faced before.

HARKNESS: That's no kidding!

DUNN: He made it quite clear that he would speak frankly in the national interests of the United States, but he also said that he was convinced that there was sufficient common ground between the national interests of the three countries to lay the basis for a better world.

HARKNESS: How did the Russians take that?

DUNN: I think they liked it.

HARKNESS: What would you say was the *greatest* achievement of the Moscow Conference?

DUNN: I'd say it was the Four-Nations Declaration, including, as the President and Secretary Hull so strongly desired, the great Republic of China.

HARKNESS: What are some of the big points in the Four-Nations Declaration?

DUNN: Well, here are several of the main points: In the first place, the four nations reaffirm their determination to continue the fight until their respective enemies have laid down

their arms in unconditional surrender; secondly, the four nations will continue their present united cooperation into the future to organize and maintain peace; and finally, a general international organization should be established as soon as possible, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership of all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

HARKNESS: Then, as I understand that important last point, this does not mean that the "Big Four" nations expect to run the world alone, according to their own desires.

DUNN: Absolutely not, Mr. Harkness! And that's a very important point. The President and Secretary Hull had long held the conviction that the only sure method of maintaining the security of the United States in the future and avoiding other terrible wars was the establishment of a general system of international cooperation in which all nations, large and small, would play their part. This basic principle became the core of the preliminary draft of the Four-Nations Declaration which the Secretary of State took with him to the Moscow Conference.

HARKNESS: What was that you said, Mr. Dunn? Did I understand you to say that Secretary Hull took the draft of the Four-Nations Declaration with him to Moscow?

DUNN: Yes, that's correct—he did.

HARKNESS: Hmm! Mac, that's something you didn't tell us. Well, anyway, Mr. Dunn, you really mean without any reservations that the Moscow Conference was a success.

DUNN: Yes, Mr. Harkness. The Moscow Conference marked a dramatic and monumental milestone in the development of our foreign policy, not because it settled all the difficult issues but, rather, because it settled the most important single question, which up to that time no man could answer with certainty.

HARKNESS: What was that?

DUNN: That question was whether the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, China, and ourselves were determined to seek their, and the

world's, salvation through international cooperation, or whether they had other plans and designs for the future.

HARKNESS: And the answer to that question was what we wanted?

DUNN: Yes, it was, I am happy to say. These four nations committed themselves to a policy of *continuing* cooperation. If they hadn't done so, the international future would indeed be a hopeless one. The dread certainty of a third world war would have settled on us even before World War II was finished. I believe that this is the true meaning of Moscow—by their pledge of a continued cooperation both among themselves and with the other peace-loving nations of the world, these nations have given assurance that the world has at least the possibility of a peaceful future.

HARKNESS: Thanks a lot for those interesting slants on the Moscow Conference, Mr. Dunn.

I've got several other questions I want to ask you, but right now I'd like to put one to Mr. Pasvolsky before it slips my mind or he gets away from me. Mr. Pasvolsky, a little while ago you mentioned that the State Department believes that in the future, breaches of the peace must be suppressed by force, if necessary. Now does that mean an international police force?

PASVOLSKY: You know, a lot of people are talking about an international police force, but nobody has as yet figured out just what it means. So I can't give you a yes or no answer. But I would like to say this: There are many ways in which police *power* can be exercised to suppress aggression. We are exploring several possibilities, but we cannot tell at this stage what precise arrangements the nations will be able to agree on. That will depend on a lot of things here and abroad. But one thing is certain: there will be no commitment involving this country without the clear approval of the American people.

HARKNESS: In other words, that is one of the answers which is yet to be worked out and agreed upon, is that right?

PASVOLSKY: It certainly is.

McDERMOTT: Dick, might I add a word there?

HARKNESS: Surely, Mac, go ahead.

McDERMOTT: That discussion between you and Mr. Pasvolsky illustrates pretty well one of the toughest problems we have in the State Department. In a sense you didn't get an answer to your last question, and yet Mr. Pasvolsky did explain why he couldn't answer more fully.

HARKNESS: Yes, and quite satisfactorily for me.

McDERMOTT: The point is that we're up against that sort of thing day and night in the State Department, and quite often there are equally good reasons why a particular question cannot be answered.

HARKNESS: Well, why, for instance?

McDERMOTT: Well, it might be for reasons of military security, or possible use and distortion by enemy propaganda, or possible embarrassment to one of our Allies or a country whose friendship or at least neutrality is important to us. Whatever the reason, Dick, you can be sure that we don't hold back simply for the sake of being mysterious.

HARKNESS: I know that, Mac, and I think most of us would feel the same way you do about those "no comment" cases if the tables were switched and we were in the Department's place.

Mr. Dunn, let me ask you this: Some people have been saying that we are indifferent as to whether Fascism stays in Italy so long as Mussolini is out. Is there anything to that?

DUNN: There most certainly is not. We intend to see that Fascism in Italy is pulled up by the roots. This point was covered definitely by one of the important declarations issued at the Moscow Conference.

HARKNESS: That's right, it was. And I'm glad you reminded us of it, because I happen to think that declaration on Italy merits a mighty important and solid place in our foreign policy.

Mac, getting back to something you said earlier and which a lot of people are always saying around the State Department. You say it's the

130 million American citizens who in the final analysis decide our foreign policy. Now that sounds swell, Mac, and makes us all seem very important, but what is the average citizen supposed to do—pick up the phone and call Secretary Hull in Washington and tell him what he wants? How about it, Mac? How can the average person help guide American foreign policy?

McDERMOTT: Very simply, Dick. We have a free press and a free radio in this country, and we have representative government, and a mailing system that is very, very inexpensive. Anybody who wants to play a part in forming our foreign policy has merely to sit down and write a letter to his favorite editor, or write to his Congressman, or his Senator, or to the President, or to the State Department and say what he thinks. Also don't forget almost every individual belongs to some group, whether it's a labor, business, agricultural, church, or educational group, and through these or similar groups, he can make himself heard in an effective way.

HARKNESS: In other words, it's democracy at work again. Right, Mac?

McDERMOTT: Right.

HARKNESS: Well, time flies, gentlemen, even in Washington. Our first half hour here at the State Department is almost up.

I think it's been profitable and I want to thank all of you, Messrs. Stettinius, Dunn, Pasvolsky, and McDermott, for making it so. We've learned a lot from all of you this evening; we've been taken behind the scenes in the State Department's post-war planning; we saw how that planning became foreign policy in action at the famous Moscow Conference; and we've had a chance to get some important questions answered.

Next week, ladies and gentlemen, I have another fine group of interviews lined up, with Under Secretary Stettinius, Assistant Secretary Shaw, Ambassador Winant, who will talk to us from London, and Ambassador Robert D. Murphy. Our general topic will be "The Organization of the State Department and the Foreign Service". Some questions I intend

getting the answers to are: How much wealth must a young man possess before he can hope to get a position in our Foreign Service? Is it true that the graduates of one or two particular universities are favored as candidates over others? What kind of work is done by the men and women in our Foreign Service? What salaries do we pay them? And so forth, and so forth. If there are any questions that occur to *you*, won't you send them to me immediately? They'll help me to slant my interviews. And now—till next Saturday evening at the same time—this is Richard Harkness saying "Goodnight" from Washington.

WASHINGTON ANNOUNCER: Goodnight, Richard Harkness. Ladies and gentlemen, we have just concluded the first in a limited series of

programs to be broadcast from the State Department building in Washington, D. C. The series, entitled "The State Department Speaks", was launched as a public service by the NBC University of the Air, to acquaint you, the American people, with the inner workings of one of the most important departments of your government. These four programs will be published in booklet form and single copies may be obtained free of charge by writing to "The State Department Speaks", NBC, New York. And write, too, if there's a question you'd like to hear answered on this program. We can't promise to answer all questions received, but we'll do our best. So write tonight and be on hand again next week at the same time when—"The State Department Speaks".

International Conferences, Commissions, Etc.

ESTABLISHMENT UNDER ANGLO-AMERICAN CARIBBEAN COMMISSION OF A SYSTEM OF WEST INDIAN CONFERENCES

[Released to the press January 5]

The text of a joint communiqué by the United States and British Governments on a system of West Indian conferences is printed below:

"In recent years the United States Government and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have devoted special attention to the improvement of social and economic conditions in the territories under their jurisdiction in the Caribbean. Nearly two years ago the two Governments agreed to collaborate closely in the solution of problems of common concern in this area and to assist them in this purpose they established the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission.

"With the support and cooperation of the Governments of the territories concerned and of existing United States and British agencies and organizations, much useful work has already

been accomplished and long-range planning over a wide field has begun.

"In the field of research there was recently established, as an advisory body to the Commission, the Caribbean Research Council for the coordination of scientific and technical work on problems of the Caribbean area.

"It remained, however, to broaden the base for the approach to Caribbean problems to include consultation with local representatives—not necessarily officials—of the territories and colonies concerned. The value of such counsel is recognized, and provision has now been made for its expression through a regular system of West Indian conferences which, by agreement between the United States Government and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, is to be inaugurated under the auspices of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission to discuss matters of common interest and especially

of social and economic significance to Caribbean countries. The Conference will convene from time to time to consider specific subjects, that is, when problems arise which are at once alive and capable of being profitably discussed by such a conference. The Conference will be a standing body: it will have a continuing existence and a central secretariat, although the representatives will change according to the nature of the subjects to be discussed.

“Each United States territory and each British colony or group of colonies in the Caribbean area will be entitled to send two delegates to each session of the Conference. This representation will be achieved in the manner most appropriate to each area; in the British colonies, for example, one of each two representatives will normally be an unofficial representative. The chairman for each session of the Conference will be the United States co-chairman of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission if the Conference meets in United States territory, or the British co-chairman if the Conference convenes in British territory. In the event of the appropriate co-chairman being absent the proceedings will be opened formally by his colleague, after which the chair will be taken by any member of the Commission of the same nationality as the absent co-chairman. Other members of the Caribbean Commission and experts invited by them will have the right to attend all meetings of the Conference. Although delegates from each territory, colony, or group of colonies will be limited to two, they may at certain sessions be accompanied by advisers.

“The Conference will be purely advisory and will have no executive powers unless such powers are specifically entrusted to it by the governments of the territories and colonies which participate. If it should become advisable for the Conference to take action by voting, the question of representation and the basis of voting representation will be subject to further discussion between the United States and British Governments.

“The Anglo-American Caribbean Commission will provide the secretariat for the Conference and will be responsible for sending out the necessary documents to the members of the Conference. An official report of each session of the Conference will be prepared for transmission by the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission to the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom and to the local governments represented.

“Arrangements for convening the first session of the Conference were discussed at the last meeting of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission in August 1943, and it is hoped to convene the first session of the Conference early in 1944. The probable subjects of discussion at this meeting will be the question of obtaining supplies for the development programs which are contemplated in the various territories and colonies, the stabilization of prices of foods produced locally for local consumption, the maintenance of local food production after the war, the continuance of research on and development of fishery resources of the Caribbean, and questions pertaining to health protection and quarantine in the Caribbean area.

“Although these arrangements limit the conferences to United States and British participation the Conference will be free to invite the participation of other countries on occasion.”

Treaty Information

MUTUAL AID

Agreement With Liberia Relating to Construction of a Port and Port Works on the Coast of Liberia

According to information received by the Secretary of State from the American Minister at Monrovia, there was signed on December 31, 1943 at Monrovia, by the American Minister and the Secretary of State of Liberia, an agreement relating to the construction of a port and port works on the coast of Liberia.

This agreement was made in pursuance of principles laid down by the mutual-aid agreement of June 8, 1943¹ between the United States and Liberia, which was negotiated under the authority of and in conformity with the Lend-Lease Act of March 11, 1941.

Under this agreement, which became effective upon signature, the Government of the United States makes certain funds available, upon specified conditions, for the construction of a port and port works at a mutually agreed-upon site on the coast of the Republic of Liberia.

Provision is made for the payment, from revenues of the port, of the administrative and other costs of operating the port and for annual payments in amortization of the funds made available by the Government of the United States. The agreement contains provisions relating to joint operating control by the United States and Liberia pending amortization of the cost of the port, port works, and access roads.

NATIONALITY

Convention on the Nationality of Women

Cuba

By a letter dated December 21, 1943 the Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State that on December 15, 1943 there was deposited with the Pan American Union the instrument of ratification by Cuba of the Convention on the Nationality of Women signed at the Seventh International Conference of American States at Montevideo on December 26, 1933 (Treaty Series 875).

According to information officially of record in the Department of State the countries with respect to which the Convention on the Nationality of Women signed at Montevideo on December 26, 1933 is now in force as the result of the deposit of their respective instruments of ratification are the United States of America, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, and Panama.

¹ BULLETIN of June 12, 1943, p. 515.

NAVIGATION

Conventions Regarding Collisions at Sea, Assistance and Salvage at Sea, and Bills of Lading

Egypt

With a despatch dated December 10, 1943 the American Embassy near the Belgian Government at London transmitted to the Department a copy of a note dated December 1, 1943 from the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and External Commerce informing the American Ambassador that on November 19, 1943 the instruments of adherence by Egypt to the following three conventions were transmitted to the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs and External Commerce:

(a) International Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules Relating to Collisions at Sea, signed at Brussels September 23, 1910

(b) International Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules with Respect to Assistance and Salvage at Sea, signed at Brussels September 23, 1910

(c) International Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules Relating to Bills of Lading and Protocol of Signature, signed at Brussels August 25, 1924

According to the above-mentioned note the conventions under (a) and (b) were to enter into force with respect to Egypt on January 1, 1944 under the provisions of articles 15 and 17, respectively, of those conventions, and the convention under (c) will enter into force with respect to Egypt on May 19, 1944 under the provisions of article 14 of that convention.

It is further stated in the note that in transmitting the instrument of adherence by Egypt to the convention regarding bills of lading, the Egyptian Chargé informed the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs and External Commerce that the Egyptian Government reserves the right of unrestricted regulation of the national coasting trade through its own legislation.

STRATEGIC MATERIALS

Agreement Regarding the 1944 Cuban Sugar Crop

[Released to the press January 7]

As announced by the Department of State on December 22,¹ a Cuban commission is in Washington to discuss with the Foreign Economic Administration and other Government agencies the implementation of existing contracts on the 1944 Cuban sugar crop and the acquisition by the United States of molasses and alcohol.

The representatives of the two Governments announced on January 7, 1944 that an agreement has been reached to produce, as part of the Cuban sugar crop of 1944, invert molasses equivalent to 800,000 short tons, raw-sugar basis. This invert molasses is to be purchased by the Defense Supplies Corporation for the production of industrial alcohol, at 2½ cents a pound total sugar content, f. o. b. tank car at Cuban terminal or f. o. b. coastal point of delivery.

As a result of the agreement, the Cuban sugar crop can now be fixed at a minimum of 4,827,240 short tons. Of this total, 200,000 tons will be used for local consumption in Cuba, and 800,000 tons of sugar in the form of invert molasses will be used for production of alcohol for the war effort. The remainder of the 4,827,240 tons, or 3,827,240 tons, as well as any additional sugar that can be produced in Cuba by grinding all available cane, will be acquired by the Commodity Credit Corporation under the contract signed in September 1943.

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 25, 1943, p. 449.

Other phases of the negotiations are progressing, and representatives of the two Governments expect to reach in the not distant future satisfactory conclusions in the interests of both countries and their joint efforts in the prosecution of the war.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

First Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration: Selected Documents—Atlantic City, New Jersey, November 10–December 1, 1943. Conference Series 53. Publication 2040. vi, 215 pp. 35c.

The Wartime Development of Organizations To Deal With International Economic Operations and Problems: A Chronology, July 1, 1939–December 31, 1943. (Prepared in the Division of Research and Publication of the Department of State.) 20 pp., mimeo.

OTHER AGENCIES

Convention and Documentary Material on Nature Protection and Wildlife Preservation in the Western Hemisphere. Apr. 1943. [English, Spanish, Portuguese, and French.] (Pan American Union.) 88 leaves, processed. Available from P.A.U.

Mexico: Next Door Neighbor. [1943.] (Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Office for Emergency Management.) Cover title, 24 pp., illus. Available from CIAA.

Burma: Gateway to China [with selected bibliography], by H. G. Deignan. Oct. 29, 1943. (Smithsonian Institution.) iv, 21 pp., plates, map. (Publication 3738; War Background Studies No. 17.) Available for limited distribution upon request to Smithsonian Institution.

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The Department

ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Announcement of Reorganization

[Released to the press for publication January 15, 8 p.m.]

Far-reaching changes in the organization of the Department of State to facilitate the conduct of the foreign relations of the United States, in war and in peace, are announced by the Secretary of State. All previous Departmental orders and other administrative instructions concerning the organization of the Department, the definition and assignment of functions and responsibilities among the several divisions and offices of the Department and the designation of officers of the Department are revoked and superseded.

The new organization of the Department is described in detail in the following Departmental order and organization chart of the Department. It is designed to free the Assistant Secretaries and principal officers of the Department from administrative duties in order that they may devote the greater part of their time to matters of important foreign policy. Clearer lines of responsibility and authority have been established inside the Department which simplify its structure and eliminate overlapping jurisdictions and diffusion of responsibility by means of a logical grouping of functions and divisions in twelve major "line" offices. The work of the higher officers of the Department has also been coordinated more closely through the creation of two principal

committees—a Policy Committee and a Committee on Post War Programs.

The Policy Committee will assist the Secretary of State in the consideration of major questions of foreign policy, and the Committee on Post War Programs will assist him in the formulation of post-war foreign policies and the execution of such policies by means of appropriate international arrangements.

The Secretary of State has also established an Advisory Council on Post War Foreign Policy and so far has designated Mr. Norman H. Davis, Mr. Myron C. Taylor, and Dr. Isaiah Bowman as Vice Chairmen of this new Council, which will be under his Chairmanship with the Under Secretary as his deputy. The Secretary has asked Mr. Davis, Mr. Taylor, and Dr. Bowman, who with others have been associated with him in this field for the past two years, to assist him in organizing and carrying forward the work of this Council which will bring together outstanding and representative national leaders to advise the Secretary on post-war foreign-policy matters of major importance.

In the organization chart it will be seen that in order to avoid any lack of clarity regarding the jurisdictions of the respective Assistant Secretaries, the new organization assigns specific fields of activity to each of the Assistant Secretaries and to the Legal Adviser. Coordination

among the Assistant Secretaries is provided by the Policy Committee.

The twelve major "line" offices indicated in the chart are new organizational units in the Department. Within each major office are more diversified divisional units than existed previously. This will result in broadening the base of the Department's organizational structure permitting the more flexible and efficient adjustment of the Department's functions to rapidly changing conditions. Further, the setting-up of the new "line" offices will enable the Department to bring in additional outstanding personnel at a high level.

Five of these offices—those dealing with the major geographic areas (Europe, Far East, Near East and Africa, and American Republics) and with special political affairs report directly to the Secretary and Under Secretary. The four geographic offices will be charged with the coordination of all aspects of our relations with the countries in their respective jurisdictions and not exclusively with political relations as has been the tendency during the past few years. The Special Political Affairs Office will be concerned with political matters of worldwide scope and importance such as international security and organization.

In order to provide adequate attention at a sufficiently high level the former Division of International Communications has been broken down into three new divisions dealing, respectively, with aviation, shipping, and telecommunications.

The new plan also creates the Office of War-time Economic Affairs and the Office of Economic Affairs. The divisions shown under the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs are responsible in their respective fields for liaison with the FEA, WPB, War Shipping Administration, Treasury, War, and Navy Departments, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and other wartime economic agencies. The divisions shown under the Economic Affairs Office reflect a considerable re-

grouping, elimination, and consolidation of functions which have hitherto been widely scattered. The new Division of Commodity Problems and the new Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs are good examples. Among the responsibilities of the Commodities Division are the policy aspects of the production and control and the distribution in international commerce of major commodities such as rubber, tin and heavy metals, petroleum and petroleum products, coffee, wheat, and cotton. The Financial and Monetary Affairs Division will be concerned with the policy aspects of international financial agreements and arrangements of public and private investment, of industrialization and development programs, and of matters relating to the reorganization of Axis firms. The new Division of Labor Relations recognizes the growing importance of the international aspects of labor and social problems and the interest of labor in matters of broad international policy.

The new Office of Public Information groups together the various organizational units in the Department which are concerned with public information, both at home and abroad. This new office will also carry on the foreign activities of the former Cultural Relations Division. Also included in this Office of Public Information is a new Motion Picture and Radio Division not heretofore existent.

Administrative activities are simplified and grouped together in the two new offices dealing respectively with Departmental and Foreign Service Administration.

The Department does not regard this new organization chart and departmental order as the final answer to all the Department's administrative problems. It does believe that this reorganization will better adapt the administrative framework of the Department to meet the constantly changing war situation and the foreseeable post-war demands upon our foreign policy.

Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944

PURPOSE OF ORDER

The purpose of this Order is to facilitate the conduct of the foreign relations of the United States, in war and in peace, by making adjustments in the organization of the Department of State.

PREVIOUS ORDERS REVOKED

All previous Departmental Orders and other administrative instructions concerning—

1. the organization of the Department of State;
2. the definition and assignment of functions and responsibilities among the various divisions and offices of the Department; and
3. the designation of ranking officers of the Department

are hereby revoked and superseded.

NEW ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT

A chart showing the new organization of the Department of State is attached.¹

The definition and assignment of functions and responsibilities among the various Offices and Divisions of the Department, and the designation of its ranking officers, shall henceforth be as set forth below, subject to modification or amendment by Departmental Order.

As hereinafter provided, all matters concerning the organization of the Department, the definition and assignment of functions and responsibilities among its several Offices and Divisions, and the designation of its ranking officers below the Assistant Secretary level, shall be dealt with by the Office of Departmental Administration. Problems which may arise in connection with the new organization of the Department shall be referred to the Director of this Office.

¹ Printed on pp. 66-67.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

The following are hereby designated Special Assistants to the Secretary of State with functions and responsibilities as indicated:

1. Mr. Leo Pasvolsky. Mr. Pasvolsky, in addition to such other functions and responsibilities as may be assigned to him from time to time by the Secretary, shall serve as hereinafter provided as Executive Director of the Committee on Post War Programs.
2. Mr. Joseph C. Grew. Mr. Grew shall perform such duties as may be assigned to him from time to time by the Secretary.
3. Mr. George T. Summerlin. In addition to such other responsibilities as may be assigned to him from time to time by the Secretary, Mr. Summerlin shall serve as Chief of Protocol.
4. Mr. Michael J. McDermott. Mr. McDermott shall serve as the Secretary's principal assistant in matters concerning the Department's relations with the press.
5. Mr. Thomas K. Finletter. Mr. Finletter shall perform such duties as may be assigned to him from time to time by the Secretary.
6. Mr. Joseph C. Green. Mr. Green shall perform such duties as may be assigned to him from time to time by the Secretary.

The following additional designations are made in the Office of the Secretary:

1. Mr. Cecil W. Gray is hereby designated an Executive Assistant to the Secretary of State with responsibility for the administration of the Secretary's immediate office.
2. Mrs. Blanche R. Halla is hereby designated an Executive Assistant to the Secretary of State with responsibility for

the review and coordination of all correspondence prepared for signature by the Secretary and Under Secretary.

3. Mr. George W. Renchard and Mr. James E. Brown are hereby designated Assistants to the Secretary of State.
4. Mr. Carlton Savage is hereby designated a General Consultant to the Secretary of State.
5. Mr. Orme Wilson is hereby designated Liaison Officer with responsibility for assisting the Secretary and the Under Secretary in their liaison with the War and Navy Departments and such other duties as may be assigned to him.

The routing symbol of the Office of the Secretary will be S.

OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

1. The Under Secretary of State, Mr. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., shall serve as the Secretary's deputy in all matters of concern or interest to the Department.

2. Mr. Robert J. Lynch and Mr. Hayden Raynor are hereby designated Special Assistants to the Under Secretary of State, with such functions and responsibilities as may be assigned to them by the Under Secretary.

The routing symbol of the Office of the Under Secretary shall be U.

ASSISTANT SECRETARIES AND LEGAL ADVISER

1. The Assistant Secretary, Mr. Adolf A. Berle, Jr., shall have general responsibility in matters of Controls and in matters of Transportation and Communications.

Mr. Frederick B. Lyon and Mr. Robert G. Hooker, Jr. are hereby designated Executive Assistants to Mr. Berle.

The routing symbol of Mr. Berle's office shall be A-B.

2. The Assistant Secretary, Mr. Breckinridge Long, shall have general responsibility for all matters concerning the Department's relations with the Congress, with the exception of matters relating to appropriations and the administration of the Department and the Foreign Service.

Mr. George L. Brandt and Mr. Felton M. Johnston are hereby designated Executive Assistants to Mr. Long.

The routing symbol of Mr. Long's office shall be A-L.

3. The Assistant Secretary, Mr. Dean Acheson, shall have general responsibility in the field of Economic Affairs. Mr. Donald Hiss is hereby designated an Executive Assistant and Mr. Kermit Roosevelt, Jr., an Assistant to Mr. Acheson.

The routing symbol of Mr. Acheson's office shall be A-A.

4. The Assistant Secretary, Mr. G. Howland Shaw, shall have general responsibility for the administration of the Department and the Foreign Service and for matters of Public Information both at home and abroad.

Mr. Laurence C. Frank and Mr. William E. DeCourcy are hereby designated Executive Assistants to Mr. Shaw.

The routing symbol of Mr. Shaw's office shall be A-S.

5. The Legal Adviser, Mr. Green H. Hackworth, shall have equal rank in all respects with the Assistant Secretaries and he shall have general responsibility for all matters of a legal character concerning the Department, including matters of a legal character formally dealt with by the Treaty Division, which is hereby abolished.

The routing symbol of Mr. Hackworth's office shall be Le.

POLICY COMMITTEE

1. There is hereby created the Department of State Policy Committee which shall assist the Secretary in the consideration of major questions of foreign policy.

This Committee shall meet every Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 9:30 a. m. in the Secretary's Conference Room.

The Committee on Political Planning is hereby abolished.

2. The Secretary shall be Chairman and the Under Secretary shall be Vice Chairman of the Policy Committee.

The Assistant Secretaries, the Legal Adviser, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary, Mr. Pasvolsky, shall be members of the Committee; and the Directors of Offices, as hereinafter provided for, shall be *ex officio* members of the Committee.

3. Responsibility for the preparation of agenda, the keeping of minutes and the performance of such other duties as may be assigned by the Chairman or Vice Chairman of the Policy Committee shall be vested in an Executive Secretary who shall be assisted by such staff as may be determined.

The routing symbol of the Policy Committee shall be PC.

COMMITTEE ON POST WAR PROGRAMS

1. There is hereby created the Department of State Committee on Post War Programs which shall assist the Secretary in the formulation of post-war foreign policies and the execution of such policies by means of appropriate international arrangements.

2. The Secretary shall be Chairman, the Under Secretary shall be Vice Chairman, and the Special Assistant to the Secretary, Mr. Pasvolsky, shall be Executive Director of the Committee on Post War Programs. The Vice Chairmen of the Advisory Council on Post War Foreign Policy, the Assistant Secretaries, and the Legal Adviser, shall be members of the Committee; and the Directors of Offices, as herein-after provided for, shall be *ex officio* members of the Committee.

3. The Executive Director of the Committee on Post War Programs shall have full authority under the Secretary to organize the Committee's work and to call upon the various Offices and Divisions of the Department for such assistance as may be required in carrying out the Committee's responsibilities.

The routing symbol of this Committee shall be PWC.

OFFICE OF CONTROLS

There is hereby created an Office of Controls which shall have responsibility, under the general direction of the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Berle, for initiating and coordinating policy and action in all matters pertaining to the control activities of the Department of State.

The routing symbol of the Office of Controls shall be CON.

The Office of Controls shall be composed of the following divisions, with functions and responsibilities as indicated.

1. *Passport Division.*

The Passport Division shall have responsibility for initiating and coordinating policy and action in all matters pertaining to: (a) the administration of laws and regulations relating to the control of American citizens and nationals entering and leaving territory under the jurisdiction of the United States; (b) limitation of travel of American citizens in foreign countries; (c) determination of eligibility to receive passports or to be registered as citizens or nationals of the United States in American consulates of persons who claim to be American citizens, citizens of Puerto Rico, citizens of the Virgin Islands, citizens of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, or inhabitants of the Canal Zone, Guam, or American Samoa, owing permanent allegiance to the United States; (d) prevention and detection of fraud in passport matters and the preparation of cases involving fraud for prosecution in the courts; (e) issuance of passports, issuance of instructions to American diplomatic and consular officers concerning matters relating to nationality, passports, registrations, and the protection of American nationals in foreign countries, the release of persons inducted into foreign military service, the refund of taxes imposed for failure to perform military service, the preparation of reports of births of American citizens abroad and reports of marriages; (f) administration of passport work performed by the executive officers of American Samoa, Guam, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and by the United States

High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands; (g) supervision of the passport agencies in New York, San Francisco, and Miami; and (h) direction of clerks of courts in the United States with regard to passport matters.

Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. John J. Scanlan and Miss F. Virginia Alexander, are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs, of the Passport Division.

The routing symbol of the Passport Division shall be PD.

2. *Visa Division.*

The Visa Division shall have responsibility for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in all matters pertaining to: (a) alien visa control; (b) the assembling and examination of all information necessary to determine the admissibility of aliens into the United States in the interest of public safety; (c) the issuance of exit and reentry permits; (d) recommendations to American Foreign Service officers for their final consideration concerning individual visa applicants; (e) the control of immigration quotas; (f) the issuance of licenses within the purview of paragraph XXV of the Executive Order of October 12, 1917 relating to the Trading with the Enemy Act and title VII thereof, approved June 15, 1917; and (g) collaboration with interested offices and divisions of the Department, as well as with other agencies of the Government, concerning the control of subversive activities and the transportation of enemy aliens.

Mr. Howard K. Travers is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. Eliot B. Coulter, Mr. Knowlton V. Hicks, Mr. Robert C. Alexander, Mr. Benjamin M. Hulley and Miss Marjorie Moss are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs, of the Visa Division.

The routing symbol of the Visa Division shall be VD.

3. *Special War Problems Division.*

The Special War Problems Division shall be charged with the initiation and coordination of policy and action in all matters pertaining to:

(a) the whereabouts and welfare of, and transmission of funds to, Americans abroad; (b) the evacuation and repatriation of Americans from foreign countries; (c) financial assistance to Americans in territories where the interests of the United States are represented by Switzerland; (d) liaison with the American Red Cross and the President's War Relief Control Board for the coordination of foreign relief operations of private agencies with the foreign policy of this Government; (e) representation by this Government of the interests of foreign governments in the United States; (f) representation by a third power of United States interests in enemy countries; (g) supervision of the representation in the United States by third powers of the interests of other governments with which the United States has severed diplomatic relations or is at war; (h) the exchange of official and non-official American and Axis Powers personnel; (i) civilian internees and prisoners of war, and the accompanying of representatives of the protecting powers and the International Red Cross on prisoner-of-war and civilian-enemy-alien camp inspections.

Mr. James H. Keeley, Jr. is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. Edwin A. Plitt, Mr. Albert E. Clattenburg, Jr., Mr. Eldred D. Kuppinger, Mr. Bernard Gufler, and Mr. Franklin C. Gowen, are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs, of the Special War Problems Division.

The routing symbol of the Special War Problems Division shall be SWP.

4. *Division of Foreign Activity Correlation.*

The Division of Foreign Activity Correlation shall have responsibility for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in all matters pertaining to such foreign activities and operations as may be directed.

Mr. George A. Gordon is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. Frederick B. Lyon, Mr. George P. Shaw, and Mr. Charles W. Yost are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs, of the Division of Foreign Activity Correlation.

The routing symbol of the Division of Foreign Activity Correlation shall be FAC.

OFFICE OF TRANSPORTATION AND
COMMUNICATIONS

There is hereby created an Office of Transportation and Communications which shall have responsibility, under the general direction of the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Berle, for initiating and coordinating policy and action in all matters concerning the international aspects of transportation and communications.

The routing symbol of the Office of Transportation and Communications shall be TRC.

The Division of International Communications is hereby abolished.

The Office of Transportation and Communications shall be composed of the following divisions, with functions and responsibilities as indicated.

1. *Aviation Division.*

The Aviation Division shall have responsibility for initiating and coordinating policy and action in matters pertaining to (a) international aviation, including the development of aviation policy; (b) the coordination of requests of the Department of State for air travel priorities for civilian personnel and the presentation of these requests to military authorities; (c) representation of the Department on the International Technical Committee on Aerial Legal Experts and the United States National Commission of the Permanent American Aeronautical Commission; and (d) liaison with the Department of Commerce, the Civil Aeronautics Administration and Board, War and Navy Departments, and such other departments and agencies as may be concerned.

Mr. Joe D. Walstrom is hereby designated Assistant Chief, and he shall serve temporarily as Acting Chief of the Aviation Division. Mr. Stephen Latchford is hereby designated Adviser on Air Law in this Division.

The routing symbol of the Aviation Division shall be AD.

2. *Shipping Division.*

The Shipping Division shall have responsibility for the initiation and coordination of

policy and action in all matters pertaining to (a) international shipping, excepting functions relating to shipping requirements and allocations vested in the wartime economic divisions, and including the development of shipping policy; and (b) liaison with the War Shipping Administration, Maritime Commission, Navy Department, Office of Censorship, and such other departments and agencies as may be concerned.

Mr. Jesse E. Saugstad is hereby designated Assistant Chief of the Shipping Division and he shall serve temporarily as Acting Chief of the Division.

The routing symbol of the Shipping Division shall be SD.

3. *Telecommunications Division.*

The Telecommunications Division shall have responsibility for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in matters pertaining to (a) international aspects of radio, telegraph, and cable communications, including the development of telecommunications policy; and (b) liaison with the Federal Communications Commission, War and Navy Departments, Office of Censorship, and such other departments and agencies as may be concerned.

Mr. Francis Colt deWolf is hereby designated Chief of the Telecommunications Division.

The routing symbol of the Telecommunications Division shall be TD.

OFFICE OF WARTIME ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

There is hereby created an Office of Wartime Economic Affairs which, in collaboration with the Office of Economic Affairs hereinafter provided for, shall have responsibility, under the general direction of the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Acheson, for the initiation and coordination of policy and action, so far as the Department of State is concerned, in all matters pertaining to the wartime economic relations of the United States with other governments.

The Office of Wartime Economic Affairs and its component Divisions shall be the focal points of contact and liaison, within the scope of their

functions, with the Foreign Economic Administration, War Production Board, War Shipping Administration, Treasury, War and Navy Departments, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and such other agencies as may be concerned. For this purpose, there shall be full and free exchange of information and views between the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs and its component Divisions, and the appropriate political and economic offices and divisions of the Department.

Mr. Charles P. Taft is hereby designated Director of the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs shall be WEA.

The Office of Wartime Economic Affairs shall be composed of the following divisions, with functions and responsibilities as indicated.

1. *Supply and Resources Division.*

The Supply and Resources Division shall have responsibility, so far as the Department of State is concerned, for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in all matters pertaining to: (a) the procurement and development abroad of all materials needed for the prosecution of the war or the relief of enemy, enemy-held or reoccupied territory (excepting European Neutrals and their possessions, and French North and West Africa and projects in Latin America); (b) Lend-Lease matters (excepting French and British possessions), reciprocal aid arrangements, as they relate to the procurement and development of materials abroad, and White Paper matters; (c) War Shipping matters; (d) the administration of Section 12 of the Neutrality Act of November 4, 1919 governing the movement of arms, ammunition and implements of war, the Helium Act of September 1, 1937 and the Tin Plate Scrap Act of February 15, 1936; (e) representation, within the scope of its responsibilities, of the Department before the Combined Boards and their operating, advisory and other committees (excepting only in cases of a special nature in which the Department's point

of contact is through membership on special area committees); before the Foreign Economic Administration, War Production Board, War Shipping Administration, War Food Administration, and other departments and agencies concerned, in connection with requirement programs and requests for allocations for commodities and shipping submitted by other divisions of the Department; and (f) liaison, within the scope of the Division's responsibilities, with such other departments and agencies as may be concerned.

Mr. Paul F. Linz and Mr. Courtney C. Brown are hereby designated Advisers in, and Mr. Frederick Exton is hereby designated an Assistant Chief of, the Supply and Resources Division, the routing symbol of which shall be SR.

2. *Liberated Areas Division.*

The Liberated Areas Division shall have responsibility so far as the Department of State is concerned for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in all wartime economic matters pertaining to areas now occupied by the enemy and to Southern Italy and Sicily, including: (a) preparation of requirement programs for the liberated areas, and, as required by the Director of the Office, programs for purchases from those areas, and the importation of supplies and materials into the United States; (b) fiscal matters, including banking matters; and financial and property controls, including the application of Executive Order No. 8389, as amended, to property located in the United States of governments of those areas and their nationals, and questions relating to the Alien Property Custodian and to the property control measures of other United Nations; (c) in collaboration with the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs hereinafter provided for, reconstruction and rehabilitation of industrial and agricultural structures including supply and economic development; (d) liaison, within the scope of the Division's responsibilities, with the Foreign Economic Administration, Civil

Affairs Division of the War Department, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and such departments and agencies as may be concerned.

Mr. Herman Wells is hereby designated Chief of, and Mr. Dallas W. Dort, Mr. Ernest M. Fisher, Mr. Sydney L. W. Mellen, Mr. Edward G. Miller, Jr., Mr. Abbott Low Mollat, and Mr. James A. Stillwell are hereby designated Advisers in, the Liberated Areas Division.

The routing symbol of the Liberated Areas Division shall be LA.

3. *American Republics Requirements Division.*

The American Republics Requirements Division shall have responsibility so far as the Department of State is concerned for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in all wartime economic matters pertaining to the other American republics and British and Dutch colonies and possessions in the Caribbean area including: (a) the preparation of requirement programs for, and the functioning of control of exports to, that area; (b) assistance in regard to procurement programs, shipping schedules and other economic operations relating to the other American republics; (c) representation of the Department before the Foreign Economic Administration and other agencies in connection with applications for projects for the other American republics recommended by the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs; and (d) liaison, within the scope of its responsibilities, with such other departments and agencies as may be concerned.

Mr. Charles F. Knox, Jr., is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. Jerome J. Stenger and Mr. Richard W. Effland are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs, of the American Republics Requirements Division.

The routing symbol of the American Republics Requirements Division shall be RAR.

4. *Eastern Hemisphere Division.*

The Eastern Hemisphere Division shall have responsibility so far as the Department of State is concerned for the initiation and coordination

of policy and action in all wartime economic matters pertaining to countries of the Eastern Hemisphere, except those presently occupied by the enemy, and Southern Italy and Sicily; and, in the Western Hemisphere, to all French possessions, Iceland, Greenland, Canada, and British Colonies and Possessions, except in the Caribbean area and in South America, including (a) economic blockade of enemy and enemy-occupied territories; (b) formulation of requirement programs and of purchase programs constituting the counterpart of requirement programs; (c) Lend-Lease matters arising in connection with French and British possessions; (d) representation of the Department, within the scope of the Division's responsibilities, before the United States Commercial Company and special area committees organized with representatives of the French, Belgian, British Dominion, and other governments, where the problems arise from a diverse group of articles and materials rather than one or a few commodities; and (e) liaison, within the scope of its responsibilities, with such departments and agencies as may be concerned.

Mr. Henry R. Labouisse, Jr., is hereby designated Chief of, and Mr. Livingston T. Merchant, Mr. Frederick Winant and Mr. H. Kingston Fleming are hereby designated Advisers in, the Eastern Hemisphere Division.

The routing symbol of the Eastern Hemisphere Division shall be EH.

5. *Division of World Trade Intelligence.*

The Division of World Trade Intelligence shall have so far as the Department of State is concerned responsibility for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in all matters pertaining to (a) the administration of the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals and related lists; (b) the administration of Executive Order No. 8389, as amended, issued under Sec. 5 (b) of the Trading with the Enemy Act and relating to the regulation of transactions in foreign exchange and foreign-owned property (excepting with respect to Liberated Areas), and the application of the recommendations of

the Inter-American Conference on Systems of Economic and Financial Control, excepting matters relating to the replacement or reorganization of Axis firms; (c) the collection, evaluation and organization of biographical data; (d) liaison, within the scope of its responsibilities, with the Treasury Department, Foreign Economic Administration, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and such other departments and agencies as may be concerned.

Mr. Francis H. Russell is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. George W. Baker and Mr. James H. Swihart are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs, of the Division of World Trade Intelligence.

The routing symbol of the Division of World Trade Intelligence shall be WT.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

There is hereby created an Office of Economic Affairs which, in collaboration with the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs, shall have responsibility, under the general direction of the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Acheson, for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in all matters pertaining to international economic affairs, other than those of a wartime character.

The Office of the Adviser on International Economic Affairs, the Office of the Petroleum Adviser, and the Division of Economic Studies are hereby abolished and their functions and responsibilities shall henceforth be carried on in the Office of Economic Affairs.

Mr. Harry C. Hawkins is hereby designated Director of the Office of Economic Affairs.

The routing symbol of this Office shall be ECA.

Mr. Charles B. Rayner is hereby designated Adviser on Petroleum Policy in the Office of Economic Affairs and is charged with advisory responsibilities in regard to the foreign petroleum policies of the United States and other governments, the foreign organizations and

activities of the American and foreign petroleum industries, and the petroleum resources, production, refining, marketing, and transportation facilities of foreign countries.

Mr. Leroy D. Stinebower and Mr. Frederick Livesey are hereby designated Advisers in the Office of Economic Affairs and Mr. Honoré Marcel Catudal is hereby designated Special Assistant to the Director of the Office, and they shall be charged with such responsibilities as may be assigned to them by the Director.

Mr. Leo D. Sturgeon is hereby designated Adviser on Fisheries in the Office of Economic Affairs.

The Office of Economic Affairs shall be composed of the following divisions, with functions and responsibilities as indicated.

1. *Division of Commercial Policy.*

The Division of Commercial Policy shall have responsibility for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in all matters pertaining to: (a) the protection and promotion of American commercial and agricultural interests in foreign countries under the terms of Reorganization Plan No. II as authorized by the Reorganization Act of April 3, 1939; (b) the formulation, negotiation, and administration of commercial treaties, of reciprocal trade agreements under the Act of June 12, 1934, and of such other commercial agreements as may be assigned to it by the Director of the Office of Economic Affairs; (c) the tariff, general trade, and international commercial policy of the United States; and (d) liaison, within the scope of its responsibilities, with the Department of the Treasury, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Agriculture, the United States Tariff Commission, and such other departments or agencies as may be concerned.

Mr. William A. Fowler is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. Honoré Marcel Catudal and Mr. Woodbury Willoughby are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs of the Division of Commercial Policy, the routing symbol of which shall be TA.

2. *Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs.*

The Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs shall have responsibility for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in all matters pertaining to (a) general international financial and monetary policy; (b) public and private foreign investment; (c) industrialization and development programs, including matters relating to the reorganization of Axis firms and requirements for long-range development projects; (d) international financial agreements and arrangements; (e) certification, under Section 25 (b) of the Federal Reserve Act, of the authority of designated persons to dispose of various foreign properties deposited in this country; (f) liaison, within the scope of its responsibilities, with the Treasury Department, Export-Import Bank, Departments of Commerce, Justice, and Agriculture, Foreign Economic Administration, Alien Property Custodian, Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and such other departments or agencies as may be concerned.

The Financial Division is hereby abolished and its functions and responsibilities transferred to the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs.

Mr. Emilio G. Collado is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. John S. Hooker and Mr. Dudley M. Phelps are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs of the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs shall be FMA.

3. *Commodities Division.*

The Commodities Division shall have responsibility for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in all matters pertaining to: (a) the production and control and the distribution in international commerce of major commodities such as rubber, tin and the heavy metals, petroleum and petroleum products, coffee, sugar, wheat and cotton; (b) international commodity arrangements; (c) international fisheries, including fisheries surveys for the pur-

pose of providing food fish for the American armed forces and for our Allies; and (d) within the scope of its responsibilities, liaison with intergovernmental agencies concerned with international commodity problems, with the Department of Agriculture, the Office of the Petroleum Administrator for War, and such other departments and agencies as may be concerned.

Mr. Robert M. Carr and Mr. James C. Sappington, 3d, are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs of the Commodities Division, and Mr. Carr shall serve temporarily as Acting Chief of the Division.

The routing symbol of the Commodities Division shall be CD.

4. *Division of Labor Relations.*

The Division of Labor Relations shall have responsibility for initiating and coordinating policy and action in matters pertaining to (a) the effects on the foreign relations of the United States of policies and practices in foreign countries concerning wage and hour standards, working conditions and similar matters of interest and concern to labor in the United States and abroad; (b) the interest of labor in the United States in matters of broad international policy; (c) international arrangements for the promotion of full employment, health, economic and social welfare in general; and (d) within the scope of its responsibilities, liaison with the Department of Labor and other departments and agencies concerned, and with international agencies.

Mr. Otis Mulliken is hereby designated Assistant Chief of the Division of Labor Relations, and he shall serve temporarily as Acting Chief of the Division.

The routing symbol of the Division of Labor Relations shall be LRD.

OFFICE OF AMERICAN REPUBLIC AFFAIRS

There is hereby created an Office of American Republic Affairs which shall have responsibility, under the general direction of the Secretary

and Under Secretary, for the initiation and, in particular, the coordination of policy and action in regard to all aspects of relations with Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. In addition, the Office of American Republic Affairs shall have responsibility for supervising so far as the Department of State is concerned the program of the Interdepartmental Committee for Cooperation With the Other American Republics.

All other offices and divisions in the Department shall assure full participation by the Office of American Republic Affairs and its component divisions, as hereinafter provided for, in the formulation and execution of policy affecting relations with the countries under the jurisdiction of this Office.

Mr. Lawrence Duggan is hereby designated Director, and Mr. Philip W. Bonsal is hereby designated Deputy Director, of the Office of American Republic Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Office of American Republic Affairs shall be ARA.

The Office of American Republic Affairs shall be composed of the following divisions, which shall have primary responsibility for the functions of the Office in regard to relations with the countries indicated in each case.

1. *Division of Mexican Affairs.* Mexico.

Mr. Joseph F. McGurk is hereby designated Chief of the Division of Mexican Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Division of Mexican Affairs shall be MA.

2. *Division of Caribbean and Central American Affairs.* Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama, and, in collaboration with the appropriate divisions in the Office of European Affairs, relations with European possessions in the area, the Guianas and British Honduras.

The Caribbean Office is hereby abolished and its functions and responsibilities, including liai-

son with the American Section of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, are hereby transferred to the Division of Caribbean and Central American Affairs.

Mr. Ellis O. Briggs is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. John M. Cabot and Mr. John F. Gange are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs, of the Division of Caribbean and Central American Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Division of Caribbean and Central American Affairs shall be CCA.

3. *Division of Brazilian Affairs.* Brazil.

Mr. Walter N. Walmsley, Jr., is hereby designated Chief of the Division of Brazilian Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Division of Brazilian Affairs shall be BA.

4. *Division of Bolivarian Affairs.* Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela.

Mr. Gerald Keith is hereby designated Chief of the Division of Bolivarian Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Division of Bolivarian Affairs shall be BOL.

5. *Division of River Plate Affairs.* Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

Mr. J. Kenly Bacon is hereby designated Assistant Chief of the Division of River Plate Affairs, and he shall serve temporarily as Acting Chief of the Division.

The routing symbol of the Division of River Plate Affairs shall be RPA.

6. *Division of West Coast Affairs.* Bolivia, Chile, and Peru.

Mr. Cecil B. Lyon is hereby designated Assistant Chief of the Division of West Coast Affairs and he shall serve temporarily as Acting Chief of the Division.

The routing symbol of the Division of West Coast Affairs shall be WCA.

OFFICE OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

There is hereby created an Office of European Affairs which shall have responsibility,

under the general direction of the Secretary and the Under Secretary, for the initiation and the coordination of policy and action in regard to all aspects of relations with the following countries: Albania, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Free City of Danzig, Germany, Great Britain (including British territories and possessions except India and those in Africa), Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, and European possessions in the Far East (in conjunction with the Office of Far Eastern Affairs).

All other offices and divisions in the Department shall assure full participation by the Office of European Affairs and its component divisions as hereinafter provided for in the formulation and execution of policy affecting relations with the countries under the jurisdiction of this Office.

Mr. James C. Dunn is hereby designated Director, and Mr. H. Freeman Matthews is hereby designated Deputy Director, of the Office of European Affairs, and Mr. Raymond E. Murphy is hereby designated Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of European Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Office of European Affairs shall be EUR.

The Office of European Affairs shall be composed of the following divisions which shall have primary responsibility for carrying out the functions of the Office in regard to relations with the countries indicated in each case.

1. *Division of British Commonwealth Affairs.*

British Commonwealth of Nations and possessions, except India and possessions in Africa.

Mr. John D. Hickerson is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. Theodore C. Achilles is hereby designated Assistant Chief, of the Division of British Commonwealth Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Division of British Commonwealth Affairs shall be BC.

2. *Division of Eastern European Affairs.*

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Poland, and other areas of Eastern Europe.

Mr. Charles E. Bohlen is hereby designated Chief of the Division of Eastern European Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Division of Eastern European Affairs shall be EE.

3. *Division of Central European Affairs.* Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia.

Mr. James W. Riddleberger is hereby designated Chief of the Division of Central European Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Division of Central European Affairs shall be CE.

4. *Division of Southern European Affairs.*

Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Rumania, San Marino, Yugoslavia. The Division shall also have responsibility for matters relating to the Vatican.

Mr. Hugh S. Fullerton is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. Cavendish W. Cannon is hereby designated Assistant Chief of the Division.

The routing symbol of the Division of Southern European Affairs shall be SE.

5. *Division of Northern European Affairs.*

Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and possessions of these countries.

Mr. Hugh S. Cumming, Jr., is hereby designated Chief of the Division of Northern European Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Division of Northern European Affairs shall be NOE.

6. *Division of Western European Affairs.*

Andorra, Belgium, France, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, and possessions of those countries.

Mr. Paul T. Culbertson is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. W. Perry George and Mr. James C. H. Bonbright are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs, of the Division of Western European Affairs.

The symbol designation of the Division of Western European Affairs shall be WE.

OFFICE OF SPECIAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS

There is hereby created an Office of Special Political Affairs which shall have responsibility, under the general direction of the Secretary and Under Secretary, for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in special matters of international political relations.

The Division of Political Studies is hereby abolished and its functions and responsibilities transferred to the Office of Special Political Affairs.

All other offices and divisions in the Department shall assure full participation by the Office of Special Political Affairs and its component divisions as hereinafter provided for in the formulation and execution of policy affecting the responsibilities of this Office.

Mr. James C. Dunn is hereby designated Acting Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Office of Special Political Affairs shall be SPA.

The Office of Special Political Affairs shall be composed of the following divisions, with functions and responsibilities as indicated.

1. *Division of International Security and Organization.*

The Division of International Security and Organization shall have responsibility for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in matters pertaining to: (a) general and regional international peace and security arrangements and other arrangements for organized international cooperation; (b) liaison with international organizations and agencies concerned with such matters; and (c) liaison within the scope of its responsibilities with the War and Navy Departments and such other departments and agencies of the Government as may be concerned.

Mr. Harley A. Notter is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. Durward V. Sandifer, Mr. C.

Easton Rothwell and Mr. O. Benjamin Gerig are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs, of the Division of International Security and Organization.

The routing symbol of the Division of International Security and Organization shall be ISO.

2. *Division of Territorial Studies.*

The Division of Territorial Studies shall have responsibility for: (a) analyzing and appraising developments and conditions in foreign countries arising out of the war and relating to post-war settlements of interest to the United States; (b) maintaining liaison in this field with other departments and agencies of the Government; and (c) formulating policy recommendations in regard to these matters in collaboration with other divisions in the Department.

Mr. Philip E. Mosely is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. David Harris and Mr. Philip W. Ireland are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs, of the Division of Territorial Studies.

The routing symbol of the Division of Territorial Studies shall be TS.

OFFICE OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

There is hereby created an Office of Far Eastern Affairs which shall have responsibility, under the general direction of the Secretary and the Under Secretary, for the initiation and, in particular, the coordination of policy and action in regard to all aspects of relations with the following countries: China, Japan, and Thailand, and (in conjunction with the Office of European Affairs, and other interested offices and divisions) the possessions and territories of Occidental countries in the Far East and in the Pacific area. The Office also shall have charge of such matters as concern the Department in relation to American-controlled islands in the Pacific and, in particular, of such matters as concern the Department in relation to the Philippine Islands.

All other offices and divisions in the Department shall assure full participation of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs and its component divisions, as hereinafter provided for, in the formulation and execution of policy affecting relations with the countries under the jurisdiction of this Office.

Mr. Stanley K. Hornbeck is hereby designated Director, and Mr. Joseph W. Ballantine is hereby designated Deputy Director, of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs. Mr. Alger Hiss is hereby designated Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs shall be FE.

The Office of Far Eastern Affairs shall be composed of the following divisions which shall have primary responsibility for carrying out the functions of the Office in regard to relations with the countries indicated in each case.

1. *Division of Chinese Affairs.* China and adjacent territories.

Mr. John Carter Vincent is hereby designated Chief of, and Mr. Edwin F. Stanton is hereby designated Consultant in, the Division of Chinese Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Division of Chinese Affairs shall be CA.

2. *Division of Japanese Affairs.* Japanese Empire, Japanese Mandates, and, in cooperation with the Division of Eastern European Affairs, matters relating to the Soviet Far East.

Mr. Erle R. Dickover is hereby designated Chief of the Division of Japanese Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Division of Japanese Affairs shall be JA.

3. *Division of Southwest Pacific Affairs.*

Thailand, and, in cooperation with other interested offices and divisions, Indo-China, Malaya, British North Borneo, Netherlands East Indies, Portuguese Timor and British and French Island Possessions in the Pacific.

Mr. Laurence E. Salisbury is hereby designated Acting Chief of the Division of Southwest Pacific Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Division of Southwest Pacific Affairs shall be SP.

4. *Division of Philippine Affairs.* Philippine Islands and other American-controlled islands of the Pacific.

The Office of Philippine Affairs is hereby abolished and its functions and responsibilities are hereby transferred to the Division of Philippine Affairs.

Mr. Frank P. Lockhart is hereby designated Chief of the Division of Philippine Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Division of Philippine Affairs shall be PI.

OFFICE OF EASTERN AND AFRICAN AFFAIRS

There is hereby created an Office of Eastern and African Affairs which shall have responsibility, under the general direction of the Secretary and the Under Secretary, for the initiation and, in particular, the coordination of policy and action in regard to all aspects of relations with the following countries: Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Greece, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine and Trans-Jordan, Saudi Arabia and other countries of the Arabian Peninsula, Syria, Turkey, Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia and all colonies, protectorates, and mandated territories in Africa, excluding Algeria.

All other offices and divisions in the Department shall assure full participation by the Office of Eastern and African Affairs and its component divisions as hereinafter provided for in the formulation and execution of policy affecting relations with the countries under the jurisdiction of this Office.

Mr. Wallace S. Murray is hereby designated Director, and Mr. Paul H. Alling is hereby designated Deputy Director, of the Office of Eastern and African Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Office of Eastern and African Affairs shall be OEA.

The Office of Eastern and African Affairs shall be composed of the following divisions which shall have primary responsibility for carrying out the functions of the Office in regard to relations with the countries indicated in each case.

1. *Division of Near Eastern Affairs.* Egypt, Greece, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine and Trans-Jordan, Saudi Arabia and other countries of the Arabian Peninsula, Syria and Turkey.

Mr. Gordon P. Merriam is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. Foy D. Kohler is hereby designated Assistant Chief, of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs shall be NEA.

2. *Division of Middle Eastern Affairs.* Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, India and Iran.

Mr. George V. Allen is hereby designated Chief of the Division of Middle Eastern Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Division of Middle Eastern Affairs shall be MEA.

3. *Division of African Affairs.* Ethiopia, Liberia and all other territories in Africa.

Mr. Henry S. Villard is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. Charles W. Lewis is hereby designated Assistant Chief, of the Division of African Affairs.

The routing symbol of the Division of African Affairs shall be AFA.

OFFICE OF DEPARTMENTAL ADMINISTRATION

There is hereby created the Office of Departmental Administration which shall have responsibility, under the general direction of the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Shaw, for all matters of administration and organization of the Department of State, including (a) budget development and control and fiscal management; (b) administrative and procedural planning; (c) personnel administration; (d) communications and records; (e) geographic and cartographic research; (f) protocol; (g) administrative aspects of international conferences and

the fulfillment of international obligations; and (h) liaison with the Civil Service Commission, Bureau of the Budget, General Accounting Office, and such other agencies as may be concerned.

Mr. John C. Ross is hereby designated Director of the Office of Departmental Administration.

Mr. Arthur W. Macmahon is hereby designated Consultant in the Office of Departmental Administration. Mr. Wilbur C. Irving is hereby designated Special Assistant to the Director of Departmental Administration.

The routing symbol of this Office shall be ODA.

The Office of Departmental Administration shall be composed of the following divisions, with functions and responsibilities as indicated.

1. *Division of Budget and Finance.*

The Division of Budget and Finance shall have responsibility in the following matters: (a) supervision of the budgetary and fiscal affairs of the Department, including the Foreign Service (subject to legal requirements), including the acquisition and distribution of funds, auditing, accounting, fiscal management, purchasing, and related activities; (b) formulation of budgetary and fiscal policies and controls in cooperation with staff and program offices and divisions; (c) liaison with Congressional Appropriations Committees, Bureau of the Budget, General Accounting Office, Treasury Department, Government Printing Office, and other departments and agencies on budgetary, fiscal or procurement matters.

The Office of Fiscal and Budget Affairs and the Division of Accounts are hereby abolished and their functions and responsibilities transferred to the Division of Budget and Finance.

Mr. Harry M. Kurth is hereby designated Chief, Mrs. Ella A. Logsdon is hereby designated Assistant Chief, and Mr. Donald W. Corrick is hereby designated Acting Assistant Chief, of the Division of Budget and Finance.

The routing symbol of the Division of Budget and Finance shall be BF.

2. *Division of Administrative Management.*

The Division of Administrative Management shall have responsibility for all matters pertaining to: (a) general administration and organization; (b) effective administrative coordination between offices and divisions within the Department; (c) inter-office and inter-divisional definitions of responsibility; (d) the drafting and issuance of Departmental Orders and Administrative Instructions; (e) effective administrative relationships between the Department and other departments and agencies and inter-governmental agencies; and (f) such other duties as may be assigned by the Director of the Office of Departmental Administration.

Mr. Millard L. Kenestrick is hereby designated Assistant Chief of the Division of Administrative Management.

The routing symbol of the Division of Administrative Management shall be AM.

The Office of the Chief Clerk and Administrative Assistant is hereby abolished and, except as may hereafter be determined, its functions and responsibilities transferred to the Division of Administrative Management.

3. *Division of Departmental Personnel.*

The Division of Departmental Personnel shall have responsibility in the following matters: (a) assisting the Director of the Office of Departmental Administration in the formulation and effectuation of policies and practices which assure sound personnel management throughout the Department and proper utilization and training of employees of the Department; and (b) administration of the Civil Service rules and regulations and the execution of the provisions of the Classification, Retirement, and Employees' Compensation Acts, involving recruitment, classification, personnel relations, efficiency ratings, Selective Service, and related personnel functions; and liaison with the Civil Service Commission and such other departments and agencies as may be concerned.

Mr. Wilbur C. Irving is hereby designated Acting Chief of the Division of Departmental Personnel.

The routing symbol of the Division of Departmental Personnel shall be DP.

4. *Division of Communications and Records.*

The Division of Communications and Records shall have responsibility in the following matters: (a) dispatch and receipt of all telegraphic correspondence of the Department; encoding and decoding of messages exchanged in the conduct of foreign relations; (b) review of all outgoing correspondence; coordination of the correspondence for consideration and initialing before signing, and submission to the appropriate officers for signature; and furnishing of information concerning diplomatic precedence, accepted styles of correspondence, and related matters; (c) classification, recording, distribution, and preservation of correspondence, and the conduct of research therein; (d) commenting upon, censoring and grading of reports and other information received from the Foreign Service on commercial, agricultural and economic matters, and the distribution of such information to the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture and to such other departments and agencies as may appropriately receive it; and (e) liaison, within the scope of its responsibilities, between the Department and, in particular, the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture, and such other departments and agencies as may be concerned.

The Office of Coordination and Review is hereby abolished and its functions and responsibilities transferred to the Division of Communications and Records.

Mr. Raymond H. Geist is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. G. Harold Keatley, Mr. Paul T. Meyer, Miss Sarah D. Moore, and Miss Helen L. Daniel are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs, of the Division of Communications and Records.

The routing symbol of the Division of Communications and Records shall be DCR.

5. *Division of Geography and Cartography.*

The Division of Geography and Cartography shall have responsibility in the following matters: (a) the assembling, analysis, interpretation and presentation in the form of maps, charts, or reports, of data of a geographic, geodetic or cartographic nature on land and water areas throughout the world in connection with current and post-war considerations and negotiations concerning international or inter-regional relations involving questions of political, economic, historic or commercial geography; and the furnishing of related geographic information or advice; (b) determination or revision of population statistics in connection with the fixing of immigration quotas for specific areas or countries, when occasion arises; (c) maintenance of the Department's collection of maps, atlases and gazetteers; and (d) liaison with the United States Geological Survey, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Hydrographic Office, and other departments and agencies in matters of geography, geodesy and cartography.

The Office of the Geographer is hereby abolished and its functions and responsibilities transferred to the Division of Geography and Cartography.

Mr. Samuel W. Boggs is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. Otto E. Guthe and Mrs. Sophia A. Saucerman are designated Assistant Chiefs, of the Division of Geography and Cartography.

The routing symbol of the Division of Geography and Cartography shall be DGC.

6. *Division of Protocol.*

The Protocol Division shall have responsibility in the following matters: (a) arranging for presentation to the President of ambassadors and ministers accredited to this Government; (b) correspondence concerning their acceptability to this Government and correspondence concerning the acceptability to foreign governments of like officers of the United States; (c) questions regarding rights and immunities in the United States of representatives of foreign governments; (d) arrangements for all

ceremonials of a national or international character in the United States or participated in by the United States abroad; (e) arrangements for and protection of distinguished foreign visitors; (f) questions concerning customs and other courtesies abroad; (g) making arrangements for the casual or ceremonial visits of foreign naval vessels and of foreign military organizations to the United States and visits of the same character of United States naval vessels and military organizations abroad; (h) arrangements for the entry of troops of Allied Nations and their baggage, arriving at United States ports en route to training centers in this hemisphere and en route to foreign duty; (i) arrangements for release, as international courtesy, of certain war materials, ammunitions, models, et cetera, used in fulfilling contracts for Allied Nations; (j) matters with respect to visits of aliens to industrial factories and plants where war contracts are being executed; (k) questions affecting the Diplomatic Corps under the commodities rationing program; (l) matters of ceremonial in connection with the White House and the Department of State; (m) preparation of the Diplomatic List; (n) maintenance of a record of all officers and employees of foreign governments in the United States and its possessions; (o) questions of exemption of such foreign government officials from military training and service; (p) preparation of exequaturs, certificates of recognition, and notes granting provisional recognition to foreign consular officers in the United States, and correspondence relating thereto; (q) preparation of the List of Foreign Consular Offices in the United States; (r) questions concerning the medals and decorations conferred by foreign governments upon officers of the United States; and (s) preparation of communications from the President to the heads of foreign states.

Mr. Stanley Woodward is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. Raymond D. Muir is hereby designated Acting Ceremonial Officer, of the Protocol Division.

The routing symbol of the Division of Protocol shall be PRO.

7. *Division of International Conferences.*

The Division of International Conferences shall have responsibility in the following matters: (a) planning and executing arrangements for participation by this Government in international organizations, conferences, congresses, expositions and conventions at home and abroad, including the organization of delegations to international conferences and collaboration in the preparation of instructions to such delegates; (b) fulfillment of the international obligations of the United States with respect to membership and expenditures for international treaty commissions, committees, bureaus, and other official organizations; (c) collaboration in carrying out agreements, resolutions and recommendations of official international meetings; (d) supervision of appropriations for conference activities; and (e) liaison, within the scope of its functions and responsibilities, with permanent international organizations.

Mr. Warren Kelchner is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. Clarke L. Willard is hereby designated Assistant Chief, of the Division of International Conferences.

The routing symbol of the Division of International Conferences shall be IC.

BOARD OF FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL, BOARD OF EXAMINERS FOR THE FOREIGN SERVICE, AND FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS TRAINING SCHOOL BOARD

The duties of the Board of Foreign Service Personnel, under Executive Order 5642 of June 8, 1931, are: to submit to the Secretary of State for approval, lists of Foreign Service officers prepared in accordance with law by the Division of Foreign Service Personnel in which they are graded in accordance with their relative efficiency in value to the Service; to recommend promotions in the Foreign Service and to

furnish the Secretary of State with lists of Foreign Service officers who have demonstrated special capacity for promotion to the grade of minister; to submit to the Secretary of State, for approval and transmission to the President, the names of those officers and employees of the Department of State who are recommended for appointment by transfer to the position of Foreign Service officer; to submit to the Secretary of State the names of those Foreign Service officers who are recommended for designation as counselors of embassies or legations; to recommend the assignment of Foreign Service officers to posts and the transfer of such officers from one branch of the Service to the other; to consider controversies and delinquencies among the Service personnel and to recommend appropriate disciplinary action where required; to determine, after considering recommendations of the Division of Foreign Service Personnel, when the efficiency rating of an officer is unsatisfactory, in order that the Secretary of State may take appropriate action.

The duties of the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service, under Executive Order 5642 of June 8, 1931, are to conduct the examinations of candidates for appointment to the Foreign Service.

The duties of the Foreign Service Officers Training School Board are to exercise direction over the Foreign Service Officers Training School.

The Assistant Secretary, Mr. Shaw, shall continue to serve as a Member and Chairman, and Assistant Secretaries, Mr. Berle and Mr. Acheson, shall continue to serve as Members, of these Boards.

OFFICE OF FOREIGN SERVICE ADMINISTRATION

There is hereby created an Office of Foreign Service Administration which shall have responsibility, under the general direction of the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Shaw, for all aspects of the administration of the Foreign Service of the United States.

Mr. John G. Erhardt is hereby designated Director of the Office of Foreign Service Administration.

The routing symbol of the Office of Foreign Service Administration shall be FSA.

The Office of Foreign Service Administration shall be composed of the following divisions, with functions and responsibilities as indicated.

1. *Division of Foreign Service Personnel.*

The Division of Foreign Service Personnel shall have responsibility in the following matters: (a) recruitment, appointment, and training of the classified, auxiliary, and clerical personnel of the Foreign Service of the United States; (b) maintenance of the required efficiency standards of the Service and custody of the confidential records of all personnel; (c) recommendation to the Board of Foreign Service Personnel of administrative action regarding assignments, transfers, promotions, demotions, disciplinary action, and separations from the Service, based upon conclusions drawn from an evaluation of efficiency reports, inspection reports, and official authentic information from chiefs of diplomatic missions and consular establishments, from competent officers of the Department, and from other informed sources; (d) preparation, under the supervision of the Chairman of the Board of Foreign Service Personnel, of biannual rating lists in which all Foreign Service officers are graded in accordance with their relative efficiency and value to the Service, and from which list recommendations for promotions are made in the order of ascertained merit within classes; (e) consultation with chiefs of missions, principal consular officers, and the heads of divisions and offices of the Department in regard to the proper functioning of field offices; (f) reception of officers and clerks of the Foreign Service on home leave of absence and discussion with them of their work and problems; (g) information with respect to entrance into the Foreign Service; (h)

records of the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service and matters connected with the holding of examinations.

Mr. Nathaniel P. Davis is hereby designated Chief of the Division of Foreign Service Personnel.

The routing symbol of the Division of Foreign Service Personnel shall be FSP.

2. *Division of Foreign Service Administration.*

The Division of Foreign Service Administration shall have general responsibility for all matters concerning the administration of the Foreign Service of the United States except such matters as are or may be assigned to other divisions in the Office of Foreign Service Administration or to the Division of Budget and Finance in the Office of Departmental Administration. Specifically, the Division of Foreign Service Administration shall have responsibility in the following matters: (a) the drafting of regulations and the coordinating of instructions in regard thereto; (b) the preparation and justification of budget estimates for the Foreign Service; (c) the control of expenditures from the various appropriations for the Foreign Service; (d) analysis of cost of living at the various posts in connection with equitable distribution of allowances and clerical salaries; (e) the granting of leaves of absence; (f) the administration of the law governing the payment of annuities to retired Foreign Service officers and their widows; (g) the establishment, operation, or closing of diplomatic and consular offices; (h) the administration and maintenance of government property abroad, including supervision of contracts; (i) the furnishing of equipment and supplies with maintenance of inventories; (j) the operation of the diplomatic pouch service and the supervision of diplomatic couriers; (k) supervision of the despatch agencies and of matters relating to the designation of military, naval, and other attachés abroad (l) recommendation of

legislation affecting the Foreign Service and keeping the Foreign Service informed concerning new statutes; (m) maintenance and revision of the Foreign Service regulations; (n) handling of emergency wartime problems such as the evacuation of staffs and dependents from dangerous areas; (o) Selective Service; (p) general administrative assistance to missions sent abroad by other departments and agencies; (q) claims made by Foreign Service personnel for personal losses caused by the war; (r) the documentation of merchandise; (s) matters relating to the estates of American citizens dying abroad; (t) notarial services performed by consular officers; (u) reports of death of American citizens; (v) extradition cases handled in collaboration with the Office of the Legal Adviser; (w) services for the Veterans' Administration; (x) certain matters relating to diplomatic and consular rights and privileges.

The Foreign Service Buildings Office and the Office of Foreign Service Furnishings are hereby abolished, and their functions and responsibilities are hereby vested in the Division of Foreign Service Administration, as follows: (a) the housing and furnishing of diplomatic and consular establishments abroad; (b) the protection and maintenance of properties owned or to be acquired by the United States for such purpose; and (c) programs of expenditures for the acquisition, construction, alteration, or furnishing of such properties.

Mr. Monnett B. Davis is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. Harry A. Havens, Mr. Francis E. Flaherty, Mr. Hugh C. McMillan, and Mr. E. Paul Tenney are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs, of the Division of Foreign Service Administration.

The routing symbol of the Division of Foreign Service Administration shall be FA.

Mr. Frederick Larkin is hereby designated Chief, and Mr. Leland W. King, Jr., is hereby designated Assistant Chief, of Foreign Service Buildings Operations in the Division of Foreign Service Administration.

OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION

For the purpose of assuring full understanding of the foreign policy and relations of the United States, within this country and in other countries, there is hereby created an Office of Public Information which shall have responsibility, under the general direction of the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Shaw, for the public information program and policy of the Department of State. The Office of Public Information shall be responsible for development and coordination of policy and execution of programs in all matters pertaining to: (a) the Department's relations with private groups and organizations interested in the formulation of foreign policy; (b) the collection and analysis of materials relating to public attitudes on current foreign policy questions; (c) relations with the domestic and foreign press, radio, and newsreels; (d) research on international affairs and publication of official documents; (e) the cultural exchange program of the United States Government with foreign countries, coordination of international cultural and educational programs of Federal agencies, and facilitating relationships between United States private, professional, scientific, and educational organizations and similar groups in other countries; and (f) liaison within the field of responsibilities with the Office of War Information, the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and such other Government departments and agencies as may be concerned.

The Division of Cultural Relations is hereby abolished and its functions and responsibilities transferred to the Office of Public Information.

Mr. John S. Dickey is hereby designated Director of the Office of Public Information, Mr. Charles A. Thomson is hereby designated Adviser, and Mr. Richard W. Morin, Mr. S. Shepard Jones and Mr. James E. McKenna are hereby designated Special Assistants to the Director of that Office.

The routing symbol of this Office shall be OPI.

The Office of Public Information shall be composed of the following divisions, with functions and responsibilities as indicated:

1. *Division of Current Information.*

The Division of Current Information shall have responsibility in matters pertaining to (a) liaison between the Department and the domestic and foreign press, including the conduct of the press conferences of the Secretary, the Under Secretary, and other officials of the Department; (b) liaison between the Department and other agencies of the Government, particularly the Office of War Information, Office of Censorship, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and the War Department in connection with the dissemination abroad of information regarding the war effort, except through the media of motion pictures and radio; and (c) preparation and distribution within the Department and to the Foreign Service of daily press summaries, bulletins and clippings and general information bearing upon foreign relations and the activities of this Government generally.

Mr. Robert T. Pell and Mr. Homer M. Byington, Jr., are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs of the Division of Current Information, and Mr. Byington shall serve temporarily as Acting Chief of the Division.

The routing symbol of this Division shall be CI.

2. *Division of Research and Publication.*

The Division of Research and Publication shall have responsibility in matters pertaining to: (a) conduct of historical research studies in international relations, including studies of the Department's wartime policies and operations; (b) preparation for the Secretary of State, the Under Secretary and other officers of the Department of historical information pertaining to current problems; (c) compilation of the *United States Statutes at Large*, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of*

America, *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, *The Department of State Bulletin*, special volumes on foreign policy, and other publications; (d) collection, compilation and maintenance of information pertaining to treaties and other international agreements, the performance of research and the furnishing of information and advice, other than of a legal character, with respect to the provisions of such existing or proposed instruments; procedural matters, including the preparation of full powers, ratifications, proclamations and protocols, and matters related to the signing, ratification, proclamation and registration of treaties and other international agreements (except with respect to proclamations of trade agreements, which shall be handled in the Division of Commercial Policy); and custody of the originals of treaties and other international agreements; (e) maintenance of the Department's Library; (f) editing of publications of the Department; codification of regulatory documents; maintenance of the Department's mailing lists; custody and control of the distribution of the Department's publications and processed material; and procurement for and allocation to various Government agencies of foreign publications received through American Foreign Service officers; and release of unpublished documents to private individuals; (g) handling of "public comment" correspondence in collaboration with other interested divisions; (h) administration of the Printing and Binding Appropriation for the Department; and (i) liaison for the Department with The National Archives and the Government Printing Office, and representation of the Department on the National Historical Publications Commission and on the National Archives Council.

The Office of the Editor of the Treaties is hereby abolished and its functions and responsibilities transferred to the Division of Research and Publication.

Mr. E. Wilder Spaulding is hereby designated Acting Chief, Mr. Bryton Barron is

hereby designated Acting Assistant Chief, Dr. Graham H. Stuart is hereby designated Consultant, and Mr. Clarence E. Carter is hereby designated Editor of Territorial Papers, in the Division of Research and Publication.

The routing symbol of this Division shall be RP.

3. *Motion Picture and Radio Division.*

The Motion Picture and Radio Division shall have responsibility in matters pertaining to: (a) liaison between the Department and other departments and agencies, particularly the Office of War Information, the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, War Department, and Office of Censorship, in matters involved in the dissemination abroad, through the media of motion pictures and radio, information regarding the war effort; and (b) the development and execution of cultural programs through these media.

Mr. John M. Begg is hereby designated Assistant Chief of the Motion Picture and Radio Division, and he shall serve temporarily as Acting Chief of the Division.

The routing symbol of this Division shall be MPR.

4. *Science, Education and Art Division.*

The Science, Education and Art Division shall have responsibility in matters pertaining to international cooperation in the fields of science, education and art including (a) exchanges of materials in these fields, including books, periodicals, and other printed materials in the various fields of learning and art; (b) development of American libraries and schools in foreign countries; (c) administration of cultural institutes; (d) administration of programs for aiding special research and teaching projects in American colleges and universities abroad; (e) cooperation with American private agencies and associations participating in international cultural activities; and (f) liaison with the Office of Education, the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and such other departments and agencies as may be concerned.

The routing symbol of this Division shall be SEA.

5. *Central Translating Division.*

The Central Translating Division shall have responsibility for all the translating and interpreting work of the Department of State, including (a) translation from English of certain publications of the Government for distribution to the other American republics, and, in cooperation with other divisions and offices of the Department and the Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation With the American Republics, the formulation and administration of programs for the distribution of such translations; (b) translation from English of addresses, as required, such translations to serve as the accepted official translated version of those public utterances; (c) review of material published in Spanish and Portuguese by other Government departments and agencies, and review of Spanish, Portuguese and French script for motion pictures and radio programs to be distributed through official channels in the other American republics; (d) translation of communications addressed to the President by heads of foreign states and other material referred by the White House, and of diplomatic notes and miscellaneous material; and (e) the critical examination of foreign texts of draft treaties to which the United States is to be a party, with a view to the closest adjustment thereof to the English text.

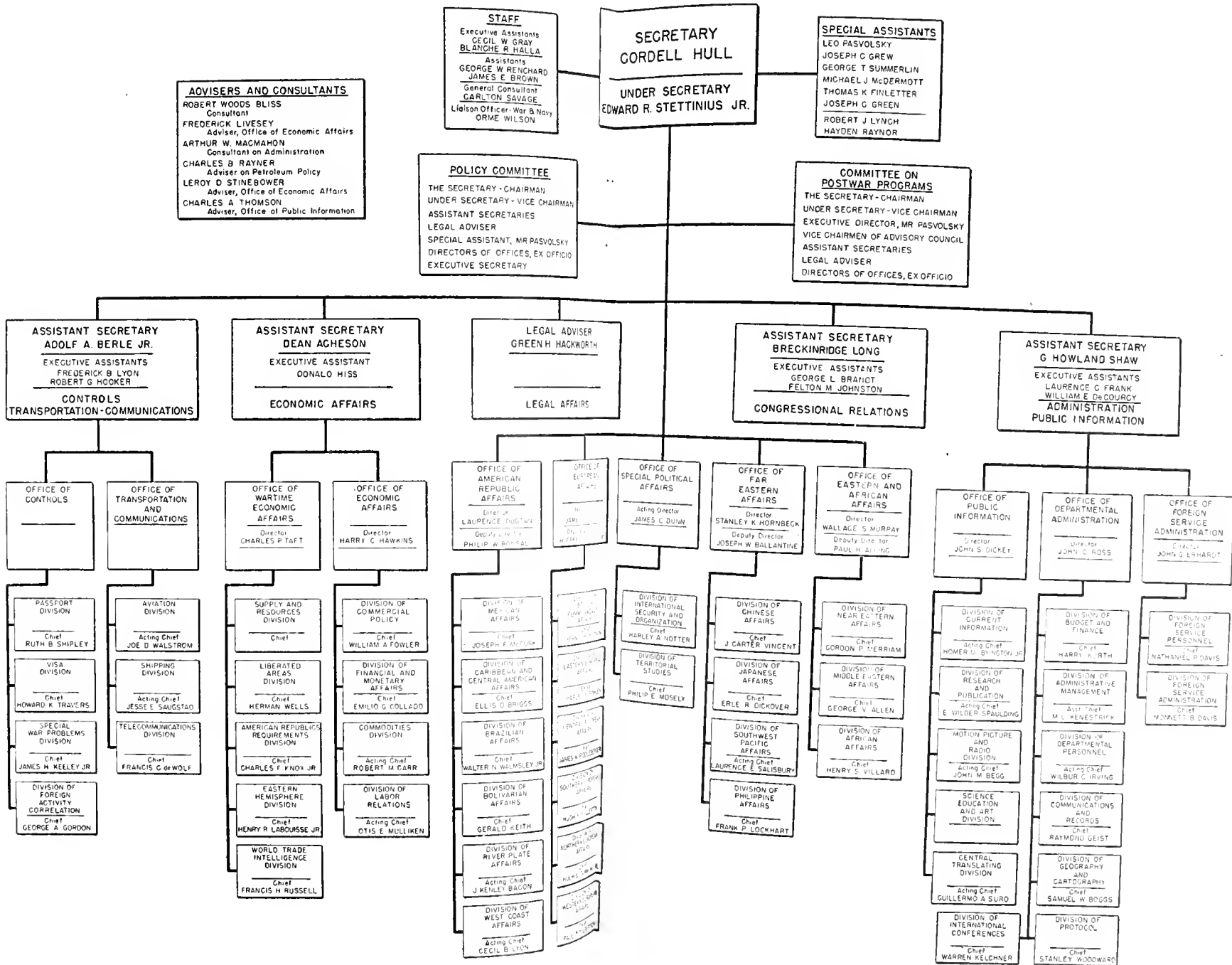
The Central Translating Office and the Translating Bureau are hereby abolished and their functions transferred to the Central Translating Division.

Mr. Guillermo A. Suro and Mr. Emerson B. Christie are hereby designated Assistant Chiefs of the Central Translating Division, and Mr. Suro shall serve temporarily as Acting Chief of the Division.

The routing symbol of this Division shall be TC.

CORDELL HULL

ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE



“THE STATE DEPARTMENT SPEAKS”

[Released to the press January 15]

The text of the second of a series of four broadcasts over the National Broadcasting Company entitled “The State Department Speaks” follows:

Participants

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.	Under Secretary of State
G. HOWLAND SHAW	Assistant Secretary of State
JOHN G. WINANT	United States Ambassador to London (speaking from London)
ROBERT D. MURPHY	United States Ambassador at Large; American member of the Advisory Council for Italy
RICHARD HARKNESS	Representing the public

WASHINGTON ANNOUNCER: For the American people, the National Broadcasting Company presents the second of a limited series of programs called “The State Department Speaks”. We go now to the State Department Building on Pennsylvania Avenue here in Washington, D.C.

HARKNESS: Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. This is Richard Harkness—your representative in this timely series of programs designed to tell you something about your State Department—how it works, the work it does, and the people who run it. Here in the Secretary of State’s office on the second floor of the old State Department Building, I am ready to interview for you such well-known people as Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Under Secretary of State; G. Howland Shaw, Assistant Secretary of State; John G. Winant, American Ambassador to Great Britain, who will speak to us from London; and Ambassador Robert D. Murphy, who has just returned to this country from some very exciting experiences abroad.

To begin with, thanks to you listeners for your cards and letters suggesting questions I

should ask on these programs. They’ve been most helpful. Keep them coming!

Now let’s try getting some of your questions answered. First, those questions having to do with the set-up of the State Department and its work. And here are two men who can speak with authority—Under Secretary Stettinius and Assistant Secretary Shaw.

Mr. Stettinius, I understand you have something interesting to tell us tonight concerning two important announcements which Secretary Hull made today.

STETTINIUS: Yes, Mr. Harkness, I have.

HARKNESS: Good! But before we go into that, I’d like to get a brief picture of the State Department’s work. Mr. Shaw, you’re the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of the administration of the Department and of our Foreign Service. Suppose you give us that picture, Sir.

SHAW: In brief, Mr. Harkness, the business of the State Department is to represent this country in our dealings with foreign governments in matters covering many of the most momentous problems of the day.

HARKNESS: Like the Moscow Conference, for instance?

SHAW: Yes—and such things as the negotiation of bases for our armed forces, the conclusion of many treaties and commercial agreements. But in addition the State Department does a great deal of work having little or nothing to do with foreign governments. Actually, most of our daily business is with Americans who come in to ask us to do all sorts of things for them. We maintain daily contacts with Congress and keep in touch with American public opinion as a whole. Furthermore, normally a large part of our work is with other departments of our Government: for instance, getting information on foreign markets which the Department of Commerce distributes to American businessmen; getting data on foreign labor conditions for the use of our Labor Department;

getting information abroad for the use of our Agriculture Department to be used in world-crop forecasting. Today in war we work especially closely with these departments and other agencies of the Government in economic-warfare work, the acquisition of needed materials from abroad, and a multitude of other wartime activities.

HARKNESS: Well, I suppose it is the State Department Foreign Service that actually carries out many of these jobs in foreign countries.

SHAW: That's right. But it's called the Foreign Service of the United States and *not* the Foreign Service of the Department of State. Our Foreign Service officers receive their commissions, not from the Secretary of State, but from the President of the United States. They serve the Government of the United States as a whole. These men are the eyes and ears of our Government in foreign lands, the advocates of its interests, and the interpreters of its ideals.

HARKNESS: Serving our country abroad would seem to me to require a pretty able American.

SHAW: It certainly does. Our work today demands able men with many different skills—men with many kinds of experience. Their wartime duties have been particularly exacting as I'm sure Ambassador Winant and Ambassador Murphy will tell you later.

HARKNESS: All right. Now, Mr. Shaw, many of our listeners have sent questions asking whether to get a job in our Foreign Service you have to come from the so-called "right" social background, have the right size bank account, have gone to the right schools, and be a native of the eastern section of the United States. Is there any truth in that, Sir?

SHAW: No, there is not. Let me answer you point by point, Mr. Harkness, and with concrete facts. Let's start with that eastern seaboard myth. Of the last three groups of 117 persons to enter the Foreign Service, 19 came from the Far West; 33 from the Middle West; 16 from New England; 33 from the Middle Atlantic States, and 16 from the South. So you see they were pretty well scattered geographically throughout the country. And that's true not

only of the last three groups to enter the Service but of the men who came in during the past 10 years. Moreover, these men came from not just one or two schools, but from over 50 different universities and colleges. And—so far as earlier schooling was concerned—at least half of them received their education in our public high schools. Many of our men have worked their way through school. One young man who entered the Foreign Service recently prepared for his examinations by studying nights in the Detroit Public Library. To support himself he worked during the day on the assembly line of an automobile plant.

HARKNESS: That's interesting and good to hear. But, Mr. Shaw, how about the general opinion that a man needs a private income and—well—the so-called "right" kind of social background to enter the Foreign Service?

SHAW: Neither one of these statements is true, Mr. Harkness. The vast majority of men in the Foreign Service today have no independent income whatever and must rely entirely on their government pay. Now about this "social background" business. The truth is that we want the Service to be broadly representative of American life. I can answer that question again in terms of the last groups of new men to enter our Foreign Service: the fathers of these young men followed such varied occupations as railroad conductor, carpenter, minister of religion, schoolmaster, banker, jeweler, laborer, lawyer, sales manager, clerk, and physician.

HARKNESS: Well, that list seems to spike another rumor, Mr. Shaw. But how did you go about selecting Foreign Service officers?

SHAW: Through a good stiff examination.

HARKNESS: Just how tough is it?

SHAW: Well, only about one out of seventeen passes the test. If they've got the stuff, we want them in the Foreign Service. If they haven't got the stuff, we don't want them, no matter what else they have—money, degrees, or name.

HARKNESS: That's good American doctrine.

SHAW: Yes, and it results in giving us men who are a cross-section of all America, and that's *just* what we're after.

HARKNESS: Before we went on the air, Mr. Shaw, you said something about not doing any recruiting for the Foreign Service just now because the men you would want are going into the armed services. What are your plans for the future on this?

SHAW: I am glad you brought that up, Mr. Harkness, because just as soon as the war is over we will be needing new men in the Service and we will look first to the returning soldiers to fill our ranks.

HARKNESS: Thank you, Mr. Shaw. Right now I want to call in London to ask one of our most distinguished ambassadors abroad to tell us something about his job of representing 130 million people. Can you hear me, Ambassador Winant in London?

WINANT: Thank you, I can, Mr. Harkness.

HARKNESS: Well, to begin with, would you tell us something about your work and the people you have to work with as American Ambassador in London?

WINANT: It has been customary over long periods of time for governments to communicate with one another through embassies. I have charge of the United States Embassy in London. The two men I work most closely with are the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, and the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden. We work together as freely and as frankly as any three people can work together. There is no unnecessary formality, but always an honest effort to get the job done, whatever the job may be.

HARKNESS: I have a hunch that yours is a mighty tough and complex job, and I wish you could tell us briefly something about it.

WINANT: In wartime, with Great Britain and the United States coordinating production and supply and fighting under a common command, the area of coverage and the volume of business have been enormously expanded. Modern warfare, which involves entire populations of countries, has forced the establishment of civilian war agencies which are represented and coordinated within the London

Embassy organization for the European theater of operations.

The backbone of the Embassy organization are the career Foreign Service officers. They are selfless, efficient, and hardworking. Aside from handling relationships between governments, our assignments include obtaining bases and other facilities for our Army and Navy, dealing with supplies through Lend-Lease and reverse Lend-Lease so that the right food and the right weapons are in the right place at the right time, whether they are to be used by our Allies' forces or our own. They include production problems and civil-use problems; economic warfare, which means finding ways and means of depriving the enemy of supplies he vitally needs; and psychological warfare, which includes laying down by leaflet and radio a barrage of truth against enemy propaganda; information services; and other necessary activities to meet war needs.

There are inconveniences and some hardships, especially for those men in the Foreign Service who have been for years away from home, but there is not a man here who does not see that life lies back of the work he is doing and is not grateful for the chance to serve the fighting men.

We have tried hard to be useful to the soldiers, the sailors, and the airmen who today are your true ambassadors to England, just as the true embassies are the brave homes they come from. It is on the relationship that they are building that the future of the world must largely rest.

A tribute in the *London Daily Express* to the American airmen who died on a recent raid over Germany will give you some understanding of the respect and friendship of the British people for our fighting men. The newspaper said:

"It was, alas, easy to tell yesterday where the hearts of the British people turned in regard to America—to the homes of the lost airmen from Maine to California, to the forests and the prairies, the city apartments and the homesteads in the clearings. The loss of sixty flying fortresses over Schweinfurt struck us as if it were our own. Wherefore came these gallant crews

among us? Why did they wing their way to our side? These splendid young Americans flew in aid of the common cause of basic decency in the world just as their soldiers stand alongside ours in Italy or in the Solomons for no other purpose. They came on a rendezvous with us to rid the earth of Nazi terror as we shall be found shoulder to shoulder with them cleansing it of the Jap horror. That is what lasts."

HARKNESS: Thank you, Ambassador Winant. Good night.

WINANT: Good night to you all.

HARKNESS: And now back to the second ranking officer of the Department of State. Mr. Stettinius, you became Under Secretary of State early last fall, did you not?

STETTINIUS: Yes, Mr. Harkness, in October.

HARKNESS: And how long did it take you, Sir, to find your way around in this new position? I know that, right after you took office, Secretary Hull left for the Moscow Conference, which meant that you became Acting Secretary of State right away.

STETTINIUS: Yes, that's right. And under very strenuous circumstances which, I can assure you, gave me an excellent opportunity to become quickly acquainted with the work of the Department and its people.

HARKNESS: What were your reactions? You came into the Department as an experienced businessman and Government official, and I assume you brought a fresh viewpoint with you.

STETTINIUS: I came here as Under Secretary, first with a profound admiration for Secretary Hull and, secondly, with an open mind about the task ahead. It was then my judgment—it is now my definite knowledge—that the State Department is a basically sound institution. It has as its leader one of the great Americans of our time, Cordell Hull; it has an experienced and loyal staff; and it represents a country whose purposes are honorable and aboveboard. In my opinion any foreign office which possesses these assets is basically sound.

HARKNESS: Am I to understand then, Mr. Stettinius, that you are completely satisfied

with everything about the present State Department set-up?

STETTINIUS: No, I am not. And I might add that neither is Secretary Hull nor our associates. Like many businesses, the State Department has had to convert its normal operations to war conditions. That always means making rapid administrative changes and the result is there are bound to be rough spots. And, to complete the circle of change, the Department must prepare itself to turn its full facilities again to the problems of the peace.

HARKNESS: Well—Are you getting ready for that time?

STETTINIUS: Yes, we are. One of the first things I undertook for the Secretary was to study with Assistant Secretary Shaw and other officers how affairs within the Department should best be organized to carry the terrific load of foreign-policy work which faces us in the months and years ahead. I am very happy to say that Secretary Hull today announced a reorganization plan of the Department.

HARKNESS: That's just what I've been waiting for, Mr. Stettinius, since Secretary Hull stated that he had asked you to discuss some of the highlights of the plan tonight. Won't you, please, tell us a little about it?

STETTINIUS: Well, of course, everyone will realize that we need as efficient and smooth-running a State Department as possible for the great tasks before us.

HARKNESS: Of course. What does the reorganization accomplish?

STETTINIUS: The new organization corrects some current difficulties, but its chief purpose is to prepare us to meet most effectively the heavy responsibilities which are ahead both for winning the war and making a secure peace.

The new organization accomplishes several objectives: First, it readjusts the responsibilities of the top officers of the Department so that they may devote the biggest part of their energies to vital world affairs.

HARKNESS: Well, you mean then they are being relieved of some of the administrative

details which have tied them down up to now?

STETTINIUS: That's right; and, secondly, the new organization establishes clearer lines of responsibility and authority inside the Department. To do this we have revamped and regrouped many of the activities.

In the third place, the work of the higher officers of the Department will be more closely coordinated.

HARKNESS: Well, now, Sir, is there anything you can say concretely about this?

STETTINIUS: Yes, one of the most important steps being taken is the establishment of two principal committees composed of high officers of the Department. Secretary Hull will be Chairman and I, Vice Chairman of these committees. One will be a Policy Committee which will be concerned with the full scope of our international affairs.

HARKNESS: And what is the second of these principal committees, Sir?

STETTINIUS: That is to be called the Committee on Post War Programs. It will formulate and submit to the President recommendations pertaining to post-war foreign policy.

HARKNESS: That means, I take it, that all foreign-policy matters, both current and future plans, will now be cleared and coordinated through these two committees.

STETTINIUS: That is correct, but I wish to emphasize that the final important purpose of the reorganization is to establish new divisions to deal with new problems of an international nature.

HARKNESS: I notice that on the chart you have there before you, Mr. Stettinius, one of these new divisions is that of Labor Affairs—would that be a concrete illustration of that last point you made?

STETTINIUS: Precisely—but with our limited time, we'd better not get started on these details here tonight, Mr. Harkness.

HARKNESS: Well, I wish we could, but I certainly want to thank you, Mr. Stettinius, for that important piece of news and your comments on its significant features. But we almost forgot to touch on that other important

announcement which will be of interest to our audience.

STETTINIUS: Today Secretary Hull created an Advisory Council on Post War Foreign Policy to be composed of outstanding and representative national leaders. This Council will advise the Secretary of State on post-war foreign-policy matters of major importance.

HARKNESS: Secretary Hull has already named several outstanding citizens to serve on this Council, hasn't he?

STETTINIUS: Yes. He has appointed Mr. Norman H. Davis, Chairman of the American Red Cross; Ambassador Myron C. Taylor; and Dr. Isaiah Bowman, President of Johns Hopkins University, as Vice Chairmen of the Council.

HARKNESS: Before we tackle Ambassador Robert D. Murphy may I ask a final question, Sir, on the reorganization: Will it work?

STETTINIUS: It must work, Mr. Harkness, and I can assure you that it is Secretary Hull's firm intention and mine to leave no stone unturned, as time goes on, to see that our State Department is fully equipped to discharge its responsibilities to the American people in the days ahead.

HARKNESS: Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, here's Ambassador Robert D. Murphy—the man you'll remember reading about as having arranged for General Mark Clark's secret visit to North Africa before the landing of Eisenhower's armies. Mr. Murphy, can you tell us something about that visit—the time the General had the bad luck to lose those now famous pants of his?

MURPHY: Well, a couple of weeks before our troops landed, it was decided that General Clark and several other officers would make a secret visit to North Africa to get some first-hand ideas of what reception our forces would get from the French when they landed. We made very careful preparations with certain patriotic Frenchmen for this visit. As you all know, General Clark and his staff came ashore in the dead of night at an isolated spot and successfully completed their mission in spite of a threat of discovery by local police officials.

HARKNESS: Well, how about those pants?

MURPHY: Oh, about the pants. It was in making his get-away to the submarine that the General had to leave his pants on the beach. When we went down to remove all evidences of the visit after the General had gotten away, I found, among other things, his pants.

HARKNESS: What do you do with a pair of general's pants?

MURPHY: Just what I would have done with the pants of any other friend under similar circumstances—I had them cleaned and pressed, and radioed the General that they'd be there for him when he came back.

HARKNESS: And as we all know, the General did come back. But this time he had plenty of company with him—Eisenhower and his gallant armies. I would like to get from you, Mr. Murphy, some of the background of that landing. In our pre-broadcast chat, you said that during 1940, 1941, and 1942, when our military preparations needed time and our power structure was weak, you worked to inspire French faith in us. Why the lack of French faith in us then?

MURPHY: Because, in 1941, many Frenchmen in North Africa honestly believed that the United States would never succeed in preparing for war in time to stop Germany. We eventually got this idea out of their heads, but military preparation takes a long time and those anxious months seemed endless to us.

HARKNESS: The proof that you laid a firm foundation came with the successful landing of our troops in November, 1942. But I recall that you were severely criticized for dealing with so-called "Vichyites" in North Africa before the invasion. Now, you know on this program there are no holds barred. I want to ask you: *Did* you deal with such people?

MURPHY: You bet we did, Mr. Harkness! When you're working inside a cage with a tiger, your technique has to be quite different from that of the independent and carefree critic standing safely outside. Remember always that we were operating in a zone of strong enemy influence. It was inevitable at times

that we were obliged to cultivate and associate with people for whose politics we had no sympathy. That association did not mean that we approved the point of view of certain French elements who happened to exercise authority at the time—but these Frenchmen were indispensable in preparing for the landing of our forces in Africa, and so we dealt with them. I would like to point out, however, something that has not always been clearly understood up to now and that is that certain so-called "Vichyites" remained loyal to Vichy on the surface only so they could help us in preparing the way for the arrival of our troops and the eventual liberation of France.

HARKNESS: That's an important point.

MURPHY: But in any case I will cheerfully admit that for the purpose of saving the lives of the American boys whom I saw come over the beaches of North Africa I would deal with any person desirable or undesirable. I knew that once our power was established, my Government would cooperate with the French in the reestablishment of democratic institutions. But first things come first. I knew I could not face the mothers and wives of our soldiers who might be killed by reason of any reluctance on our part which would have prevented the practical arrangements under which our soldiers were protected.

HARKNESS: Well, I think our listeners who have sons and brothers and husbands in the front line tonight well understand that viewpoint. What was your work after the invasion took place, Mr. Murphy?

MURPHY: I was then assigned to the Allied Commander-in-Chief, General Eisenhower, as a member of his staff.

HARKNESS: That was the first time that a Foreign Service officer ever became a member of a military staff, wasn't it?

MURPHY: I believe it was.

HARKNESS: Eisenhower must be a great fellow to serve with.

MURPHY: Indeed he is. I can't praise him too highly. His cool and sound judgment, his genial personality were the dominating factors

behind the extraordinary cooperation between the Allies in North Africa during the most critical moments of the war.

HARKNESS: Mr. Murphy, I want to ask you about the Darlan affair. You remember there were a lot of people over here saying that we were backing the wrong horse after our troops had landed in dealing with Vichyite Darlan instead of Free French de Gaulle. They felt that General de Gaulle was being shunted aside, to put it bluntly.

MURPHY: Yes, I know about that reaction and I don't mind telling you that I was flabbergasted by it.

HARKNESS: You were? Why?

MURPHY: You must remember that the whole aim of our foreign policy in North Africa at that time was to save as many American lives as possible, and to do everything in our power to gain a quick and inexpensive victory. True, General de Gaulle was already in the war, and he and his men deserve every credit for having maintained French honor and for carrying on the fight during those bitter months. But don't forget this—at the time of the American landing, Admiral Darlan had at his command 300,000 soldiers and sailors in Africa while General de Gaulle then had only a handful by comparison. That's why we worked with Admiral Darlan. And I can tell you that he rendered very practical assistance to the Allied cause. Perhaps the best proof of this is found in the fact that, whereas our Army leaders expected the casualty list of the North African landing to run to 15,000, it actually was well under 2,000, including Army and Navy.

HARKNESS: Well, that answers quite a few questions straight from the shoulder, Mr. Murphy. Thanks. I might point out to our listeners that Ambassador Robert D. Murphy is one of the few civilians ever to be awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. General Eisenhower pinned it on him for the excellent military job he did as head of our Foreign Service in North Africa.

HARKNESS: Let's see how our time is. I think we have time left for just one more question for you, Mr. Stettinius. Last week on this program we discussed the Moscow Conference, and that broadcast stirred up a large number of questions from our listeners concerning post-war cooperation with Soviet Russia. You have been a long-standing friend of Soviet Russia, Mr. Stettinius, and you as Lend-Lease Administrator helped to get war materials to Russia. What do you think about cooperation with Soviet Russia after the war?

STETTINIUS: I have worked closely with the Soviet officials here for over three years and I have nothing but admiration for the bravery, resourcefulness, and determination of the people of the Soviet Union. I feel we have everything to gain and nothing to lose from a continuing and close cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States both now and after the war. Anything else would be nothing less than tragic blundering for both of us.

HARKNESS: Well, time's almost up, so thanks to all of you gentlemen—Mr. Stettinius, Mr. Shaw, Ambassador Murphy, and Ambassador Winant, who burned the midnight oil in London to be with us this evening. Next week the State Department officials in the witness chair will include Mr. Adolf Berle, Mr. Dean Acheson—both of whom are Assistant Secretaries of State, and Mr. Harry C. Hawkins, Director of the new Office of Economic Affairs.

I hope all of you ladies and gentlemen listening in will be with us then. Meanwhile, send me your questions. And now—this is Richard Harkness saying "Good night" from Washington.

WASHINGTON ANNOUNCER: Good night, Richard Harkness. Ladies and gentlemen, we have just concluded the second of four programs to be broadcast from the State Department Building in Washington, D.C. The series, entitled "The State Department Speaks", is presented as

a public service by the NBC University of the Air to acquaint you, the American people, with the inner workings of one of the most important departments of your Government. These four programs will be published in booklet form and you may have a copy free of charge by writing to "The State Department Speaks", NBC, New York. Write, too, if you have a question you think would help Richard Harkness frame his interviews, and be on hand again next week at the same time when—"The State Department Speaks."

Canada

PRESENTATION OF LETTERS OF CREDENCE BY THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

[Released to the press January 12]

The remarks of the newly appointed Ambassador of Canada, the Honorable Leighton McCarthy, K.C., upon the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence, January 12, 1944, follow:

MR. PRESIDENT:

I have the great honour to present to you the letters by which His Majesty the King has accredited me as the first Canadian Ambassador to the United States.

This occasion marks another stage in the development of the relations between our two countries which have for so long been based upon trust, friendship, and respect.

It emphasizes also the closeness and the importance of our cooperation in this war during which our industrial and fighting strengths have been coordinated in a manner never surpassed by two neighbouring states. This collaboration in war is, I am confident, an earnest of our deter-

mination to work together in the peace that will follow our common victory.

May I thank you, Mr. President, for the friendly encouragement and assistance you have extended to me as Minister and bespeak its continuance in my new capacity.

The President's reply to the remarks of Mr. McCarthy follows:

MR. AMBASSADOR:

I am happy indeed to welcome you, an old friend, as Canada's first Ambassador to the United States and to receive from your hands the letters by which His Majesty the King has accredited you in this new capacity.

On this significant occasion, as you have made clear, we may rejoice in the broad scope and effectiveness of our collaboration in war. In Italy as in the Aleutians, in the skies of Europe as, later, in the skies of Asia, and on all the oceans our comradeship in arms will have forged enduring bonds in the struggle against mutual enemies both east and west.

At home as well, we have unlocked the doors to economic cooperation continental in scope for the prosecution of the common cause. We too are determined that such cooperation will continue in the peace to come for the benefit of both our peoples and the world in general.

Through long years Canada and the United States, each confident of the good will of the other, have worked out their problems as neighbors, faithful always to the principle that the best solution of each problem is the solution which is to the mutual advantage of both. The solid achievements of the past are the best possible earnest of even greater achievements in future.

I assure you, Mr. Ambassador, that you may count on the continued support and friendship of the authorities of this Government who hope, as I do, that your several years as Minister here will be succeeded by many equally successful years as Ambassador.

The War

ANNUAL MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS

[Excerpt ¹]

[Released to the press by the White House January 11]

This Nation in the past two years has become an active partner in the world's greatest war against human slavery.

We have joined with like-minded people in order to defend ourselves in a world that has been gravely threatened with gangster rule.

But I do not think that any of us Americans can be content with mere survival. Sacrifices that we and our Allies are making impose upon us all a sacred obligation to see to it that out of this war we and our children will gain something better than mere survival.

We are united in determination that this war shall not be followed by another interim which leads to new disaster—that we shall not repeat the tragic errors of ostrich isolationism—that we shall not repeat the excesses of the wild twenties when this Nation went for a joy-ride on a roller coaster which ended in a tragic crash.

When Mr. Hull went to Moscow in October, and when I went to Cairo and Tehran in November, we knew that we were in agreement with our Allies in our common determination to fight and win this war. But there were many vital questions concerning the future peace, and they were discussed in an atmosphere of complete candor and harmony.

In the last war such discussions, such meetings, did not even begin until the shooting had stopped and the delegates began to assemble at the peace table. There had been no previous opportunities for man-to-man discussions which lead to meetings of minds. The result was a peace which was not a peace.

¹The complete text of the message of Jan. 11, 1944 is printed as H. Doc. 377, 78th Cong.

That was a mistake which we are not repeating in this war.

And right here I want to address a word or two to some suspicious souls who are fearful that Mr. Hull or I have made "commitments" for the future which might pledge this Nation to secret treaties, or to enacting the role of Santa Claus.

To such suspicious souls—using a polite terminology—I wish to say that Mr. Churchill, and Marshal Stalin, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek are all thoroughly conversant with the provisions of our Constitution. And so is Mr. Hull. And so am I.

Of course we made some commitments. We most certainly committed ourselves to very large and very specific military plans which require the use of all allied forces to bring about the defeat of our enemies at the earliest possible time.

But there were no secret treaties or political or financial commitments.

The one supreme objective for the future, which we discussed for each nation individually, and for all the United Nations, can be summed up in one word: Security.

And that means not only physical security which provides safety from attacks by aggressors. It means also economic security, social security, moral security—in a family of nations.

In the plain down-to-earth talks that I had with the Generalissimo and Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill, it was abundantly clear that they are all most deeply interested in the resumption of peaceful progress by their own peoples—progress toward a better life. All our Allies want freedom to develop their lands

and resources, to build up industry, to increase education and individual opportunity, and to raise standards of living.

All our Allies have learned by bitter experience that real development will not be possible if they are to be diverted from their purpose by repeated wars—or even threats of war.

China and Russia are truly united with Britain and America in recognition of this essential fact:

The best interests of each nation, large and small, demand that all freedom-loving nations shall join together in a just and durable system of peace. In the present world situation, evidenced by the actions of Germany, Italy, and

Japan, unquestioned military control over disturbers of the peace is as necessary among nations as it is among citizens in a community. And an equally basic essential to peace is a decent standard of living for all individual men and women and children in all nations. Freedom from fear is eternally linked with freedom from want. . . .

The foreign policy that we have been following—the policy that guided us at Moscow, Cairo, and Tehran—is based on the common-sense principle which was best expressed by Benjamin Franklin on July 4, 1776: “We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately.”

EXCHANGE OF AMERICAN AND JAPANESE NATIONALS

[Released to the press January 13]

Reports have reached the Department of State, as they appear to have reached many of the Department's correspondents, that American passengers from the Philippine Islands who returned on the *Gripsholm* in the recent exchange of nationals with Japan were selected for repatriation by the Department of State. These reports are not true.

The facts are these:

It was only after long and difficult negotiations that the Government of the United States succeeded in making with the Japanese Government arrangements for the exchange of American and Japanese civilian nationals which has just been completed.

The exchange included for the most part civilians who were in Japan, Manchuria, China, Hong Kong, and Indochina. The Japanese Government contended that the provisions of the exchange arrangements were not applicable to Americans who were in the Philippines, Wake, and Guam when those territories were occupied by the Japanese. Only after months of negotiations did the Japanese Government finally indicate that it would return to the United States in the second exchange a small

number of civilians from the Philippine Islands. The Japanese Government exercised complete control over the departure of those desiring repatriation and actually refused to permit the repatriation of a number of Americans whose inclusion in the exchange Swiss representatives in charge of American interests endeavored to arrange on humanitarian grounds.

The Government of the United States, recognizing that all American citizens have an equal right to consideration, did not select individual Americans for inclusion in the exchange or discriminate in any other way between individual Americans desiring repatriation.

Since all Americans could not be accommodated in one exchange, the Swiss representatives in charge of American interests in Japan and occupied China were given broad humanitarian directives for their guidance in compiling passenger lists for the *Gripsholm*. These directives gave preference to (1) those under close arrest; (2) interned women and children; (3) the seriously ill; and (4) interned men, with preference being given, other things being equal, to married men long separated from their families in the United States. The Japanese

Government did not permit even these broad directives to be applied in the Philippine Islands, and even in other areas it prevented their full application in respect to certain individuals.

Since the successful conclusion of the second exchange of nationals with Japan, the Department of State has endeavored to arrange for a third exchange. The Japanese Government has so far refused to discuss further exchanges, contending that it desires first to receive "clarification on certain points respecting the treatment of Japanese nationals in the United States". Spanish representatives in charge of Japanese interests in the United States have been requested to supply the information requested by the Japanese Government. As of this moment, however, the Department of State is not in a position to offer encouragement for the early repatriation of American citizens in Japanese custody. The Department wishes to emphasize that responsibility for this situation rests not with the United States Government but with the Government of Japan. In time of war an exchange of nationals with an enemy is fraught with difficulties. This is particularly true of those of the magnitude of the exchanges that the United States has twice been able to arrange with Japan and hopes to be able to arrange in the future. Such exchanges cannot be accomplished by unilateral action. No matter what efforts are put forth by the United States Government, and they have been many and continuous, an exchange cannot take place unless the enemy is willing to cooperate and deliver on its part the Americans in its custody.

Since the successful termination of the second exchange of nationals with Japan, the Department has received numerous letters concerning the desire of individuals in the United States to expedite the repatriation of their relatives and friends still in Japanese custody. Some of these letters request preferential treatment for specific individuals. These inquiries and requests are handled as expeditiously as possible and every effort is made to insure that all

persons who have expressed an interest in a particular individual still in Japanese custody are currently informed of developments regarding his or her possible repatriation.

Relatives and friends in the United States of American nationals still in Japanese custody may be assured that their Government will not relax its efforts to induce the Japanese Government to agree to the release for repatriation of all such Americans and to insure that all be given equal consideration in such arrangements as may be made for their repatriation. Meanwhile, the Government is persevering in its efforts, some of which are summarized in the following statement, to relieve the situation of American nationals still detained by Japan.

SUMMARY OF STEPS TAKEN BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE IN BEHALF OF AMERICAN NATIONALS IN JAPANESE CUSTODY

1. *Treatment of prisoners of war and civilian internees*

Upon the outbreak of war between the United States and Japan, the United States Government, in an endeavor to insure humane treatment for American nationals in Japanese hands, confirmed its intention to observe the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention (convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war, signed at Geneva on July 27, 1929 and ratified by the United States in 1932),¹ and to apply its provisions to prisoners of war and, so far as its provisions might be adaptable, to civilian internees. The Japanese Government, which had signed but had not ratified the convention, thereupon notified the United States Government that it would apply the provisions of the convention, *mutatis mutandis*, to the treatment of American prisoners of war and to the treatment of American civilian internees so far as its provisions might be adaptable to civilian internees.

The United States Government has also obtained assurances from the Japanese Govern-

¹ Treaty Series 846.

ment that it is applying the Geneva Red Cross Convention (convention for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded and the sick of armies in the field, which was also signed at Geneva on July 27, 1929 and which was ratified by the United States in 1932 and by Japan in 1934).¹

The conventions named above provide a humanitarian standard of treatment for prisoners of war. Specifically, they provide that prisoners of war shall be treated humanely and held in honorable captivity—not imprisoned as criminals. They establish as the standard for the shelter and diet of prisoners of war, the corresponding treatment of the garrison troops of the detaining power, and they establish fundamental rights regarding correspondence, medical care, clothing, pay for labor, satisfaction of intellectual, recreational, and religious needs, and the continued enjoyment of full civil status. For persons generally referred to as “protected personnel”—that is, doctors, nurses, and other sanitary (medical) personnel and chaplains—they provide certain special rights and protection.

The Department of State is constantly alert to insure observance of the conventions. Whenever it is learned through the Swiss Government, which represents American interests in Japan and Japanese-occupied territories, through the International Red Cross, or otherwise, that the terms of the conventions are not being observed, the United States Government draws to the attention of the Japanese Government that Government's obligations under the Red Cross Convention and under its agreement to apply to the treatment of interned American nationals in Japanese hands the provisions of the Prisoners of War Convention.

2. *Exchange of civilians*

Negotiations between the United States Government and the Japanese Government lasting more than a year culminated in a second ex-

change of civilians resulting in the repatriation of approximately 1,240 nationals of the United States, including a small number from the Philippine Islands, and 260 nationals of the other American republics and Canada. In the first exchange, which took place in the summer of 1942, over 1,300 United States officials and non-officials were repatriated from the Far East.

The Japanese Government refused to apply the provisions of the civilian-exchange arrangements to American civilians who were captured in the Philippine Islands, Guam, and Wake Island. After protracted negotiations it finally agreed to permit the repatriation of only a small number of American civilians from the Philippines in the second exchange. The repatriates were thus drawn almost entirely from Japan, Japanese-occupied China, Hong Kong, and Indochina.

The Swiss representatives in the Far East, under broad directives issued by the United States Government, compiled the list of those to be repatriated, giving preference to the following categories of American civilians in Japanese hands: (1) those under close arrest; (2) interned women and children; (3) the seriously ill; and (4) interned men, with preference being given, other things being equal, to married men long separated from their families in the United States.

The second exchange of American and Japanese nationals having been completed by the return of the motorship *Gripsholm* to the United States on December 1, 1943, the Department is now endeavoring to negotiate a third exchange of American and Japanese nationals and will continue its endeavors to induce the Japanese Government to agree to the general release for repatriation of all American civilians in its custody. The Department hopes eventually to obtain Japanese agreement to further exchanges at an accelerated rate so that all American civilians remaining in Japanese custody, numbering about 10 thousand, may have an opportunity to be repatriated at the earliest practicable date.

¹ Treaty Series 847.

3. *Repatriation of sick and wounded prisoners of war*

Article 68 of the Prisoners of War Convention provides that :

"Belligerents are bound to send back to their own country, regardless of rank or number, seriously sick and seriously injured prisoners of war, after having brought them to a condition where they can be transported.

"Agreements between belligerents shall accordingly settle as soon as possible the cases of invalidity or of sickness entailing direct repatriation, as well as the cases entailing possible hospitalization in a neutral country. While awaiting the conclusion of these agreements, belligerents may have reference to the model agreement annexed, for documentary purposes, to the present Convention."

The model agreement defines the degree of incapacity that shall be considered sufficient to qualify a prisoner of war for repatriation. This Government proposed to the Japanese Government that the model agreement be observed on a reciprocal basis and made insistent demands that the Japanese Government honor the obligation imposed by the convention to repatriate sick and wounded prisoners. The Japanese Government replied, after long delay, that it could not make a favorable response to the United States Government's proposal. The Department of State has formulated, in consultation with other agencies of the Government, further proposals in an effort to induce the Japanese Government to enter into negotiations for the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners of war, and these proposals are being transmitted to the Japanese Government in connection with proposals for the continuation of the repatriation of civilians.

4. *Repatriation of sanitary personnel*

Article 9 of the Red Cross Convention provides, in part :

"The personnel charged exclusively with the removal, transportation, and treatment of the wounded and sick, as well as with the adminis-

tration of sanitary formations and establishments, and the chaplains attached to armies, shall be respected and protected under all circumstances. If they fall into the hands of the enemy they shall not be treated as prisoners of war."

Article 12 of the same convention provides, in part :

"The persons described in Articles 9, 10 and 11 may not be detained after they have fallen into the power of the adversary.

"Unless there is an agreement to the contrary, they shall be sent back to the belligerent to whose service they are attached as soon as a way is open for their return and military exigencies permit.

"While waiting to be returned, they shall continue in the exercise of their functions under the direction of the adversary; they shall be assigned preferably to the care of the wounded and sick of the belligerent to whose service they are attached."

Pursuant to the provisions of article 12 of the Red Cross Convention, it was proposed to the Japanese Government that the repatriation of the personnel protected under the convention be begun, since facilities for their return to the United States could be made available on the vessels employed for the exchange of civilian nationals. In order, however, not to deprive American prisoners of war of the care that they may require and might not otherwise receive, the United States Government also proposed to the Japanese Government, on a basis of reciprocity, that the right of repatriation be waived for protected personnel needed and permitted in prisoner-of-war camps or hospitals to render spiritual and medical assistance to compatriots who were in the care of that personnel at the time of capture. This Government further proposed that the selection of protected personnel to be repatriated be made by the senior officer of the unit captured.

The Japanese Government agreed in principle to the repatriation of protected personnel in connection with exchanges of civilians but

reserved to itself the decision whether the retention of that personnel was necessary for the care of American prisoners of war and civilian internees under Japanese control. The Department accordingly requested the Swiss Government to endeavor to arrange for the accommodation of American protected personnel in future American-Japanese civilian exchange operations.

Although it repatriated five nurses from Guam at the time of the first civilian exchange, the Japanese Government apparently did not find that it had in its power surplus American protected personnel available for repatriation in the second exchange as no such personnel was included in the lists for that exchange. However, the Department intends, when conducting negotiations for further exchanges of civilians, to convey again to the Japanese Government the expectation of the United States Government that protected personnel whose repatriation proves possible will be included in future exchange operations.

5. *Exchange of able-bodied prisoners of war*

As indicated in a statement to the press dated May 25, 1943,¹ there is no customarily accepted practice among nations or provision of international law or conventions for the return or exchange during hostilities of able-bodied members of the armed forces of one belligerent who may be captured by the forces of an opposing belligerent. In the circumstances, there is no immediate prospect of obtaining the release and return to the United States of able-bodied members of the American armed forces taken prisoners of war by the Japanese.

6. *Shipment of relief supplies to the Far East*

Early in 1942 the American Red Cross, in conjunction with the interested agencies of the United States Government, made efforts to find a means acceptable to the Japanese Government of forwarding to our prisoners of war and ci-

vilian internees in the Far East necessary supplies of food, medicine, clothing, and comforts such as are regularly sent to American citizens in corresponding circumstances in other enemy-held areas. A neutral vessel to carry such supplies to Japan was obtained and chartered in the summer of 1942. The Japanese Government, however, refused to give its safe-conduct for the voyage of the vessel to the Far East. In response to repeated representations the Japanese Government indicated that it was unwilling for strategic reasons to grant any non-Japanese vessel safe-conduct to move in Japanese waters and that it had no intention of sending one of its own vessels to any neutral area in order to pick up relief supplies for United States and Allied prisoners of war and civilians as was suggested by the United States Government. Upon the receipt of this Japanese reply the United States Government pointed out its expectation that the Japanese would modify their position as soon as strategic reasons would permit and suggested for the interim the immediate appointment of International Red Cross delegates to Japanese-occupied territory who might receive and distribute funds in behalf of American nationals. This suggestion was eventually accepted by the Japanese only for Hong Kong and certain areas in occupied China. They have not accepted it so far for the Philippine Islands, Malaya, and the Netherlands Indies. Efforts to induce the Japanese Government to abandon its position against the use of neutral ships to carry relief supplies into its waters were continued and new avenues of approach were fully canvassed, including the possibility of sending relief supplies in transit through Soviet territory. One suggestion proposed the sending of supplies by air to some point where the Japanese might lift them, with particular reference to medical supplies which might be scarce in Japan. No reply to this particular proposal was ever received. Another proposal was that the American Red Cross would provide a cargo ship to go to some

¹ BULLETIN of May 29, 1943, p. 472.

point in the Pacific where a Japanese crew might take it over in order to conduct it to the ports where relief cargo should be discharged. This proposal was rejected by the Japanese. Numerous other proposals were considered but were either abandoned because of obstacles interposed by other enemy governments or were found to be otherwise impossible of accomplishment.

In March 1943 the Japanese Government, in response to repeated representations stressing its responsibility to cooperate in solving the problem, stated that strategic reasons still prevented neutral vessels from plying the Pacific waters but that it would explore other means of permitting the delivery of relief supplies. In the following month the Japanese Government stated that it might consent to receive supplies overland or by sea from Soviet territory. There have ensued since that time long and complicated negotiations with the Japanese and Soviet Governments. Each detail of the negotiations had to be dealt with through a long and complicated procedure involving the handling of communications at Tokyo, Bern, Washington, and Moscow and in reverse direction through the same channels. Despite these difficulties, it has now been possible with the Soviet Government's cooperation to create a stockpile of prisoner-of-war relief supplies on Soviet territory. Moreover, the Soviet Government has given assurances that it will facilitate the transit through the Soviet Union of such relief supplies on a continuing basis when a satisfactory arrangement for the onward shipment of these supplies is reached between the Japanese and American Governments. In spite of the Department's repeated endeavors to bring this matter to a conclusion, the Japanese Government has not thus far indicated the means by which it is prepared to receive these supplies. The Department is continuing its efforts in this regard, and it is hoped that a definite arrangement can soon be made whereby relief supplies will move on a continuing basis to all American nationals detained by the Japanese.

While the foregoing negotiations have been in progress it has fortunately been possible to take advantage of the two exchanges of civilians with the Japanese Government, one in July 1942 and the other in October 1943, to send to our nationals in the Far East an important quantity of relief supplies by means of the exchange vessels.

Reports of the distribution of relief supplies which left the United States on the first exchange vessel in 1942 were in due course received from the Far East. There was placed on the motor vessel *Gripsholm* when it left this country to effect the second exchange of civilian nationals another large cargo of assorted relief supplies, American Red Cross standard food parcels, next-of-kin parcels, and mail for distribution to American prisoners of war and American civilians interned in the Philippine Islands, occupied China, Hong Kong, Japan, the Netherlands East Indies, and Malaya. Valued at over \$1,300,000 and weighing 1,600 short tons, these supplies included 140,000 food parcels of approximately 13 pounds each; 2,800 cases of medical supplies, including surgical instruments, dressings, 7,000,000 vitamin capsules, etc.; 950 cases of comfort articles for men and women; 24,000,000 cigarettes; from 20,000 to 25,000 next-of-kin parcels; and important supplies of clothing for men and women. This entire cargo was transferred to the Japanese exchange vessel at Mormugão and dispatched eastward.

In addition to the shipment of relief supplies on the exchange vessels and the other measures mentioned above, the Department of State and the American Red Cross are continuing to give close attention to all other phases of the subject.

7. *Provision of financial assistance to American nationals in the Far East*

Since the Trading With the Enemy Act as amended prohibits, among other things, individual remittances to enemy and enemy-occupied or enemy-controlled territory, unless licensed, and since the issuance of such licenses is contrary to the policy of the Government, the

Department of State, shortly after this country's entry into the war, made provision for the extension of financial assistance from public funds in the form of loans to Americans in such territories through representatives of the Swiss Government representing American interests there. An information sheet explaining how such assistance is extended and how funds so advanced may be reimbursed to the United States Government is printed below. With certain exceptions in territories occupied or controlled by Japan, the enemy governments have permitted payments to be made to qualified American nationals in the manner described. The Japanese authorities, however, have thus far refused to permit the Swiss Government's representatives, in certain areas under Japanese control, to extend financial assistance to American nationals in those areas on the same basis as elsewhere. The Department, therefore, has had to find other means of making funds available to Americans in such areas.

At Hong Kong, where the Swiss Government has not been permitted by the Japanese Government to act in behalf of American nationals, the International Red Cross delegate has been authorized to provide assistance to qualified American nationals there from public funds made available for the purpose by the Department.

Immediately after the fall of the Philippine Islands, the Department endeavored to arrange for the extension of financial assistance to qualified American nationals there. In June 1943, the Japanese Government permitted the transfer of \$25,000, representing a contribution by the American Red Cross, to be made to the Executive Committee of the Santo Tomas internment camp at Manila, and later allowed the transfer of a second Red Cross contribution of \$25,000 for the relief of American nationals interned in Manila.

It was not until July 1943 that the Japanese Government indicated that it would agree in principle to permit payments to American nationals interned in other parts of the Philippine Islands, and to allow further payments to

the internees at Manila. Accordingly, the Department in August 1943 authorized the Swiss Government to make remittances, in accordance with the need and the number of eligible individuals, to the executive committees of the American internment camps in the Philippine Islands beginning with the month of August or as soon as feasible thereafter. Funds delivered to the executive committees under this authorization may be used (1) for the purchase of available supplies considered necessary to supplement the diet provided by the Japanese authorities, (2) to pay for essential services obtained outside camp, (3) to provide each internee with a small amount of money for personal use, and (4) to advance funds, against promissory notes if possible, to indigent internees for delivery to such members of their families as may be at liberty.

The Japanese Government has recently consented to monthly transfers of United States Government funds to the Executive Committee of the Santo Tomas internment camp to be used for the relief of American nationals at Santo Tomas, Los Banos, Baguio, and Davao which, according to latest available information, are the only civilian internment camps now maintained by the Japanese in the Philippine Islands. These transfers are now being effected from such funds on deposit with the Swiss Government for the purposes mentioned above.

The Department's standing instructions to the Swiss representatives in charge of American interests in enemy-held areas are that funds provided by this Government may be made available to American prisoners of war as well as to interned American civilians for necessary personal expenditures in accordance with their established needs over and above the food, shelter, and other necessities provided them by the detaining power. Such assistance has already been made available through the local International Red Cross delegates to American prisoners of war near Shanghai and Hong Kong. The Department of State is pressing for the extension to American prisoners of war in the Philippine Islands of the system of financial

assistance referred to above which the Japanese have agreed to make available to civilian internees.

PROCEDURE TO BE FOLLOWED IN EXTENDING FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO AMERICAN NATIONALS IN TERRITORIES WHERE THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES ARE REPRESENTED BY SWITZERLAND

The Department of State has completed arrangements for financial assistance to American nationals in territories where the interests of the United States are represented by Switzerland.¹ Those able to qualify for such assistance will be entitled to receive from the Swiss representatives monthly payments corresponding to their established needs and the prevailing cost of living in the country concerned. All recipients will be limited to the monthly payments established for their place of residence, regardless of their ability or the ability of others interested in their welfare to repay amounts greater than the sums advanced. It is realized that a limitation upon the amount that American nationals may expend in enemy territory, even from their own resources, will entail some hardship. The conservation of foreign exchange, however, is an essential factor in the present economic policy of the United States and it is expected that Americans everywhere will willingly share with those in the armed forces the sacrifices that must be made in winning the war.

Based upon the latest ascertained cost of living in the various countries concerned, the maximum monthly payment for the head of a household will range from \$60 to \$130, with smaller allowances for additional members of the household. The monthly payments are subject to revisions from time to time to meet changing

¹Switzerland represents the interests of the United States in Germany, Italy, and Japan, in territories occupied by those countries, and in Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania.

living cost. In addition, the Swiss representatives are authorized to make special advances for such extraordinary expenditures as may be essential to the health or safety of American nationals for medical, surgical, or dental care, for hospitalization, for reasonable legal defense against political or criminal charges, or for a decent though modest burial where such is not provided by friends or relatives locally nor by the local authorities.

Wherever prisoners of war and interned civilians are supported by the detaining power, it is expected that payments made to them will generally not exceed a small sum sufficient to provide spending money for miscellaneous personal needs not supplied by the detaining power. However, no payments will be made to officers or to persons of equivalent status held as prisoners of war, who receive pay under the convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war, signed at Geneva on July 27, 1929.

Swiss representatives charged with the representation of the interests of the United States will explain to the recipients that such financial assistance should not be considered as public bounty but as loans from public funds to American nationals finding themselves in an abnormal position by reason of the war. It is accordingly expected that all sums advanced will be repaid either by the recipients themselves or by relatives, friends, business associates, employers, or legal representatives in the United States.

Receipts embodying promises to repay without interest the sums advanced will be taken for all payments. Private deposits to reimburse the Government for sums advanced shall be made with the Department of State. Persons wishing to make such deposits should indicate the names of the beneficiaries and should remit by postal money orders or certified checks payable to "The Secretary of State of the United States".

**AGREEMENT WITH CANADA FOR THE EXTENSION OF THE FUEL SUPPLY FOR
THE UNITED STATES ARMY IN CANADA AND ALASKA¹**

The American Minister to Canada to the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs

No. 818

OTTAWA, CANADA,
December 28, 1942.

SIR:

I have the honor to refer to our exchange of notes of June 27 and June 29, 1942,² regarding the desire of the United States Government to take steps for extending the fuel supply for the U.S. Army in Canada and Alaska. At that time the United States Government proposed, and the Canadian Government approved, the so-called Canol Project which included, *inter alia*, the drilling of wells in the vicinity of Norman Wells, and the laying of a pipeline from Norman Wells to Whitehorse, capable of delivering 3,000 barrels of oil daily.

The developments of our joint war effort have in the opinion of my Government made it vitally necessary to discover additional sources of petroleum in northwestern Canada and Alaska, capable of producing from 15,000 to 20,000 barrels per day, to supplement the supply which will be obtained from Norman Wells. This will require the drilling of exploratory, or in oil parlance "wildcat" wells in this northern region. As such operations should be conducted in a number of widely separated locations in the Northwest Territories, where oil is believed to exist, it is suggested that the area in Canada within which such operations are authorized be bounded on the north by the Arctic Ocean, on the east by the 112th meridian, on the south by the 60th parallel, on the west by the Continental Divide and the Alaska-Canadian Border.

The operations under immediate contemplation,—as a result of which, however, it may prove desirable to enlarge or expand the Canol Project—are for the sole purpose of discovering

oil fields capable of producing the required 20,000 barrels per day. No plans have as yet been worked out covering the refineries, storage or distribution systems beyond those already authorized and approved by the Canadian Government.

In view of all the circumstances involved, and the increasingly urgent need of additional fuel for military purposes in the far north, the Government of the United States of America hopes that the Canadian Government will approve these exploratory operations with the understanding that the United States Army authorities be allowed during the war to drill through contract with one or more companies either Canadian or American, to develop through contract with one or more Canadian companies, and to make use of any petroleum sources that may be discovered, subject to Canadian regulations governing such operations and to the further understanding that operations would be subject to the provisions of our exchange of notes of June 27 and June 29 above referred to, insofar as such provisions are not inconsistent with the provisions of this note and are capable, with necessary adaptations and modifications, of being applied to such operations. My Government will of course keep the Canadian Government fully informed of any future plans for carrying out these operations.

Accept [etc.]

For the Minister:

LEWIS CLARK

Second Secretary of Legation

The Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs to the American Minister to Canada

No. 2

OTTAWA, January 13, 1943.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you that the Canadian Government accepts the proposals

¹ To be printed in the Executive Agreement Series.

² Not printed.

set forth in your note of December 28, 1942, No. 818, concerning the drilling of exploratory oil wells in the Northwest Territories.

Accept [etc.]

N. A. ROBERTSON
for Secretary of State for External Affairs.

*The American Minister to Canada to the
Secretary of State*

No. 4015

OTTAWA, CANADA,
January 19, 1943.

SIR:

I have the honor to refer to my despatch No. 3996, January 14, 1943,¹ transmitting certified copies of an exchange of notes on the drilling of exploratory oil wells in the Northwest Territories.

In the foregoing connection, there is quoted below the text of a letter from Dr. Keenleyside, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who explains that in order to facilitate the drafting of regulations and to avoid the possibility of intervention on the part of anyone whose interest is not identical with that of the two governments, it would be desirable to have defined the particular districts in which the "wild catting" is to take place.

"JANUARY 18, 1943.

"I wish to refer again to your note of December 28, 1942, No. 818 on the proposals for drilling exploratory oil wells in the Northwest Territories. The question has arisen as to the best means of avoiding the possibility of the intervention of any one whose interest is not identical with that of the Canadian Government, or of the United States Government, and who might make application for oil and gas rights in that part of the Northwest Territories under discussion.

"It would facilitate the drafting of regulations if the United States authorities would indicate more definitely the particular districts, within the very large area described in your

note No. 818, paragraph 2, which seem to be the most promising. These districts could then be reserved for exploration by nominees of the United States Government."

Respectfully yours,

For the Minister:

J. GRAHAM PARSONS
Third Secretary of Legation

The American Chargé in Canada to the Canadian Assistant Under Secretary of State for External Affairs

OTTAWA, February 17, 1943.

DEAR MR. KEENLEYSIDE:

I sent to the State Department for its comments the text of your letter to Mr. Moffat of January 18, 1943,¹ regarding a more strict delimitation of the districts in which wildcatting would be done in the Northwest Territories in order that such districts might be reserved for exploration by nominees of the United States Government.

I have now received a reply to the effect that, while we are wholly in accord with your suggestion, it is nevertheless believed to be desirable that in any regulations which may be adopted there be nothing which would forbid operations anywhere within the broad general area mentioned in our note of December 28, 1942. I quote below, for your information, the pertinent parts of a letter of February 6, 1943, to the Secretary of State from the Secretary of War on this subject:

"This office is wholly in accord with the suggestion contained in Dr. Keenleyside's letter of January 18, 1943 that certain areas should be reserved for exploration by nominees of the United States in order to prevent the possible intervention of any one whose interest is not identical with that of the Canadian Government or of the United States Government.

At the present time it is expected that the greater part of the wildcatting will be carried on in the district contiguous to the Mackenzie River, approximately 25 miles each side thereof, and extending from Fort Wrigley on the south

¹ Not printed.

to Good Hope on the north. It is hoped that sufficient sources of oil to fulfill our requirements will be discovered within this area. However, there are under consideration and surveys are being made of two major districts which, on the basis of presently available geological data, are considered to be the most promising for oil exploration. These areas are defined as follows:

- a. *District of Mackenzie*—An area contiguous to the Mackenzie River, approximately 75 miles each side thereof, and extending from Great Slave Lake on the south to the Arctic Ocean on the north.
- b. *Yukon Territory*—All that portion of the Yukon Territory lying north of the 66th parallel.

It is believed that, in accordance with the suggestion of the Canadian authorities, it would be advantageous to both governments to have the two major areas as described above reserved for oil exploration by the United States in connection with the Canol Project, to the exclusion of other interests.

Although it is expected that our activities will be confined within these two areas it would be considered inadvisable to have them strictly limited thereto. It is therefore the desire of this department that any regulations which may be adopted be of such a nature as to permit operations anywhere within the broad general area described in our letter of November 18, 1942."

Sincerely yours,

LEWIS CLARK

The Canadian Assistant Under Secretary of State for External Affairs to the American Chargé in Canada

OTTAWA, March 13, 1943.

DEAR MR. CLARK:

With reference to your letter of February 17th, on the matter of a more strict delimitation

of the districts in the Northwest Territories in which wildcatting rights might be reserved for nominees of the United States Government, I have now received a reply from the Department of Mines and Resources on the subject.

The two areas mentioned in your letter are contiguous, namely:

1. *District of Mackenzie*—An area contiguous to the Mackenzie River, approximately 75 miles each side thereof, and extending from Fort Providence on the south to the Arctic Ocean on the north. Within the delta of the Mackenzie River, the line of reference shall be the East Channel.
2. *Yukon Territory*—All that portion of the Yukon Territory lying north of the 66th parallel.

It is proposed to apply the same regulations in these two areas as were worked out for the three areas already reserved by Orders-in-Council P.C. 1138 dated 12th February 1943, and P.C. 4140 of May 18th, 1942, as a result of consultation between Mr. Sidney Paige, Consulting Geologist attached to the office of Colonel Wymau, and Dr. Camsell. These regulations were published in the *Canada Gazette* on February 20th, 1943, and provide:

- First, (clause 1) that no one can prospect without first obtaining permission;
- Second, (clause 14) that the Minister should have the right to refuse to issue a permit when, in his opinion it might retard the search for and the development of the oil resources or interfere with the production of petroleum for the use of His Majesty or of any country associated or allied with His Majesty in the conduct of the present war.

This should afford ample protection against nuisance staking and ensure that any exploratory and development work that may be carried on by *bona fide* companies other than those nominated by the United States Government will be made available for our war needs.

I trust that this arrangement will be satisfactory to all parties.

Yours sincerely,

H. L. KEENLEYSIDE

THE PROCLAIMED LIST: CUMULATIVE SUPPLEMENT 4 TO REVISION VI

[Released to the press for publication January 15, 9 p.m.]

The Secretary of State, acting in conjunction with the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Acting Secretary of

Commerce, the Administrator of Foreign Economic Administration, and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, on January 15 issued Cumulative Supplement 4 to Revision VI of the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals, promulgated October 7, 1943.

Part I of Cumulative Supplement 4 contains 89 additional listings in the other American republics and 52 deletions. Part II contains 72 additional listings outside the American republics and 38 deletions.

American Republics

PROBLEMS OF NEWSPRINT PRODUCTION AND TRANSPORTATION TO OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS

[Released to the press January 12]

The United States Government is vitally interested in solving the problems of newsprint production and transportation, which have adversely affected friendly publications in other American republics. This problem continues to receive constant and careful attention with a view to arrangements equitable to all parties concerned. At the present time, an effort is being made to facilitate production for shipment to other American republics so that newspaper services may not be interrupted.

Shipment of newsprint from the United States and Canada to the other American republics is on a quota basis. The determination of equitable distribution is made by the appropriate local government authorities in consultation with the publications and with the advice of the American diplomatic mission in each country. Distribution lists are transmitted from the countries of the other American republics showing the amount to be received by each consignee within the quota and the name of

the supplier. Licenses are issued accordingly and manufacturing scheduled.

The quotas for the other American republics originated in the following manner. Due to the shipping shortage that existed during August 1942 and several months thereafter through the exigencies of war, it was necessary to place a shipping quota on every exportable commodity, which also included newsprint. In order to determine a quota that could be shipped with the highest priority and that would move steadily, the newsprint requirements for each country were reduced and shipments temporarily curtailed to those countries which had large newsprint stocks on hand. Many friendly newspapers were on the point of suspending through lack of newsprint and the quota thus applied assured a regular supply.

With the cessation of the necessity to utilize certain shipping for war purposes, more tonnage became available to the other American republics. In the meantime, however, an acute shortage developed in pulpwood, which has ad-

versely affected the supply of pulp and paper in general and newsprint in particular. The newsprint quotas for the other American republics, originally based on shipping considerations, are now governed by actual manufacturing potentials, the requirements of consumers heretofore not using United States and Canadian newsprint, and the general drain upon paper products as a result of substituting paper for metal in many manufactured commodities.

The quotas for newsprint to the consumers in the other American republics represent a considerable reduction from normal requirements. With few exceptions, any failure to obtain their quotas of newsprint regularly would cause the suspension of some friendly publications in certain countries.

An attempt is being made to create a 90 days' stock position for newsprint for publications in the other American republics, as any undue delay in delivery for any reason whatsoever would cause serious dislocations to the newspapers in the countries affected.

With very few and well-identified exceptions, the newspapers of other American republics have editorially supported the Allied war effort and have cooperated in an equitable curtailment in the size of their editions. In view of the important foreign-relations aspects of the situation and the importance of the major portions of the publications in the other American republics in keeping their public informed with regard to the war and relations in general with the United Nations, it is essential that no effort be spared to maintain newsprint supplies to those publications.

VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES OF THE PRESIDENT OF VENEZUELA

His Excellency General Isafías Medina Angarita, President of the Republic of Venezuela, is expected to arrive in Washington as a guest of President Roosevelt on January 19. The program for the visit was announced by the Department of State in a press release (no. 14) on January 14.

General

ACCOMMODATIONS IN WASHINGTON FOR SPECIAL GUESTS OF THE GOVERNMENT

[Released to the press January 11]

The Blair-Lee House, which is Government-owned and located at 1653 Pennsylvania Avenue, across from the Department of State, is being rehabilitated to provide additional facilities for visiting delegates to conferences, holders of travel grants, distinguished professors, and others for whom adequate accommodations have not previously been available.

The Blair House, which adjoins the Blair-Lee House, is particularly to be reserved to accommodate heads of state and ranking officials of Cabinet status who come to Washington.

INAUGURATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA

The inauguration of William V. S. Tubman as President of Liberia and of C. L. Simpson as Vice President took place January 3, 1944 in Monrovia, Liberia. Admiral William A. Glassford, who had been designated by President Roosevelt to attend the inauguration as his personal representative, was cordially received and decorated by President Tubman with the Star of Africa.

President Tubman, in his inaugural address, recommended, among other things, the development of a progressive policy of government, allowing for a larger representation by the people in the administration of the government; liberal appropriations for public-health and educational purposes; development of the country's agricultural economy; expedition of the road-building program; suffrage for women; and selective negro immigration from the United States and the West Indies. The President declared that Liberia's foreign policy was in line with complete and unreserved opposition

to the militarism of the Nazis, Fascists, and Japanese. He urged that close and friendly relations between Liberia and the United Nations be encouraged and expressed his belief in the principles for which the Atlantic Charter stands.

Treaty Information

AGRICULTURE

Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences

A Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on January 15, 1944 and was signed on that date for the United States of America, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Panama. The convention will remain open for signature by the other American republics and, under the provisions of article XV thereof, will come into force three months after the deposit of not less than five ratifications with the Pan American Union.

The convention gives permanent status to the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, which was established as a corporation under the laws of the District of Columbia on June 18, 1942 to encourage and advance the development of agricultural sciences in the American republics. Under the certificate of incorporation and the by-laws of the Institute, as well as under the convention, the representatives of the 21 American republics on the Governing Board of the Pan American Union are members of the Board of Directors of the Institute.

The Institute is already functioning with funds supplied by the Government of the United States of America through the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. On March 19, 1943 the cornerstone of the first permanent building of the Institute at its field

headquarters in Turrialba, Costa Rica, was laid by President Rafael Angel Calderón Guardia of Costa Rica and Vice President Henry A. Wallace of the United States of America. Dr. Earl N. Bressman, formerly of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and of the Department of Agriculture, has been appointed Director of the Institute, and Mr. José L. Colom of the Pan American Union has been appointed as its Secretary.

MILITARY MISSIONS

Agreement With Venezuela

[Released to the press January 13]

In conformity with the request of the Government of Venezuela, there was signed on January 13, 1944 by the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, and His Excellency Señor Dr. Don Diógenes Escalante, Ambassador of Venezuela in Washington, an agreement providing for the detail of a military aviation mission by the United States to serve in Venezuela.

The agreement will continue in force for four years from the date of signature, but may be extended beyond that period at the request of the Government of Venezuela.

The agreement contains provisions similar in general to provisions contained in agreements between the United States and certain other American republics providing for the detail of officers of the United States Army or Navy to advise the armed forces of those countries.

STRATEGIC MATERIALS

Agreement With Canada for the Extension of the Fuel Supply for the United States Army in Canada and Alaska

The texts of communications concerning an agreement between the Governments of the United States and Canada for the extension of the fuel supply for the United States Army in Canada and Alaska appear in this BULLETIN under the heading "The War".

The Foreign Service

DEATH OF WILLIAM C. BURDETT

[Released to the press January 14]

The State Department regrets to announce the death of the Honorable William C. Burdett, American Minister to New Zealand, at his post in Wellington January 13. Mr. Burdett had been ill for some time and was admitted to the United States Naval Hospital in New Zealand on December 19 following a cerebral hemorrhage.

Mr. Burdett entered the American Foreign Service as a career officer in 1919 and rose to the rank of Minister. He had taken up his duties as United States Minister to New Zealand only a few months ago. Prior to entering the Foreign Service he served with distinction in the United States Army in the Philippine Insurrection in 1900-1903 and again during the World War. He was wounded during the World War and was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. Mr. Burdett is survived by his wife, two daughters, and two sons—one of whom is in the Foreign Service and the other in the United States air forces.

The Secretary of State has sent to Mrs. Burdett the following message:

"I am deeply grieved to learn of the death of your distinguished husband. I feel that I have lost an old and true friend. Mr. Burdett has served his country with distinction both in the Armed Forces and in the American Foreign Service. In both services Mr. Burdett has shown outstanding courage and during this war chose an active post despite his impaired health. He has truly given his life in the service of his country. A man of deep human sympathy and kindness, Mr. Burdett was loved and admired by all of us who had the pleasure of working with

him in the Department of State and in the Foreign Service. Few officers in the history of the Foreign Service have inspired such universal affection and loyalty among their colleagues. All of us mourn his death and send you and your family our heartfelt sympathy."

CONSULATES

The American Consulate at Bône, Algeria, was closed effective January 12, 1944.

Legislation

Thirteenth Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations: Message From the President of the United States Transmitting the Thirteenth Report of Operations Under the Lend-Lease Act, for the Period Ended November 30, 1943. H. Doc. 375, 78th Cong. 71 pp.

Emergency Funds for the President, Navy and War, 1940-42, and the Emergency Fund for the President, National Defense, 1942-44: Communication from the President of the United States transmitting a report of the status as of November 30, 1943, of the emergency fund for the President, etc. H. Doc. 378, 78th Cong. [Department of State, pp. 3, 8-9.] 9 pp.

Message of the President to the Congress, recommending the passage of a national service law and other acts. H. Doc. 377, 78th Cong. 8 pp.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Foreign Service List, September 30, 1943. Publication 2036. iv, 132 pp. Subscription, 50¢ a year (65¢ foreign); single copy, 20¢.

Diplomatic List, January 1944. Publication 2044. ii, 122 pp. Subscription, \$1 a year; single copy 10¢.

The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 4, January 14, 1944, to Revision VI of October 7, 1943. Publication 2046. 55 pp. Free.

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1353

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JANUARY 22, 1944

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The War

WAR REFUGEE BOARD

[Released to the press by the White House January 22, 9 p.m.]

The President on January 22, by Executive Order 9417,¹ set up a War Refugee Board consisting of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary of War, to take action for the immediate rescue from the Nazis of as many as possible of the persecuted minorities of Europe—racial, religious, or political—all civilian victims of enemy savagery.

The Executive order declares that “it is the policy of this Government to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death and otherwise to afford such victims all possible relief and assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war”.

The Board is charged with direct responsibility to the President in seeing that the announced policy is carried out. The President indicated that while he would look directly to the Board for the successful execution of this policy, the Board, of course, would cooperate fully with the Intergovernmental Committee, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and other interested international organizations.

The President stated that he expected to obtain the cooperation of all members of the United Nations and other foreign governments in carrying out this difficult but important task. He stated that the existing facilities of the State, Treasury, and War Departments would be employed to aid Axis victims to the fullest extent possible. He stressed that it was urgent

that action be taken at once to forestall the plan of the Nazis to exterminate all the Jews and other persecuted minorities in Europe.

It will be the duty of a full-time Executive Director of the Board to arrange for the prompt execution of the plans and programs developed and the measures inaugurated by the Board.

The text of the Executive order follows:

EXECUTIVE ORDER

Establishing a War Refugee Board

WHEREAS it is the policy of this Government to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death and otherwise to afford such victims all possible relief and assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war;

Now, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, as President of the United States and as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and in order to effectuate with all possible speed the rescue and relief of such victims of enemy oppression, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. There is established in the Executive Office of the President a War Refugee Board (hereinafter referred to as the Board). The Board shall consist of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of War. The Board may request the heads of other agencies or departments to participate in its deliberations whenever matters specially affecting

¹9 *Federal Register* 935.

such agencies or departments are under consideration.

2. The Board shall be charged with the responsibility for seeing that the policy of the Government, as stated in the Preamble, is carried out. The functions of the Board shall include without limitation the development of plans and programs and the inauguration of effective measures for (a) the rescue, transportation, maintenance and relief of the victims of enemy oppression, and (b) the establishment of havens of temporary refuge for such victims. To this end the Board, through appropriate channels, shall take the necessary steps to enlist the cooperation of foreign governments and obtain their participation in the execution of such plans and programs.

3. It shall be the duty of the State, Treasury and War Departments, within their respective spheres, to execute at the request of the Board, the plans and programs so developed and the measures so inaugurated. It shall be the duty of the heads of all agencies and departments to supply or obtain for the Board such information and to extend to the Board such supplies, shipping and other specified assistance and facilities as the Board may require in carrying out the provisions of this Order. The State Department shall appoint special attaches with diplomatic status, on the recommendation of the Board, to be stationed abroad in places where it is likely that assistance can be rendered to war refugees, the duties and responsibilities of such attaches to be defined by the Board in consultation with the State Department.

4. The Board and the State, Treasury and War Departments are authorized to accept the services or contributions of any private persons, private organizations, State agencies, or agencies of foreign governments in carrying out the purposes of this Order. The Board shall cooperate with all existing and future international organizations concerned with the problems of refugee rescue, maintenance, transportation, relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement.

5. To the extent possible the Board shall utilize the personnel, supplies, facilities and services of the State, Treasury and War Departments. In addition the Board, within the limits of funds which may be made available, may employ necessary personnel without regard for the Civil Service laws and regulations and the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, and make provisions for supplies, facilities and services necessary to discharge its responsibilities. The Board shall appoint an Executive Director who shall serve as its principal executive officer. It shall be the duty of the Executive Director to arrange for the prompt execution of the plans and programs developed and the measures inaugurated by the Board, to supervise the activities of the special attaches and to submit frequent reports to the Board on the steps taken for the rescue and relief of war refugees.

6. The Board shall be directly responsible to the President in carrying out the policy of this Government, as stated in the Preamble, and the Board shall report to him at frequent intervals concerning the steps taken for the rescue and relief of war refugees and shall make such recommendations as the Board may deem appropriate for further action to overcome any difficulties encountered in the rescue and relief of war refugees.

**STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF
STATE REGARDING THE REQUEST
CONTAINED IN THE DECLARATION OF
JANUARY 14, 1944 BY THE POLISH
GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE**

[Released to the press January 17]

At his press and radio news conference on January 17 the Secretary of State said that having received officially the request of the Polish Government contained in its public statement of January 14, this Government, through its Ambassador in Moscow, informed the Soviet Government of its willingness, if agreeable to the Soviet Government, to extend its good offices

with a view to arranging for the initiation of discussions between the two Governments looking to a resumption of official relations between them. The Secretary said that without going into the merits of the case it is our hope that some satisfactory means may be found for the resumption of friendly relations between these two fellow members of the United Nations.

The Secretary added that no reply has been received from the Soviet Government.

For the convenience of correspondents the text of the Declaration of the Polish Government as received by the Department is printed below :

The Polish Government have taken cognizance of the Declaration of the Soviet Government contained in the *Tass* communiqué of January 11, 1944, which was issued as a reply to the Declaration of the Polish Government of January 5.

The Soviet communiqué contains a number of statements to which a complete answer is afforded by the ceaseless struggle against the Germans waged at the heaviest cost by the Polish Nation under the direction of the Polish Government.

In their earnest anxiety to safeguard the complete solidarity of the United Nations especially at a decisive stage of their struggle against the common enemy, the Polish Government consider it to be preferable now to refrain from further public discussions. While the Polish Government cannot recognize unilateral decisions or accomplished facts which have taken place or might take place on the territory of the Polish Republic, they have repeatedly expressed their sincere desire for a Polish-Soviet agreement on terms which would be just and acceptable to both sides. To this end the Polish Government are approaching the British and United States Governments with a view to securing through their intermediary the discussion by the Polish and Soviet Governments with the participation of the British and American Governments of all outstanding questions, the settlement of which should lead to a friendly and permanent cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union. The Polish Government believe this to be desirable in the interest of the victory of the United Nations and harmonious relations in post-war Europe.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF A GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Address by Assistant Secretary Berle ¹

[Released to the press January 17]

For more than a century great wars have led to great hopes for a system of permanent peace. So it was when Napoleon's Empire was overthrown in 1815; so again in the last World War, when President Wilson proposed, and the rest of the world assented to, the plan of the League of Nations. And so it is today: even before the victory is won, plain people everywhere search for the hope that the peace when it comes may be just and lasting.

It has now been realized that permanent peace is not to be had for the wishing.

Apparently no nation by itself can maintain peace for itself—let alone for the rest of the world—by any course of conduct carried on by itself alone. If peaceful intentions and law-abiding behavior could bring permanent peace to any nation, many countries in the five continents would not be at war now. Ambassador Litvinov remarked that peace is indivisible, and Secretary Hull observed only recently that

¹ Delivered before the United Nations Forum at Constitution Hall, Washington, Jan. 17, 1944.

all of the United Nations have a common interest in national security, in world order under law, in peace—and he added:

“The future of these indispensable common interests depends absolutely upon international cooperation. Hence, each nation’s own primary interest requires it to cooperate with the others.”

The Government of the United States from the outset of this war has recognized that a system of permanent peace must be a major objective and has maintained continually and forcefully that this must be accomplished through arrangements of general international cooperation. Slowly but soundly the foundations of that system are being laid.

A first step was taken on the deck of a warship in the North Atlantic. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, in August 1941, declared for the United States and for Great Britain as one of the “common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world” that after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hoped to see established a peace which would afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which would afford assurance that all the men in all the lands might live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.¹

This was a pledge of cooperation between the United States and Great Britain that the high purpose of cooperation toward a system of peace would be jointly undertaken.

On January 1, 1942 the company of the United Nations pledged themselves to a joint effort, “having subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles” embodied in the Atlantic Charter. In the same spirit, other nations have associated themselves with the cause of the defense of civilization. Today all save the law-

breakers and aggressors, whose defeat is daily growing nearer, have declared as a major war aim the construction of a cooperative system for assuring peace.

After nearly two years’ study, by authority of the President, Secretary Hull proposed at Moscow that the United States, Soviet Union, Great Britain, and China should take a new step toward giving form and substance to plans for the preservation of peace. These four great powers jointly declared:

“That their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security. . . .

“That they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states . . . large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

“That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the reestablishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations.”²

These clauses of the Declaration of Moscow outline the framework of the structure which is being built by history. For, besides reaffirming the principle and the pledge of united action toward it, this Declaration is specific.

It declares for a general international organization—as against a system of spheres of influence, or of alliances, or of balance of power, or of the other shifts and makeshifts which through the centuries have been tried and have failed.

The membership of this international organization is to be open to all peace-loving states,

¹ Executive Agreement Series 236.

² BULLETIN of Nov. 6, 1943, p. 309.

large and small, on a basis of the sovereign equality of each.

Because the building of such an organization is long and difficult, a method is set up to handle questions arising before its completion. This is the understanding that the four powers, with others as occasion requires, will consult with one another with a view to joint action for the purpose of maintaining peace. Such consultation is not an empty phrase. We have seen it succeed many times in the great community of the American republics.

The way is thus cleared for a later step still to be taken: the construction of a general international organization.

Even that has begun to shape itself in some respects: The United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture and the signing by 44 nations of an agreement creating the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration both developed organizations dealing with important economic phases of universal interest. We must expect that other vitally necessary areas of common action will be dealt with, so that the conditions can be created in which peace can subsist, and so that the strength which is necessary to assure justice and restrain lawlessness will be available to this community of nations whose formation has begun.

Gladly we note that this pledge by the United States and three of its principal Allies to form an international organization at the earliest practicable time has received substantially unanimous approval by the Congress of the United States. This was accomplished by the Senate approval of the Declaration of Moscow, which thus not only approved the arrangements made at that historic conference but likewise approved the understanding that a permanent international organization would be built. Authority has thus been given by Congress and overwhelmingly ratified by public opinion to proceed further on this huge task. In doing this, both Congress and the Ameri-

can public made it plain that they saw in this development the brightest light which now shines through the murk of war. Safety, cooperation, the possibility of international justice, the dawn of freedom from fear—these are in the minds of the millions of Americans in and out of uniform who see the policy of working soberly and carefully and with all safeguards for our national rights and interests toward a healthy international life.

The problems—and they are vast—in carrying this policy forward, are known to you all. The men who have most experience with international affairs are least likely to lay the blueprints, or to forecast all the answers to all the questions. The methods of representation by which a great community of nations, each sovereign and equal, will be represented, present one problem. The possibility of revitalizing international law and providing means of international justice is another. The method by which nations can cooperate in dealing with threatened breach of peace is still another. In the field of economics it is clear that there must be international monetary arrangements, that ways must be cleared for commerce, that international transport and communications by land and sea, air or ether, must be a matter of arrangement. The specific problems of labor, long recognized through the participation of this Government in the International Labor Office, find place in the picture.

It has been the policy of this Administration to search for sound, kindly solutions for these manifold problems—solutions which can and will be supported by our people as being in their own interest and in the interest of all nations.

But this is not a partisan task. Men of all parties, and of all groups within parties, like our guests here tonight, have worked unceasingly and disinterestedly. In this huge struggle to assure that victory shall also mean hope, there are no parties: there are Americans who seek for our people and for all peoples to go forward on the road of civilization.

The Department

“THE STATE DEPARTMENT SPEAKS”

[Released to the press January 22]

The text of the third of a series of four broadcasts over the National Broadcasting Company entitled “The State Department Speaks”, follows:

Participants

ADOLF A. BERLE, JR.	Assistant Secretary of State
DEAN ACHESON	Assistant Secretary of State
HARRY C. HAWKINS	Director, Office of Economic Affairs
CHARLES P. TAFT	Director, Office of Wartime Economic Affairs
RICHARD HARKNESS	Representing the public

WASHINGTON ANNOUNCER: For the American people, the National Broadcasting Company presents the third of a series of four programs called “The State Department Speaks”. We take you now to the State Department Building on Pennsylvania Avenue here in Washington, D.C.

HARKNESS: Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. This is Richard Harkness, your representative on this series of programs arranged by the National Broadcasting Company with the cooperation of the State Department and designed to reveal in simple terms the work of our Department of State. On the first program of this series we heard about the Moscow Conference and the post-war planning work of the State Department. We were told that in the final analysis the foreign policies of this country are determined by you and me and our neighbors next door. Last Saturday the second program brought us word of a reorganization of the State Department and gave us a close-up of the work of the Department and the United States Foreign Service in protecting and promoting American interests abroad—in war and in peace. Tonight we are going to try to find out about a few of the things which

some people say cause wars—in other words, we are going to ask some searching questions about economic relations between nations. We are going to find out what relation, if any, there is between bread and butter and peace and war; and we have with us four gentlemen who are outstanding experts on the subject: First, there’s Mr. Adolf A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State. How do you do, Mr. Berle.

BERLE: Good evening, Mr. Harkness.

HARKNESS: And Mr. Dean Acheson, also an Assistant Secretary. Welcome to our program, Mr. Acheson.

ACHESON: Thank you, Mr. Harkness. I’m glad to be here.

HARKNESS: Then we have Mr. Harry C. Hawkins, Director of the State Department’s Office of Economic Affairs, and Mr. Charles P. Taft, who is the Director of the Department’s Office of Wartime Economic Affairs. Good evening, gentlemen.

HAWKINS and TAFT: Good evening, Mr. Harkness.

HARKNESS: All right—let’s get on.

Mr. Acheson, you are the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of economic affairs.

ACHESON: That’s right, Mr. Harkness.

HARKNESS: Well, suppose we start off by asking you a question that must be in the minds of many of our listeners, and that is: Why is the Department of State interested in such a dry, unlikely sounding subject as economics?

ACHESON: I think we can convince you that it’s not a dry, unlikely subject, Mr. Harkness. And I’m sure we can demonstrate how important international economics are to all Americans—the farmer in Iowa, the banker in San Francisco, the miner in Pennsylvania—in war and in peace.

HARKNESS: Good! But first, tell me your definition of “economics”. I don’t want any

dictionary definition, as you can well understand.

ACHESON: Surely, Mr. Harkness. I use the word "economics" as an over-all term for producing things, moving them, and using them. The international wartime economic problem of the United Nations is to bring these things to bear against the Axis with maximum effectiveness. Our own and our Allies' armies and peoples have to be fed, clothed, and furnished with thousands of articles—"things", I called them a moment ago—all the equipment of a soldier, all the equipment of a ship, and all the equipment and food and clothing that people require in their ordinary daily lives.

To produce all these things and to move them to the right places, in the right amounts, at the right times—all under stress of a gigantic war effort—to do all this we need the help of other governments and peoples. It's the purpose of our foreign economic policy in wartime to work things out with other countries in such a way that we and our Allies get the help we need and that our enemies don't get it. I'd like to make this point clear: In all these problems, the State Department works closely with the Foreign Economic Administration. Between them, they carry out almost all of the foreign economic operations of the United States Government.

HARKNESS: How do you go about doing this?

ACHESON: Well, you've two different situations to keep in mind, Mr. Harkness. First, you've the countries which are allied or associated with us in this war. Secondly, there are the neutral countries. With the first or allied group, we have arranged for a mutual stepping-up of all essential production, for cutting down—so far as possible—all non-essential production, and finally, for refusing to send anything to places where it might reach the enemy.

HARKNESS: That's in the case of allied nations, Mr. Acheson. Now—how about the neutral countries?

ACHESON: Here our task is much more difficult. These countries, unlike our Allies and associated nations, are *not* joined with us in the

fight against the Axis. But *we* have things which *they* want badly, and *they* have things which *we* want badly—so this gives us the chance to drive a bargain.

HARKNESS: Yes, but what do we do about keeping these neutral countries from supplying the enemy with materials he needs?

ACHESON: Well, that's where we have to do some mighty *hard* bargaining, and such hard bargaining is a part of our campaign of economic warfare.

HARKNESS: Mr. Acheson, please! Before we go any further, suppose you explain that much used term "economic warfare". What does it mean?

ACHESON: It means simply hurting the enemy by preventing him from getting the things he needs. Economic warfare is carried on in many ways: By the Navy, which prevents ships from taking things to the enemy; by the air forces, which destroy enemy factories; and by the civilian agencies, which interfere with the enemy's getting supplies from neutral countries. One method by which the civilians work is these war-trade bargains—this *hard* bargaining with the neutrals which I mentioned a moment ago.

HARKNESS: What is the general nature of those bargains? I realize you can't go into the particulars because of possible aid to the enemy, but maybe—

ACHESON: Well, take a material which is essential to the German arms industry and which it gets from a nearby neutral country. Our air forces and the R. A. F. bomb the German arms factories. This interferes with home production. But that isn't enough. We must see to it that the lost production of those bombed-out factories is not replaced from neutral countries; and, too, we must also see to it that materials on which German factories depend don't get to Germany from other countries.

HARKNESS: Well, that's understandable, Mr. Secretary, but you still haven't told us what you do in that case. How do you *stop* the ma-

terial getting from a neutral country to Germany?

ACHESON: Well, let's take a concrete example. If a neutral country which supplies material to Germany needs food or oil or anything else from us we say to them, "You can have the things you need from us only if you stop sending such and such a war material to Germany."

HARKNESS: Well, suppose they tell you that they have to sell the war material to Germany in order to live?

ACHESON: In that case, we are willing to buy it from them. Sometimes we really want the material, and sometimes we don't, but we don't care about that—the big point is to keep the valuable war material away from the enemy whether we need it or not.

HARKNESS: I see. Well, Mr. Acheson, let's leave the economic-warfare measures for a little bit and consider what our State Department is doing in the economic field for the period after the war. Isn't it true that we have begun while the war is still on to deal with post-war problems?

ACHESON: Yes, you just can't wait until the last gun is fired to begin preparing for the economic conditions which you know will be present when the war ends. When that day comes, the populations of countries which have been occupied by the enemy will once more be free, but they will be free in a pitiable condition. The enemy is now using their work, their railroads and factories and farms, and their products for his own benefit. It's *his* selfish system that's in operation there. You can see then that, on the day the enemy is driven out, the whole system will fall to pieces, and it will take some time to put it together again so that it will operate for the benefit of the liberated peoples. If a band of thugs moved into your house and wrecked it, you wouldn't expect to find things in working order the day the police drove them out.

HARKNESS: That's true.

ACHESON: So inevitably some time must elapse before production in these occupied coun-

tries can get going again. This will be an extremely critical time. During this period the people of these countries must have the things which are necessary to keep them alive and to hold them together. If they don't get these materials, the result will be wide-spread starvation and disease; starvation and disease will produce rioting and disorder; and you can't build a peace in the midst of chaos. To prevent this, the United Nations must agree now upon ways and means to help those countries get on their feet again.

HARKNESS: Well, Mr. Secretary, there has been quite a bit of agreement on these ways and means already, hasn't there?

ACHESON: Yes, indeed, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is one of the best examples. That organization—called UNRRA for short—was created last November after negotiations carried on by the State Department. Forty-four United and Associated Nations signed the agreement which set it up. The Council of this organization had its first meeting at Atlantic City a couple of months ago.

HARKNESS: Yes, I know. I covered that conference for NBC, and, as I recall, you were elected Chairman of the First Session of the Council of the UNRRA organization.

ACHESON: That's correct. You'll recall, also, Mr. Harkness, that we adopted a realistic program for bringing relief and rehabilitation to the areas which are being liberated from the Axis.

HARKNESS: Yes, I know you did, and that brings something to mind, Mr. Acheson. Some people are referring to this program as a case of the United States playing Santa Claus again. Is there any truth in that, Sir?

ACHESON: In my opinion, there is not! There is always a strong temptation to place discussions of this sort upon a purely materialistic basis and to say we ought to do this from a hard-headed point of view and that it will pay good dividends. That is true, but it always seems to me that that is not the way in which we American people approach a question, or the way in

which a question is really illuminated. Unless people have interest in other peoples of the world we are going to have disaster. In order to feel happy with itself a people must take action of this sort, and it is only when they are willing to do so that a people have a right to leadership in the world. And finally we are not doing more than our part since *all* the United Nations are contributing to this work on an equitable basis.

HARKNESS: Thank you, Mr. Acheson—we'll get back to you in a few moments. Now a question or two for Mr. Taft. Mr. Taft, you are the new Director of Wartime Economic Affairs. I take it that means you handle the State Department's end of the economic-warfare work which Mr. Acheson mentioned earlier.

TAFT: Right.

HARKNESS: I imagine you have a lot of headaches on that job?

TAFT: Right again, and they vary more than you can possibly imagine.

HARKNESS: Give me a few examples, Mr. Taft, won't you?

TAFT: Well, to pick one at random, there is the so-called "black list" work. The black list is another weapon of economic warfare. It is an especially important weapon in these days of total war. Long before they began their military aggression, the Nazis had organized a network of Nazi sympathizers in other countries to bore from within. They were very active in the countries of this hemisphere, and, what's worse, many of them were making their living off of American trade.

HARKNESS: Just what do you mean by that, Mr. Taft?

TAFT: Just that. A large number of German Nazi firms in South America were living off of the business which they had with the United States. At the same time these firms were contributing a large share of their profits for propaganda and other subversive activities against the United States and hemispheric unity.

HARKNESS: Well, how would these pro-Nazi businessmen go about their subversive activities?

TAFT: Let me give you just one actual case. There was one big company in one of the South American countries. This company was the agent for a large United States concern and received *from* the United States firm a sizeable advertising appropriation.

HARKNESS: And what did they do with it?

TAFT: They used this money to advertise the United States company's products. But they made sure never to place this advertising money with any papers except those which were Nazi mouthpieces.

HARKNESS: You know, Mr. Taft, that sounds almost like dime detective fiction.

TAFT: It may sound that way, Mr. Harkness, but our files are filled with thousands of cases of similar Nazi practices.

HARKNESS: Well, how does the black list deal with such people?

TAFT: When we learned about that firm I just mentioned, we put them on our published black list—more formally known as the Proclaimed List. By this action the firm lost its agency and all its United States business accounts. It couldn't buy from us or sell to us, nor could it use our banks or our mails. And while that firm remains on our black list anyone who deals with it runs the risk of being put on the list himself.

HARKNESS: Well, Mr. Taft, that's one kind of economic warfare which *all* of us can understand—including the Nazis and their Fifth Columnists. Oh, by the way—how many names are on that black list today?

TAFT: Over fifteen thousand.

HARKNESS: Good enough. Thank you, Sir. And now, here's something I want to say:

Ladies and gentlemen, before we came on the air tonight, a man said to me that, in his opinion, there might have been no World War II if the statesmen who made and carried out the peace terms after World War I had paid as much attention to economic matters as they did to such things as political boundaries.

That man was Harry C. Hawkins, Director of the Office of Economic Affairs of the Department of State.

All right, Mr. Hawkins—explain, please!

HAWKINS: Gladly, Mr. Harkness. Let me start by saying that I think it is critically important that we Americans never lose sight of some of the truths the past 25 years have taught us. The most important of these truths is that no political and military structure for maintaining peace can stand for long if the nations of the world are engaged in trade warfare.

HARKNESS: What do you mean by "trade warfare" between nations, Mr. Hawkins? You're speaking of normal times now and not of economic warfare such as Mr. Acheson just described, are you not?

HAWKINS: Yes, Mr. Harkness, I am speaking of the so-called "normal times", but I really meant what I said when I used the term "trade warfare". Many of the trade-warfare methods used by the nations against each other in the twenties and early thirties were only slightly less unfriendly in effect than many of the economic-warfare measures which we're using against our enemies today!

HARKNESS: Well, that's calling a spade a spade. But what were some of these peacetime trade-warfare measures?

HAWKINS: Well, in one form or another, they were trade barriers against goods coming from another country. High tariffs and quotas are common forms of trade barriers. And there are also discriminations of various kinds. I mean by that the deals made between some nations to the detriment of others. And these other countries often retaliated, of course.

HARKNESS: What countries were to blame for all this?

HAWKINS: Well, it's impossible to assess degrees of blame, but *we* were no better than the rest. We caused our full share of the trouble.

HARKNESS: Well, just how do these trade-warfare measures work against international peace?

HAWKINS: They create serious economic headaches in other countries by depriving the producers in those countries of an outlet for their products. When countries can't sell their

products abroad they have to stop buying from abroad, and so it goes until every country is refusing to buy every other country's goods. International bitterness and non-cooperation are the result.

HARKNESS: Well, wait a minute, Mr. Hawkins—this international bitterness, you speak of—it doesn't necessarily mean war, does it?

HAWKINS: No—not of itself. But, when nations are trading economic blows that create unemployment and breadlines and are continually hitting each other's vital interests, they are not likely to cooperate to keep the peace.

HARKNESS: I suppose not—but—let's get down to cases, Mr. Hawkins. Do you believe that in order to have peace, we must do away with all trade barriers? that we've got to have world-wide free trade?

HAWKINS: No, I do not. Trade cooperation does not mean free trade. It does mean that nations must get together and work out their international economic policies in a spirit of mutual understanding. It does mean the reduction of excessive trade barriers and doing away with trade discriminations between nations.

HARKNESS: Well, so far we've been speaking of the relationship between sound trade policies and peace, Mr. Hawkins. But there's another point that a great many of our listeners want discussed. That is, how much, if any, economic sacrifice do these policies mean for us? In other words, how much is post-war trade cooperation going to cost us?

HAWKINS: I don't think it'll cost us anything. On the contrary, I think we'll benefit by it. In the first place we'd benefit immeasurably in dollars and cents if these policies turned out to be insurance against another war. It's well to ask ourselves the sobering question whether this nation could afford another war within the next 25 years.

HARKNESS: What do you think about that?

HAWKINS: Well, personally, I don't think it could and still remain anything like the nation it is now. But let's look at the more immediate dollars-and-cents aspects. Let's look

at it from the viewpoints of the farmer, the businessman, and the worker.

Take the needs of our agriculture as a whole. Our home market alone cannot provide an adequate standard of living for our farmers—they must be able to share in the *world* market.

Next—take our manufacturing industries. They are going to need peacetime markets on a scale we have never had before. Our industrial leaders know that only the great world market has potentialities corresponding to our need.

And finally, what is labor's stake in our international trade policies? Many of our labor leaders have made it clear that they are looking ahead and that they see security and opportunity for labor in terms of expanding activity of industry based upon reciprocity in international trade.

HARKNESS: Let me ask a question there, Mr. Hawkins. What's so terrific about this world market that seems to mean so much to our agricultural, business, and labor leaders? What potentialities does it have?

HAWKINS: Well, Mr. Harkness, the world outside the United States has a population of more than two billion people—that's 15 times the population of this country! Many millions of these people are customers whose living standards and purchasing-power are comparable to our own.

HARKNESS: Yes, but the vast majority are poor as church mice, aren't they?

HAWKINS: True, the great majority *are* extremely poor—by our standards—but, though their individual ability to buy our products is limited, in the aggregate their purchases are very large.

HARKNESS: In other words—farmers, industry, and labor—they're all interested in a world market. All right—what's necessary in order to develop this world market?

HAWKINS: Willingness to be paid.

HARKNESS: Willingness to be paid? What do you mean? Why would we refuse to be paid for what we sell?

HAWKINS: Well, we do just that when we shut out goods from other countries. The only way in which people in other nations can get the dollars to buy our goods is by selling us their goods. If we refuse to buy their goods, they won't have any dollars with which to buy the things we want to sell them.

HARKNESS: Well, that's certainly as clear as anyone could state it. But on the other hand, won't these imports put our own producers out of business? What about the low wages and low living standards abroad? How can *our* producers stand up against that kind of competition?

HAWKINS: This is a point that does need consideration, but it needs thoughtful consideration, not snap judgments based on the easy acceptance of catch phrases.

Competitive ability depends mainly on efficiency of production. Low living standards and low wages do *not* necessarily mean efficient production. In fact, misery and efficiency do not usually go together.

The fact is that although many of our industries pay the highest wages in the world, the unit cost of their product is so low that they can compete successfully in foreign markets where wages are far lower. Low wages are, in fact as well as in logic, usually accompanied by low efficiency. What counts in the competitive world market is total cost per unit of product, not simply labor cost per hour.

HARKNESS: Then, to sum up what you have said—

HAWKINS: All that I have said comes to about this: From whatever angle we view the post-war situation, trade policies of nations, particularly the larger ones, are of key importance. Our farmers, our manufacturers, our workers, all of us as taxpayers and consumers, have a big stake in an expanding world market. And as I've said, trade policies will be an important factor in determining whether we will this time win and retain the peace or blunder headlong into another bitter, costly world war.

HARKNESS: Thank you, Mr. Hawkins.

And now we turn to Mr. Adolf Berle, who is an Assistant Secretary of State. Mr. Berle, I'd like to get *your* views on the relationship of peace and sound international economic problems. Won't you sum up the situation as you see it?

BERLE: Well, we've got to remember that it's the everyday activities of men and women which set the big patterns of human behavior. The phrase "foreign relations" describes the end result of a great mass of underlying factors. You are friends with, and work with, other countries because you trade with them on a mutually satisfactory basis; because your people travel freely and happily there, and their people come freely and happily here; because your ships, your airplanes, your telegraph, your radio, and your journalists can render a real service both abroad and at home.

These are not merely the private adventures of private traders. Their sum total adds up to the result of friendship or coolness; or, in extreme cases, of peace or war.

And so, it's the business of the State Department to try to see that these various activities are so handled that the best interests of the United States are protected and promoted and that, in so doing, we do not threaten or injure the safety and prosperity of other friendly countries.

HARKNESS: That's an interesting summing up of the situation, Mr. Berle. I'd like to ask if you can mention some of the specific problems which are ahead and are receiving attention.

BERLE: Well, for example, there are labor problems of an international nature. The Department's new Division of Labor Relations has been working with the Department of Labor and other interested groups on these matters. Of interest in this connection is the meeting of the International Labor Organization which is to be held on April 20th next at Philadelphia.

Then—to continue—in telecommunication, for instance, there aren't any boundaries because the radio message wouldn't know a boundary if it saw one. Traffic through the air is no

longer a novelty—and every country in the world has an interest in air-transport problems. Some of these questions are wholly new in the world's history because they arise out of new discoveries. Their solutions ultimately have to be fitted into the pattern of world organization as it finally emerges. Is the idea of sea power, which stabilized the world for some time, still sound in terms of modern air power? Will international relations be the same when anyone in any country can talk to anyone in any other country as freely as we used to talk together in the same town?

No country—except in rare circumstances—can afford to be either on the giving or the receiving end of a breadline—permanently. So the principle has to be to find the ways by which the interests of our country can be promoted and at the same time give increased opportunity to other countries to improve their own international life.

These are all parts of the same problem. They come from the fact that economic life throughout the world is pretty closely connected. If the elements work together for general well-being, we have peace. If they struggle against each other, no peace is likely to be lasting.

HARKNESS: Thank you, Mr. Berle. Now let's get on to some other questions sent in by our listeners.

HARKNESS: Mr. Hawkins, earlier you spoke about the interest we had in enlarging our markets abroad for American exports. Don't we also have to make sure that we can get certain essential commodities *from* abroad? To be specific, I mean oil. You hear a lot of talk these days about dwindling American oil reserves.

HAWKINS: That's right, Mr. Harkness. We cannot continue to use our American oil even at the rate we have used it in the past without exhausting our supplies. We know that we will have to look abroad for oil. Of course, the primary immediate use for oil is in waging war. But in the years to follow, we will need oil for expanded commercial aviation, greater

industrial output, more automobiles, more fuel-oil furnaces, more oil-burning ships, and so on.

HARKNESS: Well, what are we going to do about it?

HAWKINS: The Atlantic Charter provides that all countries shall have access on equal terms to the world's raw materials. That doesn't apply just to foreign countries. It applies to us as well. Americans are already developing great oil fields abroad. The State Department welcomes and wants to encourage this development. The Department will certainly see to it that the interests of American nationals in foreign oil resources will get an even break.

HARKNESS: Thank you, Mr. Hawkins.

Mr. Acheson, do you agree with Mr. Hawkins that our oil supply is so precious that we need to augment it as much as possible with foreign oil to conserve what we have over here?

ACHESON: Yes, I most certainly do.

HARKNESS: All right, Sir—then answer *this* question. A great many of our listeners ask why, if our oil supplies are so scanty, do we send this precious fuel to Spain?

ACHESON: Well, Mr. Harkness, this is one of the cases we were discussing a few minutes ago—where we bargain with neutral countries for products which both we and our enemies want. Do you recall that?

HARKNESS: Yes.

ACHESON: Well, that's the reason for our sending oil to Spain.

HARKNESS: Oh, I get it! But there's another answer I want—to satisfy many more of our listeners. These people are fearful that the oil we are sending to Spain is getting into the hands of Germany. What have you to say about that, Mr. Taft?

TAFT: I will be glad to answer that, Mr. Harkness. By way of background I should say that the oil which is going from this hemisphere to Spain does not come from continental United States but from the Caribbean area and is carried not in *our* ships but in Spanish ships. So far as its getting into the hands of the enemy—

we have taken full precautions to see that this does not occur. The tankers are checked at the port of lading and again at the port of discharge by our own observers. In addition to most formal assurances from the Spanish Government that the oil so furnished will not be re-exported from Spain, we maintain in Spain a staff of observers whose sole duty it is to check the distribution and use of this oil. These controls have been in effect since 1942, and we have received no evidence indicating diversion to enemy destinations or enemy uses. Of course, you understand that quantities of oil which go to Spain in this manner fall far short of that country's normal supply.

HARKNESS: All right, Sir. Well, I guess we've managed to answer quite a number of the questions sent in by our listeners, and I want to thank you gentlemen for appearing here to participate in this show: Mr. Acheson, Mr. Berle, Mr. Hawkins, and Mr. Taft. Next week our line-up of outstanding personalities will include Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Speaker Rayburn of the House of Representatives, Senators Connally and Vandenberg, and Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long. I hope all of you people listening in will be with us then. And now—this is Richard Harkness saying "Good night" from Washington.

WASHINGTON ANNOUNCER: Good night, Richard Harkness. Ladies and gentlemen, we have just concluded the third of four programs to be broadcast from the State Department building in Washington, D.C. The series, entitled "The State Department Speaks", is presented as a public service by the NBC University of the Air to acquaint you, the American people, with the inner workings of one of the most important departments of your government. These four programs will be published in booklet form and you may have a copy free of charge by writing to this program, in care of NBC, New York. We suggest that you write at once. And be on hand again next week at the same time when—"The State Department Speaks".

American Republics

ADHERENCE BY COLOMBIA TO THE DECLARATION BY UNITED NATIONS

[Released to the press January 17]

The texts of communications exchanged by the Secretary of State and the Minister of Foreign Relations of Colombia regarding Colombia's adherence to the Declaration by United Nations follow:

DECEMBER 22, 1943.

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that the Government of Colombia has decided to adhere to the Declaration by the United Nations signed at Washington on January 1, 1942. This Government has sent full powers for signing this document to His Excellency Alfonso Lopez, titular President of the Republic, who is at present in New York. In taking this step, which constitutes a logical and natural evolution of her preceding international attitudes, Colombia ratifies her willingness to cooperate by all means within her power with the free nations of the world, involved, like herself, in a decisive combat against the totalitarian political system. In defense of the right and liberty of the peoples unjustly attacked on various occasions by the German Reich, my country has been compelled to proclaim a state of belligerency towards that Power and desires to bind itself closely to the bloc of nations united in the solidary effort against the common enemy and to collaborate more closely with the United States and the other belligerent nations of America in the defense of this continent. I request Your Excellency to take the necessary steps so that our plenipotentiary can sign the declaration to which I have referred, and I ask likewise that this action be made known to the Governments interested. I express cordial wishes for the victory of the United Nations

and for the increasing prosperity and greatness of the United States and I repeat to Your Excellency at this opportunity the assurances of my highest consideration.

CARLOS LOZANO Y LOZANO

DECEMBER 27, 1943.

I have received your telegram of December 22, 1943 stating that in defense of the right and liberty of peoples unjustly attacked by the German Reich, Colombia has been compelled to proclaim a state of belligerency toward that nation; that Colombia desires to bind itself closely to the nations united against the common enemy and to collaborate more closely with the United States and the other belligerent nations of America in the defense of this continent; and that the Government of Colombia has decided to adhere to the Declaration by United Nations and has sent full powers for signing this document to His Excellency, President Alfonso Lopez, who is now in New York.

Colombia's action in thus formally aligning itself with the United Nations brings to thirty-four the number of freedom-loving nations which have pledged themselves to employ their full resources in the struggle against the common enemy. On behalf of this Government, as depository for the Declaration by United Nations, I take great pleasure in welcoming Colombia into the ranks of the United Nations.

Appropriate arrangements are being made for President Lopez to sign the Declaration.

Please accept [etc.] CORDELL HULL

PRESENTATION OF LETTERS OF CREDENCE BY THE AMBASSADOR OF COLOMBIA

[Released to the press January 17]

A translation of the remarks of the newly appointed Ambassador of Colombia, Dr. Don Gabriel Turbay, upon the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence, January 17, follows:

MR. PRESIDENT:

I have the honor to hand to Your Excellency the letters accrediting me as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Colombia and those of recall of my predecessor and distinguished friend, Mr. Alberto Lleras Camargo, who has requested me to present to Your Excellency on this occasion his most respectful regards and his deep appreciation for the courtesies received from your Government during the time of his mission in the United States.

The President of Colombia has likewise, upon handing me the letters of credence, especially instructed me to express to Your Excellency, at this most welcome opportunity, his cordial sentiments of admiration and his best wishes for your welfare and for the greatness of your country.

I recently had the honor to represent my country before your Government and during that time it was exceptionally pleasing to me to receive the constant aid and the most cordial cooperation of Your Excellency in the task of creating new ties between our two countries based on a community of interests and ideals which time and the present international circumstances have served to fortify and to make stronger and more indestructible with each succeeding day.

Today I again represent my Government and bring the message of solidarity of the Colombian people to the people of the United States at a moment when Colombia has become one of the United Nations in this tremendous struggle against a common enemy who for four bloody years has vainly sought the predominance in the world of the postulates of violence and force.

I can announce to Your Excellency that the duties and obligations which my country will assume as a signatory of the Declaration of the United Nations will be fulfilled by our nation resolutely and with inflexible energy, whatever may be the sacrifices which it may have to bear, inspired by its traditional love for the cause of liberty and of democracy.

It will be a permanent concern of my diplomatic labor to contribute, with Your Excel-

lency's support, toward translating into reality all those prospects of political, military, and economic cooperation which will most effectively lead to the triumph of the United Nations in harmony with the gigantic efforts which the Government of the United States is making to win it and in conformity with the desires and purposes of my Government.

It is, Mr. President, a special pleasure for me to commence my work anew under the auspices of a like faith in an early and decisive victory of the democratic arms and in the advent of a just and stable peace which will succeed in preserving the principles of Christian civilization in the future organization of the world.

Permit me, Excellency, to add my wishes to those of the Government and of the people of Colombia for the prosperity of the United States and for Your Excellency's personal happiness.

The President's reply to the remarks of Dr. Don Gabriel Turbay follows:

MR. AMBASSADOR:

It is with particular pleasure that I receive from you the letters whereby His Excellency the President of the Republic of Colombia accredits you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary near the Government of the United States. In doing so I am privileged to welcome you as a personal friend whose earlier incumbency of the Ambassadorship of Colombia is still remembered with highest and most cordial regard.

I also accept the letters of recall of your esteemed predecessor who, during his period of residence near this Government, unfailingly carried on with that spirit of friendship and cooperation which so truly typifies the Republic of Colombia.

By the declaration of a state of belligerency with Germany and by adherence to the United Nations Declaration, Colombia has reaffirmed its historic devotion to the maintenance of those principles to which the United Nations are dedicated. It is by unity of thought and action

that the United Nations will, after accomplishing the utter defeat of those brutal and selfish powers which sought to enslave the world, achieve enduring peace and justice for mankind.

The steadfast and invaluable aid which Colombia has extended in behalf of our common cause has, I may assure you, been deeply appreciated by the Government and people of the United States. I shall personally regard it always as a privilege to facilitate your labors here, and I know you will likewise have the unfailing collaboration of the other officials of this Government in dealing with the multiple mutual problems which arise as we travel together the road to victory and peace, confident that the bonds of true friendship which so happily exist between our two Governments and peoples shall always remain solid and indestructible.

I assure Your Excellency of a most cordial welcome as you resume your duties as Ambassador, and I would ask you to convey to my good friend His Excellency, President López, my deep appreciation for his kind greetings and assure him of my sincere best wishes for him personally and for the increasing happiness and good fortune of the Colombian people.

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS FROM OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS

[Released to the press January 22]

Dr. André Dreyfus, dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Science, and Letters, and professor of general biology at the University of São Paulo, Brazil, has arrived in the United States as guest of the Department of State. Dr. Dreyfus, who is a distinguished geneticist, will spend some weeks in New York where he will work with Dr. Theodore Dobzhansky, professor of zoology at Columbia University. During his stay in the United States, Dr. Dreyfus will also visit leading universities in various sections of the country.

The Foreign Service

RESIGNATION OF ANTHONY J. DREXEL BIDDLE, JR.

[Released to the press by the White House January 22]

The President has accepted the resignation of Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, Jr., as Ambassador-Minister to the Allied governments established in London.

Mr. Biddle is accepting a commission in the Army and will be assigned as liaison officer on the staff of the Supreme Allied Commander in London for relationships with the Allied Governments in London. It is understood that Mr. Biddle's work as Ambassador-Minister will be carried on by the Chargé d'Affaires while he is in the military service and that no replacement for Mr. Biddle meanwhile will be appointed.

In accepting Mr. Biddle's resignation as Ambassador-Minister, the President wrote under date of January twenty-second:

"I have your letter of resignation as Ambassador-Minister to the Allied Governments established in London, and I accept it with very mixed feelings—such acceptance to go into effect at the time you take the oath of office as an Officer of the Army.

"From members of the different Governments to which you were accredited, as well as from their Chiefs of Staff, I have had nothing but the highest praise for your work.

"Your position has been one which is unique in all history to serve as Ambassador and Minister with so many different Governments simultaneously.

"In view of the fact that we are, I hope, approaching the period when these Governments must look forward to the reestablishment of their countries, I think it is very wise for us to take up the military side of the restoration problems and it is, therefore, entirely right and proper that you should act as liaison officer between them and our own armies.

"With all the good luck in the world and do keep me in close touch.

As ever yours,
FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT"

The letter of resignation follows:

"MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

"In tendering my resignation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Governments of Poland, Norway, The Netherlands, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Luxembourg established in London, in order to take up my new assignment in the United States Army, I want to send you on behalf both of my wife and myself, this expression of our deep appreciation of your friendship and confidence which we have enjoyed over the past number of years.

"I want to express my deep appreciation also for the assistance and advice which you so generously provided me during the years of my service abroad. Your close touch with foreign affairs and your clear grasp of the trend of world developments have been for me a constant source of inspiration and encouragement.

"My new assignment in the United States Army has given me real satisfaction and gratification and I want to express to you and to Secretary Hull my profound gratitude for your understanding in releasing me from the Foreign Service of the United States in order to join the armed forces.

"With my warmest regards and every good wish,

"I am,

Faithfully yours,
ANTHONY BIDDLE, Jr."

Legislation

Authorizing the United States To Partecipate in the Work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration:

Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 1st and 2d sess., on H. J. Res. 192. December 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 1943, and January 11, 1944. 349 pp. H. Rept. 994, 78th Cong., on H.J. Res. 192 [Favorable report.] 15 pp.

To Assist in Relieving Economic Distress in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands: Hearings Before the Committee on Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 1st sess., on S. 981. October 1, 12, and 19, 1943. Part 2, with appendix. ii, 98 pp.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Reciprocal Trade: Agreement Between the United States of America and Iceland—Signed at Reykjavik August 27, 1943; effective November 19, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 342. Publication 2042. 28 pp. 10¢.

OTHER AGENCIES

Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense: Annual Report Submitted to the Governments of the American Republics. July 1943. With an Appendix Containing the Recommendations Approved From April 15, 1942 to July 15, 1943. xii, 287 pp. English edition distributed by the Pan American Union.

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The War

JAPANESE ATROCITIES

Statement by the Secretary of State

At his press and radio news conference on January 28 the Secretary of State declared, in reply to an inquiry in regard to the Japanese mistreatment of American prisoners of war in the Far East:

“According to the reports of cruelty and inhumanity, it would be necessary to summon, to assemble together all the demons available from anywhere and combine the fiendishness which all of them embody in order to describe the conduct of those who inflicted these unthinkable tortures on Americans and Filipinos . . .”

The Secretary added in reply to other inquiries that the Department of State had been constantly endeavoring to obtain as complete information as possible with respect to the situation of prisoners of war and civilian internees in the Far East, that whenever information regarding any case of cruelty had been received a protest had been made to the Japanese Government, but that the United States had not received from the Japanese Government satisfactory replies to the protests which had been made.

Statement by Joseph C. Grew ¹

In response to an inquiry in regard to Japanese atrocities on American and Filipino soldiers in the Philippine Islands, Mr. Grew said:

“No language can possibly express my feelings and the feelings of every American today. Our burning rage and fury at the reported medieval and utterly barbarous acts of the Japanese military in the Philippines are far too deep to find

expression in words, and the country will be shaken from coast to coast. My broadcast over CBS on August 30, 1942 just after returning from Japan and my book *Report from Tokyo* tried to express my views then, and those views have now become intensified. My feelings make me, and I should think every other American this morning, want to fight this war on the home front with grimmer determination than ever before.”

¹ Mr. Grew, formerly American Ambassador to Japan, is now Special Assistant to the Secretary of State.

SUSPENSION OF OIL SHIPMENTS TO SPAIN¹

[Released to the press January 28]

The loadings of Spanish tankers with petroleum products for Spain have been suspended through action of the State Department, pending a reconsideration of trade and general relations between Spain and the United States in the light of trends in Spanish policy. The Spanish Government has shown a certain reluctance to satisfy requests deemed both reasonable and important by the State Department and concerning which representations have continuously been addressed to the Spanish Government for some time past. Certain Italian warships and merchant vessels continue interned in Spanish ports; Spain continues to permit the export to Germany of certain vital war materials such as wolfram; Axis agents are active both in continental Spain and in Spanish African territory as well as in Tangier; some portion of the Blue Division appears still involved in the war against one of our allies; and reports have been received indicating the conclusion of a financial arrangement between the Spanish Government and Germany designed to make available to Germany substantial peseta credits which Germany unquestionably expects to apply to augmenting espionage and sabotage in Spanish territory and to intensifying opposition to us in the peninsula.

This action has been taken after consultation and agreement with the British Government.

SOVIET REPLY TO THE UNITED STATES INQUIRY REGARDING THE POLISH DECLARATION OF JANUARY 14, 1944

At his press and radio news conference on January 26 the Secretary of State declared that the Soviet Government had replied to the inquiry whether the good offices of the United

¹ See also BULLETIN of Mar. 6, 1943, p. 201, and of Mar. 13, 1943, p. 218.

States with a view to arranging for the initiation of discussions between the Polish and Soviet Governments looking to a resumption of official relations between them would be agreeable to the Soviet Government. He added that the Soviet Government, after expressing appreciation of the offer made by the United States, had stated that it felt that conditions had not yet reached the stage where such good offices could be utilized to advantage.

SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS BY ARGENTINA WITH GERMANY AND JAPAN

[Released to the press January 29]

A translation of a telegram which has been received by President Roosevelt from President Ramirez of Argentina follows:

BUENOS AIRES, *January 26, 1944.*

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that in the exercise of constitutional powers I have proceeded to sign the decree of breach of diplomatic relations with the Governments of Germany and Japan. While advising Your Excellency of this decision which the Argentine Government adopts for the protection not only of its sovereignty but also of continental defense, I repeat to you the assurances of the firm purpose that animates us of strengthening more and more the friendly relations which so happily have always existed between our two countries.

GENERAL PEDRO P. RAMIREZ

The following message has been sent by President Roosevelt to President Ramirez:

JANUARY 28, 1944.

I wish to express to Your Excellency my pleasure in learning of the decision of your Government to sever diplomatic relations with Germany and Japan. It is especially welcome to hear that Argentina has thus affirmed its intention to assist fully in the defense of the continent.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

[Released to the press January 26]

At his press and radio news conference on January 26 the Secretary of State made the following statement:

"It will be most gratifying to all the Allied Nations, including especially the American republics, to learn that Argentina has broken diplomatic relations with Germany and Japan. This action was taken because the Argentine Government realizes that the Axis countries are using Argentina as a vast operating base for espionage and other activities highly dangerous to the security and internal peace of the hemisphere. It must be assumed from her action that Argentina will now proceed energetically to adopt the other measures which all the American republics have concerted for the security of the continent."

THE PUPPET GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

[Released to the press January 29]

The Department of State has received through official channels a denial of the allegations contained in a Japanese news agency report broadcast January 8. The enemy broadcast stated that the Holy See recognized the so-called Republic of the Philippines.

The Department has been informed that, consistent with the policy of refusing to accord recognition until after peace has been concluded to states and regimes which have arisen in the course and as the result of war, the Holy See has not recognized the Japanese puppet regime in the Philippines.

The Department

"THE STATE DEPARTMENT SPEAKS"

[Released to the press January 29]

The text of the fourth of a series of four broadcasts over the National Broadcasting Company entitled "The State Department Speaks", follows:

Participants

CORDELL HULL	Secretary of State
SAM RAYBURN	Speaker of the House of Representatives
TOM CONNALLY	United States Senator, Chairman of Committee on Foreign Relations of United States Senate
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG	United States Senator, Member of Committee on Foreign Relations of United States Senate
BRECKINRIDGE LONG	Assistant Secretary of State
RICHARD HARKNESS	Representing the public

WASHINGTON ANNOUNCER: For the American people, the National Broadcasting Company presents the fourth and last of a special series of programs called "The State Department Speaks". We take you now to the State Department Building on Pennsylvania Avenue here in Washington, D. C.

HARKNESS: Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. This is Richard Harkness. Tonight, as your representative, I find myself in distinguished company indeed. Seated around this table in the Secretary of State's office are Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Speaker Sam Rayburn, Senators Tom Connally and Arthur H. Vandenberg, and Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long. As you can judge from this list, our subject this evening is the important one of the relationship of Congress and the State Department in the formulation and execution of our foreign policy—the role played

in these processes by the elected representatives of the people in the Senate and the House of Representatives. Mr. Secretary, won't you say something on this subject?

HULL: From my long experience in both chambers of the Capitol, I know how rightly jealous the Congress is of its constitutional prerogatives, how properly insistent it is upon its full share in the making of foreign policy. I need not tell my three old friends and former colleagues, who are here with me tonight, nor the rest of the members of the House and the Senate, how conscious I am at all times of what I felt when I was located at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. For the past 11 years it has been my pleasure to meet with them often, individually or in groups, here in the Department or at the Capitol, to counsel together frankly and fully on questions concerning the well-being of our country.

Under our system of government, the safeguarding and promotion of the nation's interests is a joint responsibility of the Executive and the Legislature. Neither can be effective without the other, and the two together can be effective only when there exists between them mutual trust and confidence. In peace and in war, the two branches of the Government are joint trustees for the country's destiny.

All of us are facing today truly unprecedented war tasks.

In this struggle, the Executive and the Congress have one thought, and one only: To do everything that may be needed to bring the war to a victorious end as rapidly as possible. America stands today in the panoply of vast power dedicated solely and whole-heartedly to the utter defeat of our enemies. Dark days are still ahead, but there is in our hearts complete confidence that the unremitting efforts and heavy sacrifices of our heroic armed forces and of a nation united at home will bring us complete victory in this war for self-preservation from the forces of embattled evil.

Equally unprecedented tasks will confront our nation and its Government in the difficult

days that will follow the cessation of hostilities. In some ways, the post-war tasks will be scarcely less exacting than those which face us now.

Our supreme task in the future will be to make sure that all this does not happen again.

I firmly believe that this great goal is possible of attainment. To attain it, our nation and the other peace-loving nations must be firmly resolved never to permit differences between them to reach the point of armed conflict, but rather to adjust them by peaceful means. We and the other peace-loving nations must be equally resolved and prepared to use force if necessary—promptly, in adequate measure and with certainty—to prevent or repress acts of aggression by nations which may refuse to be peace-abiding members of the family of nations. Finally, we and the other peace-loving nations must be resolved to cooperate commercially and otherwise in order that there may be created, for all nations and all peoples, greater opportunities and better facilities for political, economic, and social advancement. Such cooperation is essential if there is to be any hope of eliminating the causes of international conflicts.

The Congress, by non-partisan action, and the Executive, through acts and utterances, have placed on record this country's determination that the supreme task of the future shall be successfully accomplished. All of us are acutely aware of the fact that behind this determination is the united will of our people. All of us know that we can be true to the trust reposed in us only if we find effective means of making sure that what is happening today does not happen again.

It is not enough for our nation alone to stand firmly behind the kind of program for peace-keeping that I have briefly described. The achievement of such a program requires united action by many nations. It must be our task to exert to that end every ounce of our influence.

This will require patience, and tolerance, and good-will, and readiness to play our full part, and every other attribute of enlightened leadership. There will be many difficulties to over-

come. They can be overcome if our people continue to see clearly that the price of failure is national disaster and if the Congress and the Executive continue to work together.

HARKNESS: Thank you, Secretary Hull. Now, I know that all of us, including yourself, will listen with great interest to what your distinguished friends have to say; and then maybe you'll be kind enough to come back to say another few words. And now, ladies and gentlemen, may I present the first of our guests from Capitol Hill—the respected and esteemed Speaker of the House of Representatives—for 30 years member of Congress for the fourth district of Texas—the Honorable Sam Rayburn.

RAYBURN: For over a century foreign policy was something which held comparatively little interest for most of the American people. Events of the past 30 years have changed this public indifference to intense and deep interest in our foreign affairs. Twice in that time we have poured our blood and our wealth into overseas wars in the defense of our security. Every day the morning paper tells us of some hitherto obscure part of the world where American fighting men—our relatives and friends—have landed and are in grips with the enemy.

We now know, and we must never again forget, that we are directly and vitally involved in world affairs; that henceforth foreign policy concerns not a few diplomats alone but the entire nation and all groups within the nation.

We are, and we intend to remain, a government of the people, and our foreign policy must therefore be backed by the will and convictions of the people.

HARKNESS: Mr. Speaker, as one who occupies the highest position of responsibility and honor in the House of Representatives, would you please give us your views on the role of the Congress in formulating and carrying out our foreign policy?

RAYBURN: If a successful foreign policy depends upon the continuous participation and support of the whole nation, the Congress as

elected representatives of the people has, indeed, an important part to play.

I should like to call to mind some of the actions taken by the Congress, in cooperation with the Executive, in the dark years from 1939 through 1941 to resist the aggressor's designs: The repeal of the arms embargo in 1939, the armament program and the Selective Service Act of 1940, the lend-lease legislation in 1941. These measures have all played an important part in forging the weapons which yesterday threw back and today are beating down our enemies. These all were major acts of foreign policy. They were, moreover, measures of foreign policy which under our form of government could only be undertaken and effectively applied through the cooperation of the Executive and both houses of the Congress.

HARKNESS: What about the future, Mr. Speaker?

RAYBURN: The Congress is now giving attention to the future problems of maintaining the peace and security for which we fight. A few months ago the House of Representatives, by an overwhelming and bipartisan majority, adopted the Fulbright resolution urging the participation of this country in international peace machinery. This striking declaration of the House of Representatives played its full part, I am sure, along with the Connally resolution of the Senate and the momentous Four-Nation Declaration adopted at the Moscow Conference, in making clear to the world that this nation stands united behind a foreign policy of effective international cooperation.

The Senate, of course, has its important constitutional function of giving its advice and consent to treaties regulating our relations with other countries. But the House of Representatives has a position in the field of foreign affairs which, perhaps, is not as well understood as it should be. The House, which is elected every 2 years, is uniquely representative of the opinions, the hopes and the fears of the American people in their home communities.

I have already mentioned some recent examples of major foreign-policy measures in which the House of Representatives participated by exercising its legislative powers. There are many others. For example, all tariff bills must originate in the House, and this has meant that such well-known foreign-economic-policy measures as the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act are first considered in the House Committee on Ways and Means. Similarly, the Committee on Appropriations of the House maintains the closest touch with the Department of State and aspects of our foreign affairs. It is this Committee which determines in the first instance how much, and for what purposes funds are to be made available to the Department of State and other executive agencies doing foreign-affairs work. These are some of the less widely known phases of the House of Representatives part in the conduct of our foreign relations.

Best known to all is the work of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. It is this Committee which considered such measures as the repeal of the arms embargo, lend-lease, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the Fulbright resolution, and other highly important matters of foreign policy.

In the coming months and years the United States will have many vital decisions to make on the nature of the arrangements which are to be established for the future maintenance of peace. If these arrangements are to be accepted, if we are to make them effective, they must represent the views and have the sustained support of the American people as a whole. The Congress of the United States—the elected representatives of the American people—will do its share, I am confident, in making the will of the American people effective in the promotion of international peace and well-being.

HARKNESS: Thank you, Speaker Rayburn. Now, I think we should try to get a little insight into the State Department's relations with Congress—from the man who handles that part

of the State Department's work—Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long. I'm right on that, am I not, Mr. Long? You *are* in charge of congressional relations?

LONG: Yes, Mr. Harkness, I am. But I should add that this is an aspect of the Department's work which also receives a great deal of personal attention from the Secretary himself.

HARKNESS: Well, won't you go right ahead, Mr. Long—tell us—how close *are* the Department's relations with Congress?

LONG: Well, as a matter of practice the officers of the Department are continuously in touch with members of Congress in several ways. First is what might be termed routine business. This consists of matters their constituents are interested in as individuals, including every conceivable need for assistance affecting the interests of citizens abroad. Then, secondly, there are the matters of foreign policy in which the members of Congress have an official interest as legislators.

Also, there are the more formal relationships with the congressional committees. These are the most important phases of all the dealings between the Congress and the Department for, you see, the congressional committees make sure that proposed legislation which might have an effect upon our foreign relations is referred to the Secretary of State for an expression of views before any proposal is acted upon. These views are submitted by the Department generally in writing for the consideration of the particular congressional committee involved.

HARKNESS: I see; now, how about treaties?

LONG: With treaties the Department has a twofold experience. To begin with, the Department negotiates treaties. They are solemn obligations entered into by our Government with other governments and concern our sovereign rights as a nation. Once negotiated on behalf of the President, they are submitted by the President to the Senate. The Department's second phase then begins. We are then prepared, if requested, to meet with the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and present

our views and information in support of the provisions of the proposed treaty. Sometimes this is a long procedure. An important treaty necessarily involves a lot of discussion.

HARKNESS: Yes, we all know that in years gone by a number of treaties have been bitterly contested in the Senate. What other contacts do you have with Congress, Mr. Long?

LONG: Well, I might mention those occasions when the officers of the Department discuss *informally* questions of foreign policy with the congressional committees having jurisdiction over foreign affairs.

HARKNESS: You say they discuss these questions *informally* with the congressional committees. What do you mean by that, Mr. Long?

LONG: By that I mean we have these discussions not in open hearings but in executive sessions of the committees with no stenographer present. As you know we can't always divulge publicly every aspect of our dealings with foreign governments during negotiations, but we well recognize that appropriate members of the Congress should be kept informed. To every practicable extent, we lay the cards on the table and tell the members of committees off the record the things which would be helpful to their understanding of a particular foreign policy. Under these circumstances we in the State Department have frequently appeared before Senator Connally's Committee on Foreign Relations, of which Senator Vandenberg is a member. Our associations with this committee are cordial, and I think the results have been very good.

HARKNESS: Mr. Long, I'd like to ask you this—you've served abroad as an ambassador and you're now representing the State Department in its relations with Congress. Which of these two jobs requires the most diplomatic talent?

LONG: Mr. Harkness, "diplomatic talent", as you express it, I think is mostly common sense, mixed up with ordinary courtesy, based on an

understanding of our country's national interest. Our dealings with members of the Congress are on that basis, and we find that they too have "diplomatic talent".

HARKNESS: That's a nice compliment to your congressional friends, Mr. Long. Thank you, Sir. Now let's hear from another legislator—the distinguished Republican Senator from Michigan, Arthur H. Vandenberg. Senator, as a minority member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, what are *your* views on the relationship of Congress and the State Department in the formulation and execution of foreign policy?

VANDBERG: The State Department and the Senate are in a constitutional partnership in many aspects of American foreign policy. No one needs to be historically reminded that the Senate has a direct veto on all treaties. They require a two-thirds Senate ratification; and failure of such ratification can and has changed the course of history.

In a broader sense the State Department and Congress as a whole—the House as well as the Senate—are in a constitutional partnership. For example, only the whole Congress, by majority vote in each branch, can declare war. Again, the House is particularly charged with control of the nation's purse strings—and appropriations are often vital to implement foreign policy (even though we have abandoned some of our old ideas of "dollar diplomacy").

It is perfectly obvious, on the face of the record, that there should be the closest possible relationship, therefore, and the fullest possible candor between the State Department and the Congress in general and the Senate in particular.

I realize that diplomacy cannot always function in a town meeting and that there are many delicate international negotiations which cannot always be broadcast even to 531 members of the Senate and the House, particularly in time of war. But I profoundly believe that national policy—a "people's foreign policy"—will be

surer and safer in proportion as these constitutional partners may draw closer together in the discharge of their mutual functions.

I am happy to join in congratulating Secretary Hull and Chairman Connally of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the progress that has been made in this direction. Senator Connally has brought in many representatives of the State Department to give the Foreign Relations Committee first-hand confidential information regarding foreign situations during the past year. It has been most helpful. It is the working of a practical partnership. I am particularly happy that Assistant Secretary Long is here tonight. He has often represented the State Department upon these occasions; and he is one of our favorite visitors.

HARKNESS: Have you any concrete example, Senator, of the tangible value of these closer relationships?

VANDENBERG: Yes. The usefulness of this liaison is perhaps best illustrated by the recent history of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agreement between the United States and 43 foreign powers. At first it was proposed to promulgate this as a simple executive agreement. The Senate promptly—and rightly—rose up on its high horse and said it was a treaty which had to be ratified by the Senate. Instead of fighting out this sterile deadlock, a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee sat down with representatives of the State Department; in mutual contacts they re-wrote the agreement to satisfy the Senate it was no longer in the treaty class; it is now being submitted to both branches of Congress as part of a joint resolution of authority for appropriations. We are pulling together instead of pulling apart. That's a fine sample of the partnership cooperation which our "foreign policy" requires.

HARKNESS: Yes, I agree, Sir.

VANDENBERG: I would be less than frank, however, if I did not say that there is still much progress needed in this direction. After carefully studying the State Department's so-called

"White Paper"—detailing our relations with Tokyo for 11 months preceding Pearl Harbor—I am bound to say that neither Congress nor the country, nor the Senate Foreign Relations Committee itself, had the remotest information or idea about the *realities* that were sweeping us toward inevitable war. Congress cannot legislate intelligently in any such vacuum. I am sure Pearl Harbor wasn't one tenth as much of a surprise to the President and the State Department as it was to the House and Senate and the country. I hasten to repeat that I fully understand that many of these subsequent disclosures could not have been made before. But I also repeat that the nearer we can approach more complete information and understanding among the constitutional partners who must deal with "foreign policy" the safer our course will be.

I commend the State Department's praiseworthy efforts in this vital direction. The need will infinitely multiply as we approach the peace settlements of this world war. I hope and pray for a community of interest and action, regardless of politics, which will best serve America and stabilized civilization everywhere. Meanwhile, please let me toss an orchid to Secretary Hull, who is one of the truly great characters in modern statesmanship.

HARKNESS: All right, Senator Vandenberg—thank you, Sir. Now, let's hear from one of the best-known men on Capitol Hill—the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations—Senator Tom Connally of Texas.

CONNALLY: The most important fact about our being met together here tonight in the Department of State is that it is *not* an unusual meeting. If there were something unusual about members of the Congress meeting with the Secretary of State for discussion of our foreign affairs our nation would, indeed, be in a peculiar state.

The integrity of our form of government rests upon the separation of the legislative and the executive powers. But the welfare of our country demands the intelligent cooperation of

these two coordinate and independent branches of our Government. While their functions are independent, yet their objectives are the common good, and cooperation to that end is appropriate.

Let our people always remember that an ineffective government is only less undesirable than a tyrannical government. Tyranny is to be abhorred, but history teaches that tyranny goads a frantic people to freedom. Ineffective government on the other hand not infrequently invites the tyranny of *either* the demagogue or the conqueror.

HARKNESS: Senator Connally, it seems to me that what you've just said is the story of much of Europe during the past 10 years or so.

CONNALLY: I firmly believe it.

HARKNESS: Well, do you feel, Sir, that we've had effective cooperation between the Congress and the Executive in the handling of our foreign affairs?

CONNALLY: If you mean, Mr. Harkness, have we had such cooperation throughout our history I would say that, with the exception of several tragic failures, we have generally had reasonable cooperation between the Congress and the Executive. It was this effective cooperation within our Government that has made it possible for our country to play an effective part in the common cause of the United Nations. Our task, our cause, today is the utter defeat of the Axis. Beyond that is our common ultimate goal—the establishment throughout the world of a just and enduring peace.

Let's make no mistake about it. Neither task will be easy. It will not be easy to bring our enemies to their knees. The blood and treasure which are yet to be poured out in this cause cannot be measured. But we are committed and determined to see it through.

HARKNESS: That's the way we all feel about it, Senator Connally, but where do we stand in your opinion concerning the ultimate task of making sure, as Secretary Hull just put it, "that all this does not happen again"?

CONNALLY: Well, as I just remarked, Mr. Harkness, this also will not be an easy task. But, Heaven forbid any man should ever say that the sublime objective of world peace is impossible! It is not impossible. And it is worth a sublime effort.

Senator Vandenberg has mentioned the constitutional responsibilities of the Senate in the approval of treaties. He has been most gracious in his references to my part in bringing representatives of the State Department and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee together for valuable exchanges of views and information on the foreign situation. Let me say that, heavy as are the tasks of the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, they will be borne cheerfully as long as the burden can be shared with colleagues who in this work, regardless of party, have no other interest than the best interest of our country. No member of our committee has approached our common tasks with a greater spirit of helpfulness and national service than has Senator Vandenberg.

Last fall, as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I presented to the Senate on behalf of the committee a resolution designed to make clear the intention of the Senate that this country should cooperate with its comrades-in-arms in securing a just and honorable peace and that the United States, acting through its constitutional processes, should join with free and sovereign nations in the establishment and maintenance of international authority with power to prevent aggression and to preserve the peace of the world. After thorough discussion on the floor of the Senate, the resolution was adopted by an overwhelming vote.

The Senate of the United States has thereby announced to the world its determination that we intend to participate with other peace-seeking nations to keep the peace which we now fight to gain.

HARKNESS: Thank you, Senator Connally. And now back to Secretary Hull.

Mr. Secretary, I wonder if you would comment on Senator Vandenberg's statement that

neither the Congress nor the country had the remotest information or idea about the realities that were sweeping us toward war. I noticed he also said that he fully understood that many of the subsequent disclosures—such as were made in the State Department's "White Paper"—could not have been made before.

HULL: Senator Vandenberg is a very old friend, and I am always interested in what he has to say. I fully agree with his statement that many of the disclosures subsequently made could not be made before without jeopardizing our national safety. But we certainly disagree on his first statement. My view is this: The tragedy of our pre-Pearl-Harbor situation lay not in lack of warning as to the steadily approaching dangers to this hemisphere and this country. The President and I and other responsible officials did everything we could by utterance and acts to make clear and emphasize these growing dangers.

If these repeated warnings failed to impress some of our people, I can only explain such failure by the fact that, during that period, too many of our people profoundly believed that no serious danger from foreign wars did or could threaten this country and that about all the nation had to do to keep out of war was to stay at home and mind its own business. It was as impossible to convince these people against this profound conviction they entertained at the time as it would have been to convince them against any other profound belief held by them.

I am sure that we are all now agreed that in this experience lies our greatest lesson for the future. Speaker Rayburn, Senator Connally, Senator Vandenberg, and I are in complete agreement that effective cooperation between the executive and the legislative branches of the Government and unflagging alertness on the part of our people to dangers as they threaten are all indispensable to our national safety and well-being.

Before this final program ends, I should like to say a few words of appreciation for the courtesy of the National Broadcasting Company in arranging, through this series, for my associates and myself to speak to the people of this

country on matters of such grave concern to all of us. I want to compliment Mr. Harkness for his conduct of the programs. I am deeply grateful to Speaker Rayburn and to Senators Connally and Vandenberg for their contribution to the discussion this evening.

I sincerely hope that these programs will have helped the American people to a better understanding of what our foreign policy is about and of how it is conducted. There is no greater danger confronting a democracy in the conduct of its foreign affairs than indifference on the part of the people to the great issues at stake and the resulting absence of clear thinking and constructive criticism. The first duty of responsible American citizenship is enlightened interest in public affairs, both domestic and foreign, and constant alertness to every manifestation of danger.

HARKNESS: Thank you once again, Secretary Hull, and thanks also to our other distinguished guests, Speaker Rayburn, Senators Connally and Vandenberg, and Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long.

As all of you know, this is the last of this special limited series of programs arranged for broadcast by the NBC University of the Air to reveal to the American people something of the work, procedure, and policies of our Department of State. Judging by our mailbox, the series has been most successful. And to all of you Americans who listened each week with such keen interest, to the many who wrote us letters of praise and constructive criticism, I want to say for NBC and the State Department—thanks a million. It's a real pleasure to serve you. Now—this is Richard Harkness saying "Good night" from Washington.

WASHINGTON ANNOUNCER: Good night, Richard Harkness. Ladies and gentlemen, we have just concluded the last of four programs broadcast as a public service under the title "The State Department Speaks". These four programs will be published in booklet form and you may have a copy free of charge by writing to "The State Department Speaks" in care of NBC, New York. But to be sure of your copy you must write at once.

American Republics

THE UNITED STATES AND PANAMA

*By Philip W. Bonsal*¹

I

Panama is the newest of the American republics; it is also the smallest from the point of view of population. The country's area is about that of the State of Maine; the people number about half a million. Yet the Republic, through its history and its present-day institutions and characteristics, has demonstrated that its people deservedly enjoy the rights of nationhood. History, geography, and economics have conspired to place the citizens of Panama and of the United States on the Isthmus in peculiarly close contact.

The Canal Zone, which frames the Canal, is a 10-mile-wide strip, bisecting the Republic (except where the nation's two principal cities, Panamá and Colón, form virtual enclaves in the Zone). The boundary between the Canal Zone and the Republic of Panama in the terminal areas at either end of the Canal consists of city streets. Panamá and Balboa, Colón and Cristóbal, though they fly different flags, are urban units. The Canal itself is the most valuable single economic and military asset of the United States. Its importance in time of war as well as in time of peace cannot be exaggerated. Therefore, the relations between Panama and the United States afford a peculiarly significant demonstration of the success or failure of the patterns for international living adopted by the two nations as members of the community of American republics.

When, on May 3 of 1943, President Roosevelt signed a joint resolution passed by the House and Senate authorizing the performance of cer-

tain commitments entered into by the executive branch of our Government with the Republic of Panama,² he formalized the final step in a 10-year process in which the two countries may find justified satisfaction and pride. Thanks to prolonged, but frank and good-tempered, negotiation and with the approval of the duly elected representatives of the two peoples, the policy of the good neighbor has been given full expression in solemn covenants and in other arrangements governing the relations of Panama and the United States.

II

When in 1903 Panama became independent, and thus achieved an aspiration actively cherished by many Isthmian citizens since the overthrow of Spanish power 80 years before, the new republic promptly entered into that treaty relationship with the United States which made possible the construction of the Canal.³ That treaty, signed two weeks after the birth of the republic, governed the dealings of the two countries during the heroic days of the building of the Canal, through the first World War, and on to the very eve of the present conflict.

In passing upon the terms of the document signed by John Hay and Philippe Bunau-Varilla it is necessary to bear in mind the respective situations of the parties. Panama had just won her independence. Neither her citizens nor those of the former sovereign of the territory had as yet achieved any outstanding record for civil stability. As a matter of fact, Colombia was emerging more or less exhausted

¹The author of this article is the Deputy Director of the Office of American Republic Affairs of the Department of State.

²57 Stat. 74.

³Convention of Nov. 18, 1903, Treaty Series 431.

from the last of the great civil struggles in the course of which her admirable democratic structure was forged. The Panamanians had not yet created, much less tested, the constitutional institutions upon which the domestic peace and prosperity of the new nation were to depend.

On the other hand, the United States was a novice in inter-American affairs, as well as in any real degree of participation in international affairs on a world-wide scale. The frontier as a focus for the national energies was only beginning to lose its place. The people were drawing breath and looking at the world beyond their borders. The enterprise of the construction of the Canal fired the imaginations and enlisted the devotion of those who had freed Cuba and cherished a vision of the place the United States might assume in world affairs during the dawning century. The first steps in the assumption of that place were necessarily without the benefit of experience, although they made up in vigor what they lacked in careful direction. In fact, the decade which began with 1898 witnessed a complete transformation in the international outlook of the United States through the assumption of international responsibilities.

The construction of the Canal, therefore, involved the reaching of an agreement between a powerful, growing nation in which the imperialists were in full control of foreign policy, on the one hand, and, on the other, a small new nation with entirely different traditions, institutions, and language. The resulting agreement was the convention of 1903. Viewed in its proper setting and considered in the light of the political principles of the times it cannot be considered ungenerous. It was realistic. Its provisions for the health and sanitation of the Canal, of the terminal cities, and of the adjacent areas, recognized one of the principal factors, if not the principal factor, in the failure of the French Canal Company and assured to the United States powers sufficient to eliminate that factor. The wisdom of these provisions cannot be questioned. They were essential to the success of the entire enterprise, and the Panamanians had more, if possible, to gain from them than did the United States.

However, from the political point of view, the treaty was onerous from the beginning and became more so to a people aspiring to integral sovereignty. The very first article stated that "The United States guarantees and will maintain the independence of the Republic of Panama." With the recollection of recent civil disturbances fresh in their minds, the American negotiators insisted that the United States should have the right to intervene at any time "for the maintenance of public order in the cities of Panama and Colon and the territories and harbors adjacent thereto in case the Republic of Panama should not be, in the judgment of the United States, able to maintain such order." Intervention was to be undertaken purely in our discretion, without discussion or even an appeal for assistance from the Panamanian Government.

The treaty also gave us the right, should we consider it desirable for the purpose of the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of the Canal, to take Panamanian land and water areas located outside the Canal area without consulting the Panamanian Government. The existence of this right, and particularly the provision that it could be exercised at our initiative alone, was considered—and rightly considered—by Panamanians to be a constant threat to their territorial integrity.

It is obviously beyond the scope of this article to trace in detail the relations between the two countries as they were affected by the exercise of the two treaty rights described above. That task has already been ably performed, notably by Dr. William David McCain, now archivist of the State of Mississippi, in his concise, scholarly volume entitled *The United States and the Republic of Panama*. Yet the exercise of those rights brought home to the two parties certain truths and illustrated certain lessons in international relations which must be emphasized.

The right to maintain public order in the principal cities of the Republic was inserted in the treaty on behalf of the United States for the purpose of protecting the Canal and the installations in the Canal Zone from the possible effects of armed violence, whether by organ-

ized military elements or by mobs from the Republic. It may also have been thought that, even though such violence did not extend to the territory of the Zone, the consequent disruption of normal activity in the Republic could not but be prejudicial to Canal interests. In practice, however, these fears proved to be largely unfounded. The institutions of the Republic were consolidated without great turmoil; militarism never became a factor in local politics. The United States did intervene from time to time. Yet, due to the increasing prosperity and enlightenment of the citizens of the Republic, the original cause for the assertion of this right on behalf of the United States soon ceased to exist to any really important or predictable extent.

It is, of course, true that the right was also exercised from time to time to remedy conditions arising from the presence in the cities of the Republic of persons from the Canal Zone, both members of the armed forces and Canal employees and laborers. The resulting difficulties, particularly in times of congestion on the Isthmus as during the last war, strained the law-enforcement agency of the Republic. Yet the eventual remedy was found not in intervention by the United States but rather in a growing realization on the part of the Panama authorities of the importance of the maintenance of orderly conditions in the areas of Panamá and Colón frequented by visitors.

It is a fair conclusion that the dangers which were to have been warded off through the exercise of the right of intervention have proved to be in fact non-existent. Yet that right did impose upon the United States a heavy obligation and upon the citizens of the Republic a serious handicap in the development of their political institutions. From the very early days our representatives on the Isthmus considered the maintenance of orderly, stable government in the Republic to be one of their principal duties. In other words, they undertook to pass upon the relative merits of the "ins" and the "outs" and to use the threat of intervention to maintain "constitutional" order. It cannot be questioned that this type of paternalism was

often—perhaps regularly—exercised from the sincerest and most high-minded motives. Nevertheless, the end result was stultifying to the civic progress of the Republic.

Political responsibility in Panama became lodged in the Legation of the United States—not in the voices and the actions of the citizenry. The relative merits of the contending parties were sometimes argued with more warmth before the American Minister than before the electorate. The party in power relied upon the American Minister as its staunchest support in internal affairs. The leaders of the "outs" devoted a large part of their energies and of their eloquence to denouncing in Washington the sins of the party ruling in Panama. Every act of the Minister and of the Department of State affecting Panama was interpreted in terms of local politics. The civic virtues of combativeness and aggressiveness in support of honestly held principles must indeed be hardy growths to flourish, when it is generally believed that responsibility for—and certainly power over—local political conditions is lodged in the representative of a foreign government enjoying, at his own discretion, a right of armed intervention.

Equally burdensome to the Panamanians was the right reserved to the United States to seize lands and waters additional to those comprised in the Canal Zone for Canal purposes. While the lands actually added to the Zone after 1903 were undoubtedly needed for purposes clearly related to the Canal, the very existence of this right, exercisable at our will and without recourse, was a permanent menace not only to the integrity of the nation but also to the undisturbed enjoyment of their private property by its citizens. One case, that of Taboga Island, will illustrate the feeling of helpless insecurity and bitterness engendered by this provision of the treaty of 1903.

Taboga is an island with an area of about two square miles located in the Bay of Panama. It is beautiful and healthful; it has a small resident population and, in addition, has long been a health and vacation resort for the inhabitants of the capital of the Republic.

On November 14, 1918, three days after the Armistice, marking the complete victory of the Allied and Associated Powers, the United States notified Panama, a faithful ally in the late struggle, that the greater part of Taboga Island would be taken over for defense purposes. This wholly arbitrary and ill-considered action caused a tremendous wave of indignation. A formal protest was sent to the Department of State; after 20 days the protest was rejected, and the rejection was later reiterated. In January 1919, however, the Panamanian Government was informed that the United States would not take possession at once and was "anxious to adopt a liberal policy" with regard to the inhabitants. It is hard to see how this can have been any great relief to the people concerned. Finally, in June of 1920, over a year and one half after the original notification, our authorities decided that, instead of the 1,160 acres they had originally stated to be necessary for the defense of the Canal, some 37 acres would be sufficient!

Perhaps exaggeratedly, but nevertheless understandably, Panamanians entertained the view that the existence of this right might at any time result in the extinction of the Republic as a separate territorial entity, should the United States determine that the whole Isthmus was needed for the construction, operation, maintenance, and protection of the Canal.

III

There is no evidence that any responsible Panamanian at any time desired to impede the operation or the protection of the Canal. Generally speaking, the citizens of Panama have demonstrated—and this was true in the last war and not less so today—a thorough conviction of the identity of interest of Panama and the United States in international affairs. Their objection has been to the taking of measures to promote that interest by the United States on Panamanian soil without any recognition of the inherent right of Panama as a sovereign nation to participate in the formulation and carrying out of such measures.

The existence of a community of interest between the two countries—and more particularly a growing recognition of the fact that Panama was ready and able actively to further that interest—resulted finally in agreement on a restatement of the terms of the relationship. An abortive attempt in that direction had been made as early as 1926. Shortly after his inauguration, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the then President of Panama issued a statement to the effect that they intended to initiate negotiations for a convention to place the relations between the two countries on a new footing. These negotiations began late in 1934 and culminated on March 2, 1936, after more or less constant discussions between the parties, in the signature of a new treaty.¹ The Senate of the United States, however, delayed three years before giving its advice and consent to the ratification of the document.

Fundamentally, the new treaty was based upon the willingness of the two Governments "to cooperate, as far as it is feasible for them to do so, for the purpose of insuring the full and perpetual enjoyment of the benefits of all kinds which the Canal should afford the two nations that made possible its construction as well as all nations interested in world trade". That cooperation was to lead to the taking of measures designed to "insure the maintenance, sanitation, efficient operation and effective protection of the Canal, *in which the two countries are jointly and vitally interested*" [italics supplied]. Thus, Panama became a partner in the Canal enterprise in its largest sense instead of a more or less passive beneficiary in some respects and a victim in other respects of the bisection of Panamanian territory by the Canal Zone.

Under the new treaty the guaranty of the maintenance of Panamanian independence by the United States was superseded by the establishment of normal relations of peace and friendship such as then prevailed between the United States and the rest of the world. The right of the United States to intervene for the purpose of maintaining order in Panama was

¹Treaty Series 945.

abolished. Likewise, the right of the United States to take additional lands and waters in Panamanian territory was replaced by a provision which stated, in effect, that, while the two Governments did not anticipate the necessity for the taking of additional lands for Canal purposes, nevertheless, the two Governments recognized "their joint obligation to insure the effective and continuous operation of the Canal and the preservation of its neutrality, and consequently, if, in the event of some now unforeseen contingency, the utilization of lands or waters additional to those already employed should be in fact necessary for the maintenance, sanitation or efficient operation of the Canal, or for its effective protection, the Governments of the United States of America and the Republic of Panama will agree upon such measures as it may be necessary to take in order to insure the maintenance, sanitation, efficient operation and effective protection of the Canal, in which the two countries are jointly and vitally interested".

The new treaty further provided that "In case of an international conflagration or the existence of any threat of aggression which would endanger the security of the Republic of Panama or the neutrality or security of the Panama Canal", the two Governments would take appropriate measures together and would also consult together regarding measures which one of the two Governments might feel it essential to take but which would affect the territory of the other Government concerned.

The principal reason for which this treaty was delayed for over 3 years in our Senate was unquestionably the existence of doubt in the minds of certain Senators as to whether the new treaty would adequately protect our major interests in the Canal area. It was only after a clarifying exchange of notes between the Department of State and the Panamanian Embassy in Washington, early in 1939, that these doubts were removed.¹ The Panamanian Government stated that, in cases of extreme urgency,

consultation between the two Governments as to desirable measures might occur after rather than before the taking of necessary measures of defense by one Government which would affect the territory of the other. This interpretation was an obviously essential one in view of the nature of modern warfare and the record of international lawlessness of the aggressor nations.

IV

The relationship established by the new treaty was soon brought to the test. As it became more and more certain that the Axis powers had designs involving ruthless and complete world conquest, our military and naval authorities were forced to the conclusion that the defense of the Canal could no longer be insured by installations located in the Canal Zone. A plan of defense was drawn up which involved the occupation of a very large number of points in Panamanian territory for airfields, gun emplacements, searchlight locations, detector stations, etc. This plan was submitted to and discussed with the Panamanian Government, the Chief Executive of which held highly nationalistic views, and was accused in some quarters of being sympathetic to the Fascist ideology. Nevertheless, the President of Panama in March of 1941 indicated his willingness to make available to the United States the needed defense sites.² In view of the emergency situation with which the two Governments were confronted, it was agreed that the sites themselves would be turned over prior to the conclusion of the agreement covering their use.³ As a matter of fact, when that agreement was finally signed, our armed forces had already for over a year been in possession of several dozen of these sites. The outbreak of war found the Canal, thanks to the joint action of the two Governments, strongly protected.

The feeling of mutual trust and confidence between Panama and the United States was

¹ BULLETIN of Mar. 8, 1941, p. 265.

² *Ibid.*, May 23, 1942, p. 448.

³ Treaty Series 945, p. 63.

very much heightened by the willingness and expedition with which Panama carried out her treaty obligations. These obligations were not a light burden. They involved the throwing open of practically the entire country to our armed forces. Not only were the troops and the military equipment and installations of a foreign country located at a large number of points throughout the Republic, but the roads of Panama were crowded with the movements of our men; the sky over the territory of the nation was at all times crossed and recrossed by our combat planes.

Then came December 7, 1941. The hours immediately after the bombs of treachery fell on Pearl Harbor were a time of test and trial when the souls of men and nations in this hemisphere stood revealed by their spontaneous unreflected acts. The Government and people of Panama moved swiftly to perfect the defenses of their country threatened by the common aggressor. Several hundred Axis nationals, including many Japanese, were promptly rounded up and immobilized. War was declared on the three Axis powers with all possible expedition. Other security measures were taken including the closest possible cooperation with United States Army authorities in blackouts and other precautionary steps. In spite of the imminent danger of attack, there was no panic, no demand for special protection which might have detracted from the necessities of the military situation.

It is hard to exaggerate the significance of the enthusiastic actions and attitudes not only of the Government but of the people of Panama in support of the joint war effort. It was the help of ardent partners in a common enterprise. It is not necessary, in order to stress the meaning of this situation, to suppose one in which the half-million inhabitants of the Republic and their Government were frankly hostile to the power controlling and guarding the 50-miles-long by 10-miles-wide area enclosing the Canal. It is sufficient to imagine a situation in which the Government and people of the Isthmian nation had attitudes ranging from

indifference to sullen resentment at the continued assertion by the United States of such rights as were included in the treaty of 1903 and relinquished in that of 1936. The under-cover agents of our enemies would obviously under those conditions have had a fertile field in which to work. Today, those agents, if any remain at large, are held in check by the energy and alertness displayed by the authorities and the people on either side of the Canal on behalf of the cause which Panama, as one of the United Nations, considers her own.

V

Panama's behavior, both during the uneasy months following the outbreak of war in Europe in the late summer of 1939 and after December 1941 when each day dawned with the threat of attack, proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the proponents of the treaty of 1936 were right both theoretically and practically. Those who had feared that the relinquishment of the two rights contained in the treaty of 1903, namely, the right of the United States to intervene in Panama for the maintenance of order and the right of the United States to take further lands for Canal purposes without consulting the Republic, would weaken the defenses of the Canal in case of emergency were shown to have been completely wrong. Panama has been an active, aggressive ally. Her hearty cooperation has bulwarked the safety of the Canal to a degree which unilateral action by the United States could never have achieved.

Under these conditions, the Foreign Office of Panama raised and the Department of State gave consideration to two situations the continuance of which appeared to the people of Panama inconsistent with the relationship which the two Governments had wished to establish. In the first place, the United States had built and was to own and operate until 1957 the waterworks and sewerage systems in Panamá and Colón. The citizens and other residents of the Republic paid to employees of this Government amounts for water consumed in accordance with rates fixed by this Government.

These rates were designed to amortize the investment involved by 1957.

Secondly, the Panama Railroad Company, a corporation wholly owned by the Government of the United States enjoyed the use of valuable real estate in Panamá and Colón which it rented for private business and residential purposes to persons largely citizens of Panama who had erected improvements thereon. These lands had an appraised value in excess of \$11,000,000. However, they had cost the railroad company only a very insignificant sum. In fact, the bulk of them, comprising the business center of Colón, the Republic's second city, had been granted to the company, then a privately owned corporation, by the Republic of Colombia in a series of concessions the last of which was dated 1867 for a period expiring in 1966, at which time the land was to revert to Colombia, the then-sovereign of the territory. In 1903, Panama gained her independence and succeeded to the sovereign rights of Colombia. By the treaty with the United States of that same year, the new Republic granted to the United States the reversionary right to the lands, the use of which was enjoyed by the Panama Railroad Company, both then and now wholly owned by our Government.

Thus many citizens of the Republic were paying ground rent fixed by one agency of the Government of the United States and water rates fixed by another agency of that same Government. The continued existence of this situation was obviously irksome to these citizens and to the Government and people of the nation. After careful discussion of the two matters, agreement was reached, subject to the approval of the Congress of the United States, whereby the waterworks and sewers were to be turned over to Panama at once instead of waiting until 1957 and the real estate described above was to be transferred to Panama without compensation.¹ In the course of the hearings held by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House

and the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, it was clearly set forth that in connection with the waterworks transfer, full protection of health and sanitation conditions was contemplated. It was also brought out that in the case of the real estate, Panama would receive only lots which the Secretary of War had determined were not needed for the operation of the railroad or for Canal purposes. The railroad will continue to enjoy the use of land in the territory of the Republic necessary for those purposes in which, in the words of the treaty of 1936, "the two countries are jointly and vitally interested".

It was also emphasized at these hearings that, in the cheerful and prompt execution of her treaty obligations for the defense of the Canal, Panama had not demanded, as a condition precedent, the agreement regarding the waterworks and the real estate described above. In fact, the defense sites had been occupied by the armed forces of the United States over a year before these matters were settled as between the two Governments and over two years before that settlement was ratified by the Congress of the United States.

In the course of the discussion of this legislation, its opponents made the statement that friendship cannot be bought. With that statement, as a general proposition, there can be no quarrel. As between nations, and in the absence of grave emergencies such as the devastation of war or of natural calamities, a settled policy of hand-outs debauches both the giver and the receiver. On the other hand, the rectification of situations no longer consistent with new principles of national policy and the satisfaction of legitimate aspirations have produced, in the case of the relations of Panama and the United States, the highest moral and material benefits.

These two countries may, without exaggeration, claim to have given the world a demonstration of the relations which can and should prevail between a power, which, in the face of the political and economic realities of today, will long be burdened with world responsibilities and a small nation the territory of which em-

¹The Congress authorized such action in Public Law 48, 78th Cong.; 57 Stat. 74.

braces one of the chief instruments for the carrying out of those responsibilities. Not only have Panama and the United States eliminated force as a factor in their relations, they have banished the temptation to the use of force and the fear of its use from the consideration of the many questions which their geographic proximity and their joint and vital interest in the functioning of the Canal must continue to present.

NON-RECOGNITION OF THE PRESENT REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA IN BOLIVIA

[Released to the press January 24]

This Government has been aware that subversive groups hostile to the Allied cause have been plotting disturbances against the American Governments operating in defense of the hemisphere against Axis aggression.

On December 20, 1943 the Bolivian Government was overthrown by force under circumstances linking this action with the subversive groups mentioned in the preceding statement.

The most important and urgent question arising from this development in Bolivia is the fact that this is but one act committed by a general subversive movement having for its purpose steadily expanding activities on the continent. These developments, viewed in the light of the information the American republics have been exchanging among themselves, dispose negatively of the matter of this Government's recognizing the present revolutionary Junta at La Paz.

The inter-American system built up over the past 10 years has had for one of its purposes the defending of the sovereign republics of the hemisphere against aggression or intervention in their domestic affairs by influences operating outside the hemisphere and outside their individual frontiers. This Government is confident that the freedom-loving people of the American republics, including those of Bolivia, who have the good-will of the Government and people of the United States, will understand that this de-

cision is taken in furtherance of the aforesaid purpose.

IMPLEMENTATION OF EXISTING CONTRACTS ON 1944 CUBAN SUGAR CROP

[Released to the press January 28]

A United States delegation, representing various Government agencies and headed by Sidney H. Scheuer, Executive Director of the Bureau of Supplies, Foreign Economic Administration, will leave for Habana at the end of this week to continue discussions with representatives of the Cuban Government on remaining phases of purchase agreements for the 1944 Cuban sugar crop and the acquisition by the United States of molasses and alcohol.¹ The discussions will be concerned primarily with blackstrap molasses and alcohol phases of 1944 crop disposition. Representatives of the two Governments expect to reach mutually satisfactory agreements in the interests of both countries and the joint war effort.

The Foreign Service

CONFIRMATIONS

On January 28, 1944 the Senate confirmed the nomination of John Campbell White to be American Ambassador to Peru.

DEATH OF EDWARD THOMAS WILLIAMS

Statement by the Secretary of State

[Released to the press January 29]

We in the Department have learned with great regret of the death of Mr. Edward Thomas Williams, who was connected with the Foreign Service and the Department for many years and who was an outstanding authority on China and Chinese subjects. Mr. Williams

¹ See the BULLETIN of Jan. 8, 1944, p. 40.

served as Secretary of Legation at Peking and was Chargé d'Affaires there at the time when our Government recognized the Chinese Republic in 1911. He later became Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs in the Department. After retirement he was called back to serve his Government in 1918-19 as technical delegate to the Peace Conference at Paris and again in 1921-22 as a special assistant of the Department for the Conference on the Limitation of Armament and Pacific and Far Eastern questions.

In all his assignments Mr. Williams rendered to his Government service of an outstanding character and contributed much to the promotion of closer relations between the people of the United States and peoples of the Far East. Possessing a quiet sense of humor and an extraordinary capacity for making friends, Mr. Williams enjoyed the high esteem of a large circle of associates for his integrity, his warmth of personality, and his scholarly attainments. His loss will be deeply mourned by all who had the privilege of knowing him.

General

DEDICATION OF THE "INTERNATIONAL HOUSE" AT NEW ORLEANS

Address by George S. Messersmith ¹

[Released to the press January 28]

New Orleans, as gateway to the South and the terminal of sea routes connecting this country with Mexico and other republics of Central and South America, is indeed an appropriate city to establish an international club dedicated to the furtherance of good relations between our own citizens and those of foreign countries. The aim of New Orleans' "International House" to interpret American friendliness to visitors from other countries and to add a measure of welcome to the traditional hospitality of our people is in line with the steady efforts of the American Government to help to build, with the other nations of this hemisphere, democratic communities in which freedom and the benefits of enlightened civilization may be common to all.

It is fitting that the statesmanship of our President and Secretary of State and the leadership and responsive collaboration which statesmen in the other American republics have vouchsafed in the cause of hemispheric solidar-

ity should inspire among our citizens and business leaders zeal and determination to cooperate in the great work of advancing good international relations. Those relations can best be fostered by cherishing a genuine patriotism and love of country together with high civic pride that expresses itself in generous and helpful acts, particularly on behalf of the stranger whose lasting impressions are gathered not so much from the magnificence and evidences of well-being displayed before him as from the kindness and courtesy of the people among whom he has come to sojourn.

Business and social intercourse among the citizens of different countries is a closer bond than that attained by the making of most solemn treaties. Declarations and treaties are binding upon governments which have made them and serve to further the collective common aim; but that aim is strengthened and implemented by the friendly relations established among the people themselves.

There has been no time in our history when our attitude toward our neighbors and their

¹ Delivered in Washington over the Columbia Broadcasting System, Jan. 28, 1944. Mr. Messersmith is the American Ambassador to Mexico.

attitude toward us mean so much. What is our cause has indeed become the cause of the whole civilized world; and the friends beyond our shores who are laboring with us to preserve our freedom and theirs may expect a hearty and cordial welcome when they come to visit us.

The city of New Orleans, which is the gateway of the great Mississippi Valley, has a long history of achievement in the development of our national life; and this project of making available to travelers from foreign countries a center known as "International House" is another forward step in the leadership and enterprise of that great city. From undertakings such as this, which has been planned to promote a closer relation with our neighbors, numerous mutual advantages will be obtained, not only in connection with commerce and the interchange of goods but also in the wide scope of educational, cultural, and social developments, which have so great a diversity among other nations as well as our own.

Probably the outstanding result of the present world conflict will be to awaken in the minds of people all over the world a consciousness of the degree to which one nation is dependent for its welfare, happiness, and security on others who have put forth efforts in the common fight to preserve the same ideals and aspira-

tions. When by our mutual effort we shall have preserved freedom and the institutions which we cherish, it is natural that we shall seek closer ties with the friends in other countries who have joined us in the struggle and who will build with us in the peace.

Besides it is a proof of growing enlightenment among our people with respect to world affairs that a great community like New Orleans, conscious of its obligations to further the international relations and foreign policy of its Government, takes steps in a very positive way to bring that about, by uniting its representative fellow citizens in a program of promoting the well-being and prosperity of our neighbors as well as of our own country.

When we speak of the United Nations engaged in the greatest conflict the world has ever known, let us not forget the millions of individuals in the midst of battles and at home who compose the invincible strength by which we shall win. Upon those same individuals of many nationalities, creeds, and tongues finally depends a stable and lasting world peace. This can be achieved by a universal effort to promote international good-will and friendship. It is indeed gratifying that the citizens of New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley in establishing "International House" are endeavoring to help bring this about.

Treaty Information

ALASKA HIGHWAY

Agreement With Canada Regarding the Southern Terminus of the Highway ¹

The following notes were exchanged by the American Minister to Canada and the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs:

No. 668

OTTAWA, CANADA,

May 4, 1942.

SIR:

During the course of a conversation on April 24, 1942, Mr. Keenleyside, Assistant Under Sec-

retary of State for External Affairs, raised the question of the southern terminus of the Alaska Highway now under construction, and inquired in particular if my Government felt that the stretch of road between railhead at Dawson Creek and Fort St. John fell within the terms of the American offer as contained in my note of March 17, 1942.²

The wording of the pertinent recommendation of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense, which was incorporated in my note of March 17th, dealt with "the construction of a highway

¹ To be printed in the Executive Agreement Series.

² Executive Agreement Series 246.

along the route that follows the general line of airports, Fort St. John – Fort Nelson – Watson Lake – Whitehorse – Boundary – Big Delta, the respective termini connecting with existing roads in Canada and Alaska”.

As there seemed from Mr. Keenleyside’s query to be some ambiguity as to whether the word “termini” limited the length of the road to be constructed, or merely described where existing roads, irrespective of their size or carrying capacity, ended, the appropriate minutes of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense were consulted. These contain the following sentence:

“The proposed highway would have its southern terminus on the Edmonton, Dunvegan, British Columbian Railway, which has available carrying capacity substantially in excess of the possible carrying capacity of the road. Its northern terminus would be at a point about sixty miles south of Fairbanks on the Richardson Highway, which connects Fairbanks with Valdes.”

In view of the foregoing, which clarifies the intent of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense, my Government believes that its offer to undertake the building and wartime maintenance of the highway does in fact include the stretch of road from Dawson Creek to Fort St. John. As a matter of record, it would welcome a confirmation of its belief from the Canadian Government.

Accept [etc.] PIERREPONT MOFFAT

No. 66 OTTAWA, CANADA,
May 9, 1942.

SIR:
With reference to your note of May 4, 1942, No. 668, regarding the southern terminus of the Alaska Highway, and to our previous exchange of notes regarding the construction of a highway to Alaska, I have the honour to inform you that the Canadian Government is prepared to agree that the stretch of highway between Dawson Creek, British Columbia, and Fort St. John, British Columbia, be included in the proposed

road, and that the railhead at Dawson Creek be accepted as the southern terminus of the highway.

Accept [etc.]
N. A. ROBERTSON
for Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Agreement With Canada Authorizing the Construction of Flight Strips Along the Highway¹

The following notes were exchanged by the American Minister to Canada and the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs:

No. 744 OTTAWA, CANADA,
August 26, 1942.

SIR:
With a view to increasing the value of the Alaska Highway, the American authorities are anxious to undertake the construction of eight flight strips to be located along the road. The tentative sites for these strips are as follows:

- No. 1 At Dawson Creek
- No. 2 About 50 miles south of Ft. Nelson
- No. 3 About 75 miles west of Ft. Nelson
- No. 4 Approximately 40 miles east of Lower Post
- No. 5 Approximately 55 miles west of Lower Post
- No. 6 Approximately 60 miles southeast of Whitehorse
- No. 7 Approximately 30 miles northwest of Whitehorse
- No. 8 About midway between Burwash Landing and Snag

Although the flight strips will in all cases be located along the highway, they will be so placed in direction as to benefit by the prevailing wind.

My Government believes that the construction of these eight flight strips along the highway, which will result in its greater usefulness, falls within the scope and under the terms of the project as agreed to in our exchange of notes

¹ To be printed in the Executive Agreement Series.

of March 17-18, 1942,¹ but inasmuch as mention thereof was not specifically made in the text, it would welcome a confirmation from you of its belief.

Accept [etc.] PIERREPONT MOFFAT

No. 134 OTTAWA, *September 10, 1942.*

SIR,

In reply to your Note of August 26, 1942, No. 744, I have the honour to inform you that the Canadian Government agrees to the construction of eight flight strips to be located along the route of the Alaska highway at approximately the points mentioned in your Note.

Accept [etc.]

H. H. WRIGHT

for Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Agreement With Canada Authorizing the Construction of the Haines-Champagne Highway²

The following notes were exchanged by the American Minister to Canada and the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs:

No. 798 OTTAWA, *November 28, 1942.*

SIR:

I have the honor to refer to my conversation with Mr. Keenleyside of November 11, 1942, in which, on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, I requested the approval of the Canadian Government for the construction by appropriate American agencies of the Canadian section of a road from Haines Point, Alaska, to Champagne, Yukon Territory, where it would join the Alaska (Alcan) Highway which is now being constructed according to agreement between our two Governments.

As I pointed out, the construction of this cut-off road would give the United States Army additional facilities for distributing supplies in Yukon and Alaska by truck, and would materially supplement the quantity of freight that

¹ Executive Agreement Series 246.

² To be printed in the Executive Agreement Series.

can now be moved into the Whitehorse area over the narrow gauge White Pass and Yukon Railway.

The Canadian Government was good enough to inform me orally on November 19, 1942, that it authorized the construction of that part of the Haines-Champagne road which lies in Canada and I have been directed to express the appreciation of the United States Government for this new mark of Canadian cooperation.

My Government has now instructed me to propose to the Canadian Government that the Haines-Champagne cut-off road shall henceforth be considered an integral part of the Alcan Highway, subject in all applicable respects to the terms of the agreement reached in our exchange of notes of March 17-18, 1942.¹

Accept [etc.] PIERREPONT MOFFAT

No. 171 OTTAWA, *December 7, 1942.*

SIR,

I have the honour to refer to your note No. 798 of November 28, 1942, in which you propose, on behalf of your Government, that the Haines-Champagne cut-off road shall henceforth be considered an integral part of the Alcan Highway, subject in all applicable respects to the terms of the agreement reached in our exchange of notes of March 17-18, 1942.¹ This proposal appears to be covered by the decision of the War Committee on November 18, 1942, that permission be given to the United States to construct the Highway on the understanding that terms would be worked out between the two countries similar to those in effect for the Alaska Highway.

Accept [etc.]

N. A. ROBERTSON

for Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Agreement With Canada Regarding the Use of Connecting Roads²

The following notes were exchanged by the American Chargé in Canada and the Canadian Under Secretary of State for External Affairs:

OTTAWA, CANADA, *April 10, 1943.*

MY DEAR MR. ROBERTSON:

The question has been raised in Washington as to whether the two phrases, found in the American-Canadian exchange of notes of March 17-18, 1942, regarding the post-war use of the Alaska Highway,¹ apply equally to the use of the existing Canadian highways which would have to be used in order to reach the southern terminus of the Alaska Highway from the United States.

You will recall that the notes provide that at the conclusion of the war "that part of the highway which lies in Canada shall become in all respects an integral part of the Canadian highway system, subject to the understanding that there shall at no time be imposed any discriminatory conditions in relation to the use of the road as between Canadian and United States civilian traffic."

Elsewhere the Canadian Government agreed "to waive import duties, transit or similar charges on shipments originating in the United States and to be transported over the highway to Alaska, or originating in Alaska and to be transported over the highway to the United States."

Although it was originally intended that most of the traffic over the Alaska Highway would be routed to Dawson Creek, British Columbia, by rail, it has, as you know, been found expedient to send certain vehicles and transport certain supplies by highway from the United States to Dawson Creek en route to Alaska. My Government feels that it is a natural inference from the language quoted above that United States vehicles should be allowed to use the roads leading from the boundary to the Alaska Highway under conditions similar to those governing the use of the Highway itself.

Sincerely yours,

LEWIS CLARK

Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

OTTAWA, *April 10, 1943.*

MY DEAR MR. CLARK:

I have received your letter of April 10th, on the question as to whether the two phrases found in the American-Canadian exchange of notes of March 17-18, 1942, regarding the post-war use of the Alaska Highway,¹ apply equally to the use of the existing Canadian highways which would have to be used in order to reach the southern terminus of the Alaska Highway from the United States.

The notes provide that at the conclusion of the war "that part of the highway which lies in Canada shall become in all respects an integral part of the Canadian highway system, subject to the understanding that there shall at no time be imposed any discriminatory conditions in relation to the use of the road as between Canadian and United States civilian traffic."

Elsewhere in the exchange of notes the Canadian Government agrees "to waive import duties, transit or similar charges on shipments originating in the United States and to be transported over the highway to Alaska, or originating in Alaska and to be transported over the highway to the United States."

You have stated in your letter that although it was originally intended that most of the traffic over the Alaska Highway would be routed to Dawson Creek, British Columbia, by railway, it has been found expedient to send certain vehicles and transport certain supplies by highway from the United States to Dawson Creek en route to Alaska. My Government agrees that it is the natural inference from the language quoted above that United States vehicles should be allowed to use the roads leading from the boundary to the Alaska Highway under conditions and for purposes similar to those governing the use of the highway itself. (It may prove necessary, however, for administrative reasons, to designate certain specific roads to be used in this way. It would not be practicable,

¹ Executive Agreement Series 246.

for example, that United States trucks should be able to enter Canada at any point and still receive bonding privileges on the assumption that they intend eventually to proceed along the Alaska Highway to United States territory.)

Yours sincerely,

NORMAN A. ROBERTSON
*Under Secretary of State
for External Affairs*

CUSTOMS PRIVILEGES

Agreement With Canada Regarding Importation Privileges for Government Officials and Employees ¹

The following notes were exchanged by the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs and the American Minister to Canada:

No. 113

OTTAWA, *July 21, 1942.*

SIR,—

I have the honour to refer to the suggestions made by the Legation some years ago, and renewed in the Legation's Memorandum of December 4, 1941, regarding the granting of the privilege of free import after first arrival to several categories of United States officials in Canada who do not at present receive it.²

2. After careful consideration, the Canadian Government has decided that it would be willing to grant this privilege to Consuls and Vice Consuls of career but not to any other United States officials in Canada who do not at present receive it. The Canadian Government's proposal is, of course, conditional on reciprocity. In view of the fact that Canada does not have any Consuls or Vice Consuls in the United States, and is not likely to have a large number of them for many years, it is desired that the privilege of free import after first arrival be given to Canadian Trade Commissioners and Assistant Trade Commissioners in the United States, as well as to Canadian Consuls and Vice

Consuls of career, if and when any should be appointed.

3. The Canadian Government has also had under consideration another aspect of the Customs Regulations, namely, the right of free entry on first arrival for United States Government employees who are not expressly given that privilege by the Regulations under Tariff Item 706 e.g. clerks of the United States Legation and of Consulates, officers and employees of the United States Customs offices, etc. In practice such persons are given free entry on first arrival by entering them as "Settlers". I understand that in the United States a similar procedure is used to grant free entry on first arrival to non-diplomatic employees of the Canadian Government.

4. We propose that the privilege of free entry on first arrival should be expressly extended to all employees (of United States nationality) of the United States Government sent to posts in Canada and to all employees (of Canadian nationality) of the Canadian Government sent to posts in the United States. This free entry on first arrival should cover private automobiles, but not spirituous liquors.

5. I should be glad to learn whether the proposals set forth above are acceptable to the United States Government. If they are, I should like to know whether your Government desires to have a formal exchange of notes suitable for publication, or whether this Note and your reply will be sufficient.

Accept [etc.]

N. A. ROBERTSON
for Secretary of State for External Affairs.

No. 783

OTTAWA, *October 29, 1942.*

SIR:

I have the honor to refer to your note No. 113 of July 21, 1942, regarding the extension of the free importation privilege to American consuls and vice consuls of career on a basis of reciprocity, which would include on the part of Canadians in the United States, trade commissioners and assistant trade commissioners, since

¹ To be printed in the Executive Agreement Series.

² Not printed.

the Canadian Government does not now have consuls or vice consuls in the United States.

It has been noted that the Canadian Government is also willing, on a basis of reciprocity, to affirm its previous practice of granting free entry on first arrival to United States Government employees, other than diplomatic and consular officers, which would include clerks of the United States Legation and Consulates and officers and employees of the United States Customs offices. It has also been noted that the Canadian Government is unwilling to have free entry on first arrival for these employees include spiritous liquors.

I have now been instructed to inform you that my Government is prepared to accord, reciprocally, to Canadian consuls and vice consuls, should such officers be assigned to the United States, and to Canadian trade commissioners and assistant trade commissioners who are Canadian nationals and not engaged in any private occupation for gain, the privilege of importing articles, the importation of which is not prohibited, for their personal use free of duty upon their first arrival, upon their return from leave of absence spent abroad and during the time they are stationed in the United States. Furthermore, my Government is prepared to admit free of duty, on a reciprocal basis, all articles, except spiritous liquors and articles the importation of which is prohibited, imported on first arrival for their personal use by Government employees of Canada other than diplomatic and consular officers, trade commissioners and assistant trade commissioners who are Canadian nationals and not engaged in any private occupation for gain.

I shall appreciate receiving confirmation that the Canadian Government is prepared, reciprocally, to grant the same privileges to like American officers and employees, and, if this be the case, I suggest that this note and your reply thereto be considered as concluding the agreement on this subject between our two Governments, which shall remain in effect until terminated by either Government.

Accept [etc.]

PIERREPONT MOFFAT

No. 155

NOVEMBER 9, 1942.

SIR,

I have the honour to refer to your note No. 783 of October 29, 1942, regarding importation privileges for government officials and employees.

The Canadian Government agrees with the understandings set forth in your note which, with this note, shall be considered as concluding an agreement between our two Governments, which shall remain in effect until terminated by either Government.

Accept [etc.]

LAURENT BEAUDRY

for Secretary of State for External Affairs.

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

Agreement With Canada Regarding the Construction and Operation of Radio Broadcasting Stations in Northwestern Canada¹

The following notes were exchanged by the American Chargé in Canada and the Canadian Under Secretary of State for External Affairs:

OTTAWA, *November 5, 1943.*

DEAR MR. ROBERTSON:

I understand that the Northwest Service Command, United States Army, feels a need for small broadcasting stations at several isolated garrisons in the Northwest Command. These stations would be similar to those established at various posts in Alaska and in the United Kingdom which are supplied with non-commercial entertainment program material by the Special Service Division, Army Service Forces.

Although there would be no aspect of competition with the Canadian Broadcasting System due to the isolated locations, a special problem has arisen in complying with Canadian laws and policies. As the stations would be operated by military personnel under the direct control of the local commanding officer, effective supervision of the operation could be exercised only through military channels. In order to ensure

¹ To be printed in the Executive Agreement Series.

compliance with Canadian laws and to assure that the stations would be operated in such a manner as to serve the local populace in strict accordance with the desires of the appropriate Canadian authorities, a proposed draft of authorization which would be issued by the Secretary of War if the Canadian Government were to approve the proposal, is enclosed herewith. I have been directed to bring this matter to your attention with the request that the Canadian Government approve the installations as outlined in the enclosure hereto. At the same time I have been directed to say that any stations placed in operation under the authority, if granted, would be closed at any time on the request of the Canadian Government and, in any event, upon the removal of the garrison or the establishment of regular broadcasting facilities. In addition, the United States War Department has said that it would be immediately responsive to the desires of the Canadian Government in any questions arising out of the operation of the proposed stations.

I understand informally that this desire of the Northwest Service Command has been made known to you through Brigadier General W. W. Foster, and that the War Committee of the Cabinet has approved it in principle. If there is any further information you desire in order to reach a final decision in this matter, I should appreciate being informed.

Yours sincerely,

LEWIS CLARK

Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

[Enclosure]

Subject: Military Radio Broadcasting Stations
To: Commanding General
 Northwest Service Command
 c/o Postmaster
 Seattle, Washington.

1. Reference is made to your letter of 28 September 1943, addressed to the Special Service Division, Information Branch, Radio Section, Los Angeles, California, subject: "Military Radio Broadcasting Stations."¹

¹Not printed.

With the consent and during the pleasure of the Canadian Government, you are authorized to establish armed forces radio broadcasting stations at Whitehorse, Fort Nelson, Watson Lake, Simpson, Norman Wells, and Northway.

2. The operation of these radio broadcasting stations will be subject to the following conditions:

(a) All applicable provisions of the Canadian Broadcasting Act of 1936, the Radio Act of 1938, and regulations made thereunder shall be observed.

(b) Program material will be restricted to transcriptions prepared for armed forces of the United Nations by the Special Service Division, Army Service Forces, local talent programs of a strictly entertainment character, and such Canadian programs as may be made available by Canadian Government agencies.

(c) Every assistance will be rendered Canadian Government authorities in the provision of wire circuits and other facilities which may be required for the delivery of news or other programs desired by them.

(d) A diligent and continuing survey of public reaction to programs will be maintained to the end that no criticism of any character will be permitted to develop.

(e) The local commanding officer will be held strictly accountable for the exercise of good taste and propriety in the selection of program material and for the complete avoidance of commercialism, sectarianism, and editorializing on political or controversial subjects.

3. Technical details such as power and the choice of frequency, etc. will be arranged through the direct channel established between the Controller of Radio, Ministry of Transport and the Office of the Chief Signal Officer in the same manner as for all other Army radio facilities in Canada.

By order of the Secretary of War:

OTTAWA, November 25, 1943.

DEAR MR. ATHERTON:

I should like to refer to Mr. Clark's letter of November 5, 1943, in which permission is requested by the United States Government to construct and operate certain radio broadcasting stations in Northwestern Canada.

I am pleased to inform you that the Canadian Government agrees to the construction and operation, by the Government of the United States, of radio broadcasting stations at Whitehorse, Watson Lake, Fort Nelson, Simpson and Norman Wells, subject to the following conditions:

- (1) that the stations will be operated directly by the United States Government, and for the sole purpose of bringing entertainment and information to United States and Canadian military and civilian personnel;
- (2) that the radio stations will be subject to the provisions of the Canadian Broadcasting Act, 1936, the Radio Act, 1938, the Regulations made under these Acts, and to all other applicable laws and regulations in force in Canada: provided that no fee or tax shall be paid by the United States Government to the Canadian Government in connection with the operation of these stations;
- (3) that each station will be operated in accordance with the terms of an annual renewable permit to be issued by the Department of Transport;
- (4) that authorization for the operation by the United States Government of the stations may be cancelled at any time by the Canadian Government, and in any case such authorization for operation shall cease with the termination of the war;
- (5) that the stations may be used for the broadcasting of Canadian programmes and in particular of Canadian news programmes, it being understood that the amount of time to be set aside for Canadian programmes will be subject to agreement between the Special Commissioner for Defence Projects in the Northwest, and the Commanding Officer of the United States Northwest Service Command;
- (6) that the United States Government will make available to the Canadian Government its wire services for the transmission of Canadian news and Canadian programmes to the stations;
- (7) that the sites, frequencies, power, call letters and other technical details concerning the stations shall be subject to the approval of the Department of Trans-

port and shall be arranged directly through the channel already established between the Controller of Radio of the Department of Transport, Ottawa, and the office of the Chief Signal Officer, Washington, in the same manner as for all other radio facilities of the United States Armed Forces in Canada. Any or all necessary changes in the foregoing particulars shall be dealt with through the same channel;

- (8) that the stations will be dealt with after the war in accordance with the exchange of notes of January 27, 1943, between Canada and the United States, covering post-war disposition of United States defence facilities in Canada.¹
- (9) that any land or leasehold required by the United States Government as sites for the stations shall be acquired by the Canadian Government in its name, and shall be made available to the United States Government without charge.

I trust that the foregoing arrangements will be acceptable to the United States Government.

Yours sincerely,

N. A. ROBERTSON
*Under Secretary of State
 for External Affairs*

OTTAWA, *January 17, 1944.*

DEAR MR. ROBERTSON:

Your letter of November 25, 1943 granting, under certain conditions, our request to construct and operate radio broadcasting stations in Northwestern Canada was forwarded immediately to Washington.

We have now been authorized to say that the stipulations made by the Canadian Government are acceptable to the United States War Department.

Yours sincerely,

LEWIS CLARK

¹ Not printed.

WATER POWER

Agreement With Canada for the Temporary Raising of the Level of Lake St. Francis

By an exchange of notes dated October 5 and 9, 1943, the Government of the United States and the Government of Canada agreed to continue in force until October 1, 1944, the agreement of November 10, 1941 for the temporary raising of the level of Lake St. Francis during low water periods.

The agreement of November 10, 1941, which was to remain in force until October 1, 1942 and was continued in force until October 1, 1943 by an exchange of notes dated October 5 and 9, 1942, was concluded for the purpose of conserving the supply of power in the lower St. Lawrence.¹

The exchange of notes dated October 5 and 9, 1943 will be printed in the Executive Agreement Series.

Legislation

An Act To amend the Nationality Act of 1940. Approved January 20, 1944. [H. R. 2207.] Public Law 221, 78th Cong. 2 pp.

Retirement and Disability Fund, Foreign Service: Message from the President of the United States transmitting a report by the Secretary of State, showing all receipts and disbursements on account of refunds, allowances, and annuities for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1943, in connection with the Foreign Service retirement and disability system. H. Doc. 383, 78th Cong. 6 pp.

¹ Executive Agreement Series 291.

Supplemental Estimate of Appropriation, Department of State, 1945: Communication from the President of the United States transmitting supplemental estimate of appropriation, in the amount of \$1,618,000, for the Department of State, for the fiscal year 1945, in the form of an amendment to the Budget for the said fiscal year. H. Doc. 388, 78th Cong. 2 pp.

Creating a Special Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning. H. Rept. 1021, 78th Cong., on H. Res. 408. [Favorable report.] 1 p.

Independent Offices Appropriation Bill, 1945. H. Rept. 1023, 78th Cong., on H. R. 4070. [Foreign Service Pay Adjustment, p. 8; Inter-American Highway, p. 15.] 27 pp.

To Assist in Relieving Economic Distress in the Virgin Islands: Hearings before the Committee on Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 1st sess., on S. 981 and H.R. 3777. October 21 and 27; November 2, 10, and 17; December 2 and 6, 1943. Part 3, Virgin Islands. 149 pp.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Publications of the Department of State (a list cumulative from October 1, 1929). January 1, 1944. Publication 2045. iv, 27 pp. Free.

Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Mexico—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Mexico City June 30 and July 1, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 347. Publication 2049. 5 pp. 5¢.

Purchase by the United States of Exportable Surpluses of Dominican Rice, Corn, and Peanut Meal: Agreement Between the United States of America and the Dominican Republic Approving Memorandum of Understanding Dated May 20, 1943—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Ciudad Trujillo June 10, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 350. Publication 2050. 11 pp. 5¢.



THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

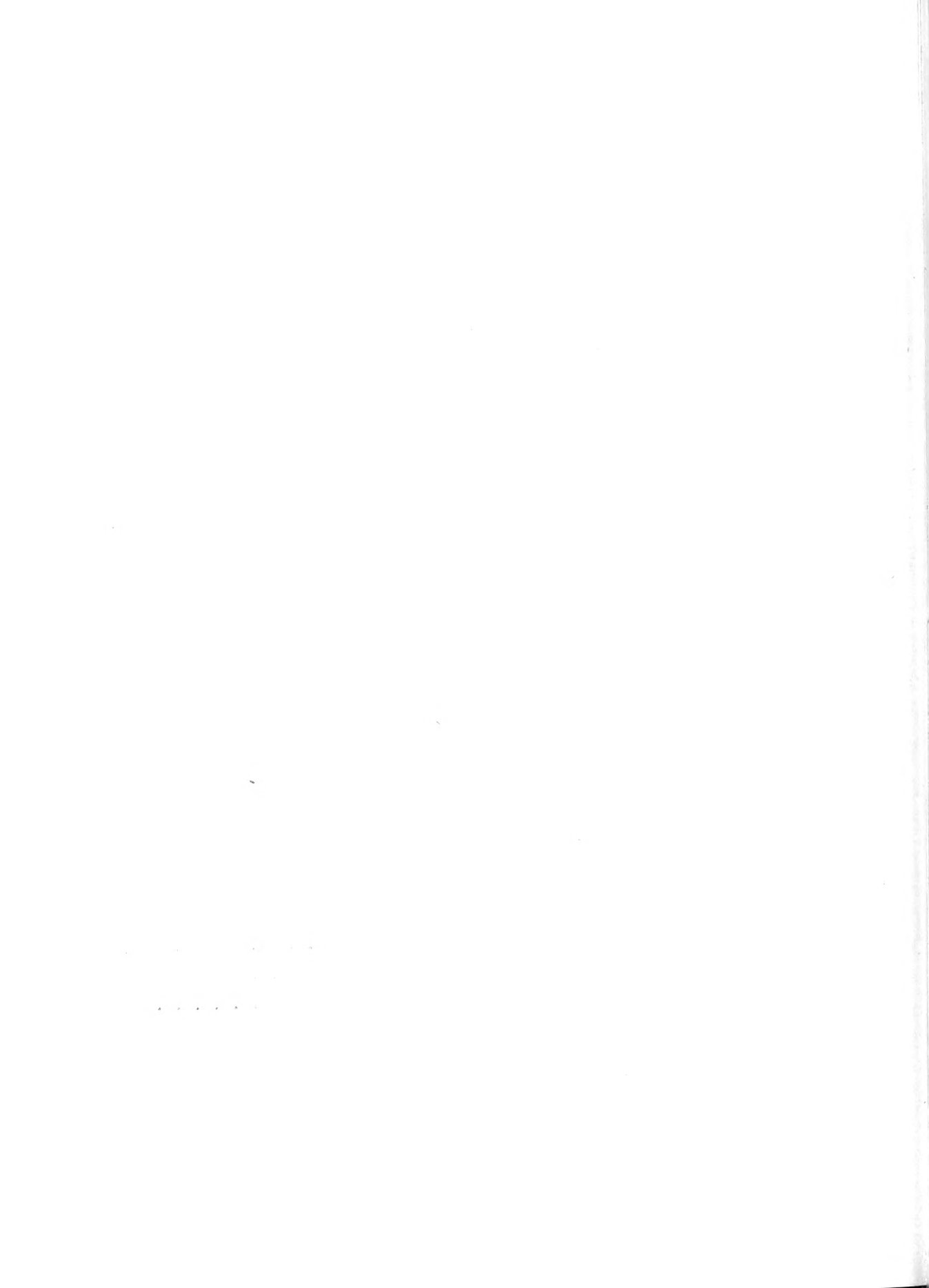
FEBRUARY 5, 1944

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The War

UNITED STATES OBJECTIVES IN INDIA AND THE FAR EAST

Statement by the President

[Released to the press by the White House February 11]

The American objectives in India or elsewhere in continental Asia are to expel and defeat the Japanese, in the closest collaboration with our British, Chinese, and other Allies in that theater.

Our task in expelling the Japs from Burma, Malaya, Java, and other territory is military. We recognize that our British and Dutch brothers-in-arms are as determined to throw the Japs out of Malaya and the Dutch East Indies as we are determined to free the Philippines. We propose to help each other on the roads and waters and above them, eastward to these places

and beyond to Tokyo. No matter what individual or individuals command in given areas, the purpose is the same.

There will, of course, be plenty of problems when we get there. Their solution will be easier if we all employ our utmost resources of experience, good-will, and good faith. Nobody in India or anywhere else in Asia will misunderstand the presence there of American armed forces if they will believe, as we do at home, that their job is to assure the defeat of Japan, without which there can be no opportunity for any of us to enjoy and expand the freedoms for which we fight.

JAPANESE ATROCITIES

United States Protests and Representations to Japan

[Released to the press January 31]

Immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor the Department of State took up with Japan the matter of according proper treatment for American nationals in Japanese hands. Although Japan is not a party to the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention the Department obtained from the Japanese Government a commitment to apply the provisions of that convention to American prisoners of war, and, so far as adaptable, to civilian internees held by Japan. Since the very beginning of the war, by repeated protests and representations through the protecting power, the Department has again and again called to the Japanese Government's attention failures on the part of Japanese authorities to live up to their Government's undertakings.

Horrified at the accounts of repatriates who returned on the first exchange voyage of the *Gripsholm*, accounts with which the public is familiar through the statements of Mr. Grew and other repatriates, the Department made these accounts the basis of a vigorous and comprehensive protest to the Japanese Government.

The American people are familiar with the protest addressed to Japan following the Japanese Government's barbarous action in executing our aviators who fell into Japanese hands after General Doolittle's raid over Tokyo. In that protest the Department again called upon the Japanese Government to carry out its agreement to observe the provisions of the convention and warned the Japanese Government in no uncertain terms that the American Government

will hold personally and officially responsible for their acts of depravity and barbarity all officers of the Japanese Government who have participated in their commitment and, with the inexorable and inevitable conclusion of the war, will visit upon such Japanese officers the punishment they deserve for their uncivilized and inhuman acts against American prisoners of war.

When it received from the military authorities reports of the brutal atrocities and depraved cruelties inflicted by the Japanese upon American prisoners of war in the Philippines the Department again called upon the Japanese Government to honor its undertaking to apply the provisions of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention and to observe in its treatment of American nationals held by it the international common law of decency.

These protests are but three of the many that have been sent by the Department to Japan.

In order that the public may be familiar with the Department's efforts to obtain from Japan fulfilment of its undertakings to treat American nationals in its hands in accordance with humane and civilized principles, there is printed below a statement giving the dates of the principal representations and protests made by the Department, with a brief résumé of their purpose. The latest of these, representations comprehensively citing categories of abuse and of neglect to which American prisoners in the hands of the Japanese have been subjected and calling for amelioration of the treatment accorded to American nationals, both prisoners of war and civilian internees, went forward on January 27.

1942

January 13. The exchange of names of prisoners of war in accordance with article 77, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention, and of interned civilians in accordance with the same article when applied to the treatment of civilians, was proposed.

January 31. Request that representatives of the Swiss Government entrusted with the protection of American interests in Japan and

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Japanese-occupied territory be permitted to visit all camps where Americans are held, in accordance with article 86, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention. Similar facilities requested for representatives of the International Red Cross Committee in accordance with international usage.

February 3. Proposal to exchange names of civilian internees and prisoners of war repeated.

February 7. Request for permission to visit camps repeated.

February 13. Proposal that in application of clauses of Geneva Convention which relate to food and clothing, racial and national customs be taken into account.

February 14. Japanese Government informed that United States Government may have to reconsider its policy of extending liberal treatment to Japanese if assurances are not given by the Japanese Government that liberal principles will be applied to Americans. Request that Swiss representative be permitted to visit part of Philippines occupied by the Japanese forces.

March 3. Request that nurses and other sanitary personnel be repatriated in accordance with article 12 of the Geneva Red Cross Convention.

March 11. Asked for immediate report of the names of American sick, wounded, and dead.

March 19. Made proposals with regard to the labor of civilians, provision of food according to national tastes, visits by friends, relatives, doctors, etc., visits by protecting power and International Red Cross to civilian internment camps.

April 3. Asked for permission for the appointment of an International Red Cross representative for the Philippines.

April 11. Request for improvement in treatment of civilians at Kobe.

May 14. Confirmation requested of message received from International Red Cross that Japanese authorities are applying Geneva Red Cross Convention.

1942

- May 14.* Asked if Swiss representatives were permitted to interview prisoners of war without witnesses in accordance with article 86 of Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.
- May 19.* Asked for information concerning whereabouts of Americans from Wake Island.
- May 19.* Requested information concerning whereabouts of Americans in Philippine Islands.
- May 20.* Repeated request for lists of American wounded, sick, and dead.
- May 20.* Requested improvement of conditions under which civilian internees were held.
- May 21.* Requested visits to camps by Swiss representatives and application of Geneva Prisoners of War Convention in outlying areas in accordance with Japanese Government's undertaking.
- June 4.* Repeated request for permission for Swiss and International Red Cross representatives to visit camps.
- June 11.* Repeated request for permission for Swiss representatives to interview prisoners of war without witnesses.
- June 19.* Pressed for appointment of International Red Cross delegate in the Philippines.
- July 14.* Requested Japanese Government to report names of prisoners and internees held in Philippines and British and Netherlands territories under Japanese occupation in accordance with article 77, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.
- July 15.* Repatriation of seriously sick and wounded prisoners of war on the basis of the Model Agreement attached to the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention proposed.
- July 17.* Requested Swiss to endeavor to have conditions in Kobe civilian camps improved.
- August 7.* Protest against the sentences imposed on Americans who attempted escape from Shanghai prisoner-of-war camp. These sentences were contrary to article 50, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention. Protest was made at the same time against the refusal of the Japanese authorities to permit the Swiss representatives to visit these men.

1942

- August 12.* Permission again requested for Swiss and International Red Cross representatives to visit all camps.
- August 27.* Again requested that visits to camps be permitted.
- September 11.* Additional request for the transmission of names of prisoners of war. Asked if prisoners might mail cards immediately after their arrival at camp in accordance with article 36, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.
- September 22.* Lists of the camps, their location, and population requested.
- September 26.* Japanese asked to accept mail addressed to persons not reported as interned because Japanese authorities had not properly reported names of persons held.
- September 29.* Requested ranks of officers who unsuccessfully attempted to escape be restored. Protection of Geneva Prisoners of War Convention for American aviators reportedly being held incommunicado demanded.
- September 29.* Requested reporting of names of 400 American civilians known to have been on Wake Island and whose names have not yet been reported as prisoners or internees.
- October 6.* Pressed for reply concerning proposals for repatriation of seriously sick and wounded.
- November 12.* Pressed Japanese to provide at their expense medical care for internees in accordance with article 14, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention, when adapted to the treatment of civilian internees.
- November 17.* Protest against six cases of atrocities perpetrated by Japanese authorities.
- November 17.* Requested additional food at Negishi camp.
- November 17.* Weekly transmission of names of American prisoners of war and civilian internees requested in accordance with article 77, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.
- December 7.* Names of captured aviators and permission to visit them requested.
- December 7.* Requested that (1) internees at Sumire be allowed to have visitors, (2) vis-

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itors may speak languages other than Japanese, (3) Swiss representative be allowed to speak to internees without witnesses.

December 12. Extended protest regarding torture, neglect, physical violence, solitary confinement, illegal prison sentences, mistreatment, and abuse that led to deaths of some Americans; failure to permit visits to camps by Swiss and International Red Cross Committee representatives; and other violations of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention and the laws of humanity.

December 17. Protest against Japanese decision to apply Geneva Convention only to extent that its provisions do not change the effect of Japanese laws in force.

December 19. Protests against failure of Japanese to afford facilities to permit the receipt and distribution of relief supplies in accordance with article 37 of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.

1943

January 2. Requested that names of Americans held in an internment camp in Java be provided in accordance with article 77, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention, that Swiss representatives visit the camp in accordance with article 86, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention, and that International Red Cross representatives be permitted to visit the camp in accordance with general international usage.

January 4. Protest concerning conditions at Shinigawa prisoner-of-war camp. Protest covers insufficient diet (article 11, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention) and request that Japanese grant Americans reciprocal treatment with respect to mail privileges and wages for labor.

February 4. Requested a liberalization of maximum canteen purchases permitted in any month be granted on the basis of reciprocity.

February 5. Protest against Japanese failure to provide canteens in accordance with article 12, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention,

1943

failure to permit free exercise of religion in accordance with article 16, requirement that non-commissioned officers perform other than supervisory labor contrary to the provisions of article 27, limitation on correspondence with the protecting power contrary to article 44. Increased facilities with regard to mail requested on a basis of reciprocity.

February 12. Protest against failure of Japanese to provide heat at Urawa camp in accordance with article 10, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.

February 15. Protest against Japanese refusal to permit Swiss representatives to interview internees without witnesses in accordance with article 86, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.

February 16. Protest against the Japanese failure to provide proper medical attention to prisoners of war in accordance with article 14, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.

February 18. Protest against program of general internment of American nationals in the Far East.

February 20. Protest against refusal of Japanese authorities to permit American internees to receive foodstuffs sent from the outside in accordance with article 37, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention. Japanese Government requested reciprocally to permit Americans to receive visitors.

February 25. Request that Japanese supply the names of Americans held in the Sham-Sui-Po prisoner-of-war camp, Kowloon, in accordance with article 77, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.

March 1. Further protest with regard to failure of Japanese authorities to permit interviews without witnesses being present. Request that the Japanese authorities reciprocally provide underwear for American internees.

March 1. Protest against refusal of Japanese authorities in Thailand to apply Geneva Prisoners of War Convention in accordance with Japanese Government's undertaking.

1943

March 6. Protest against refusal of Japanese Government to permit representatives of protecting power to visit and to communicate with American civilian internees at Singapore in accordance with articles 44 and 86, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.

March 8. Request for permission for Swiss representatives to visit American prisoners of war in labor detachments.

March 11. Japanese Government reminded that United States Government expects that Geneva Prisoners of War Convention will be applied to the treatment of American prisoners held by the Japanese forces in Thailand.

March 12. Japanese Government pressed to restore military rank of American officers who, as a penalty for trying to escape, were deprived of their rank contrary to article 49, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.

March 15. Additional protest against failure of Japanese authorities to transmit the names of prisoners of war and civilian internees in accordance with article 77, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.

March 16. Protest against refusal of Japanese authorities to instal canteens where food-stuffs may be purchased in accordance with article 12, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention, and to permit interviews between internees and Swiss delegate without witnesses.

March 18. Protest against another instance when Japanese did not permit Swiss representative to interview internees without witnesses.

March 26. Reciprocal treatment again requested with regard to mail forwarded by civilian internees and prisoners of war.

March 30. Protest against failure of Japanese Government to report names of all American civilians who were taken into custody at Wake Island.

April 3. Further protest against Japanese failure to provide clothing in accordance with article 12, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.

1943

April 8. Reciprocal treatment requested for interned persons to live together as family units.

April 12. Protest against the Japanese action in sentencing to death American airmen for acts committed during military operations. Protest made at the same time against Japanese refusal to grant these men the safeguards with respect to judicial proceedings set up in articles 60, 61, 62, 65, and 66, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.

May 22. Protest against refusal of the Japanese Government to permit representatives of the protecting power to act in behalf of American interests in Hong Kong.

May 25. Protest against Japanese refusal to permit visits to camps near Shanghai by representatives of the Swiss Consulate General.

May 25. Protest against continued Japanese refusal to permit conversations between prisoners of war and Swiss representatives without witnesses.

May 25. Protest against refusal of Japanese Government to permit advances of official United States Government funds to needy American nationals detained by Japan.

May 25. Further protest with regard to the failure of the Japanese Government to report names of all civilians last known to have been on Wake Island.

May 27. General protest against the Japanese failure to provide standards of housing, diet, clothing, medical care, etc., for Americans, that are in accordance with the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.

May 31. Request that Swiss visit civilians interned in Philippines and prisoners of war held at Mukden, Manchuria.

June 5. Protest against failure of Japanese to permit visits by representatives of the protecting power to internment camps in and near Canton, Weih sien, and Wuhu, all in China.

June 9. Protest against failure of Japanese Government to permit Swiss to visit prisoner-of-war camp at Hakodate in accordance with article 86, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.

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July 3. Further protest with regard to failure of Japanese authorities to permit Swiss representatives to visit camps.

July 6. Extended protest against the Japanese Government's refusal to permit Swiss representatives to visit all prisoner-of-war and civilian internment camps in Japan and Japanese-occupied territory.

July 17. Protest against Japanese Government's action in locating camps in an unhealthy location, in failing to communicate orders to prisoners of war in a language which they understand, in failing to permit the camp spokesmen to correspond with the protecting power, in failing to provide clothing, and in requiring excessive hours of labor by prisoners of war. These acts were contrary to articles 10, 20, 44, 12, and 30, respectively, of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention. Reciprocal treatment with regard to mail again requested.

July 20. Protest against failure of Japanese authorities to (1) supply adequate food, lodging, and clothing (2) permit representatives of protecting power to interview internees without witnesses (3) establish canteens at civilian internment camps.

August 5. Protest against failure of Japanese Government to report names of Americans being held in Burma as required by article 77, Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.

October 7. Protest against failure of Japanese authorities to permit visits to prisoner-of-war camp at Fukuoka.

October 13. Reciprocal treatment requested with respect to the privilege of dating letters and postcards mailed by prisoners of war and civilian internees.

November 19. Additional protest with respect to the failure of the Japanese Government to report the names of American civilians interned at Wake Island.

November 22. Protest against Japanese failure to permit the Swiss representatives to visit American prisoners of war held by the Japanese in Thailand.

1943

December 1. Additional representations with respect to reciprocal privileges for prisoners of war and civilian internees to forward mail.

December 2. Additional protest with respect to the failure of the Japanese Government to report the names of all civilians held in internment camps as well as the release or transfer of persons previously reported in accordance with article 77 of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention when it is adapted to the treatment of civilian internees.

December 11. Protest against Japanese refusal to permit representatives of the protecting power to visit sick Americans held in hospitals in Shanghai.

1944

January 27. Extended protest to Japanese Government with respect to:

- (1) failure to permit representatives of Swiss Government and of the International Red Cross Committee to visit all places where Americans are held
- (2) failure to forward complaints to the appropriate authorities and to representatives of the protecting power
- (3) punishment of American nationals for complaining concerning the conditions of captivity
- (4) failure to furnish needed clothing to American nationals
- (5) confiscation of personal effects from American civilian internees and prisoners of war
- (6) subjection of Americans to insults and to public curiosity
- (7) failure and refusal to provide health-sustaining food
- (8) improper use of the profits of the sale of goods in camp canteens
- (9) forcing civilians to perform labor other than that connected with the administration, maintenance, and management of internment camps

1944

- (10) forcing officer prisoners of war to perform labor and non-commissioned officers to do other than supervisory work
- (11) requiring prisoners of war to perform labor that has a direct relation with war operations
- (12) failure to provide proper medical care
- (13) failure to report the names of all prisoners of war and civilian internees in their hands and of American combatants found dead on the field of battle
- (14) failure to permit prisoners of war freely to exercise their religion
- (15) failure to post copies of Geneva Prisoners of War Convention in English translation in the camps
- (16) failure to provide adequate equipment and accommodations in the camps
- (17) failure to apply the provisions of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention with respect to the trial and punishment of prisoners of war
- (18) inflicting corporal punishment and torture upon American nationals.

January 27. Comprehensive statement detailing specific instances of failure of the Japanese Government to abide by its commitments as charged above.

DECLARATION OF WAR BY LIBERIA AGAINST GERMANY AND JAPAN

On January 26 President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia, in a special message to a joint session of the Liberian legislature, advocated Liberia's adherence to the Declaration by United Nations and stated that he deemed it necessary to ask the legislative body for authorization to make a formal declaration of war against Germany and Japan. On January 27 the Liberian Senate and House passed a joint resolution approving the issuance by the Executive of a proclamation of war against Germany and Japan and authorizing the President to take all the

steps necessary to maintain the security of the nation. On the same day a proclamation of war against Germany and Japan was issued by the President.

When he was asked during his press and radio news conference on February 2 to comment on the action taken by Liberia in declaring war against Germany and Japan, Secretary Hull replied:

"Naturally I am sure that each of the United Nations is gratified and especially pleased to have Liberia taking her place in the ranks of the Allied nations. They are in a strategic location where their cooperation and support mean much for the Allies."

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR RELIEF

On February 1, 1944 the President's War Relief Control Board released to the press a tabulation of contributions collected and disbursed during the period September 6, 1939 through December 31, 1943, as shown in the reports submitted by persons and organizations registered with the Board for the solicitation and collection of contributions to be used for relief in foreign countries, in conformity with the regulations issued pursuant to section 3 (a) of the act of May 1, 1937, as made effective by the President's proclamations of September 5, 8, and 10, 1939; section 8 of the act of November 4, 1939, as made effective by the President's proclamation of the same date; and Executive Order 9205 of July 25, 1942. The statistics set forth in the tabulation are incomplete with regard to relief activities which a number of registered organizations carried on in respect to non-belligerent countries prior to July 28, 1942.

The American National Red Cross and certain religious organizations are exempted from registration with the Board by section 3 of Executive Order 9205, and the accounts of these organizations are not included in the tabulation.

Copies of the tabulation are available from the President's War Relief Control Board, Washington Building, Washington, D. C.

General

THE WARTIME DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZATIONS TO DEAL WITH INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC OPERATIONS AND PROBLEMS

A Chronology: July 1, 1939 to December 31, 1943

On January 15, 1944 far-reaching changes were made in the organization of the Department of State. Twelve major "line" offices were established to broaden the base of the Department's organizational structure, permitting the more flexible and efficient adjustment of the Department's functions to rapidly changing conditions. Two of the new offices, the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs and the Office of Economic Affairs, were created to initiate and coordinate policy and action, so far as the Department of State is concerned, in all matters pertaining to the economic relations of the United States with other governments.

Data with respect to the earlier development of organizations to deal with international economic operations and problems are contained in the following chronology, prepared in the Division of Research and Publication, Department of State. Additional data will be found in Senate Document 285, 77th Congress (entitled *Domestic Stability, National Defense, and Prosecution of World War II*) and the series of chronologies which have been issued for the period since July 1, 1939 by the Department of Labor under the title *Important Economic and Military Events*.

This chronology contains the following abbreviations:

DSB *Department of State Bulletin*
FR *Federal Register*
Manual *United States Government Manual, Summer 1943*

1939

JULY 1

Consolidation of Foreign Agricultural Service and Foreign Commerce Service with the Foreign Service of the United States (Department

of State): Transferred to Department of State, to be administered as part of the Foreign Service, by Reorganization Plan II, section 1 (a), effective July 1, 1939. (*Manual*, p. 618.)

OCTOBER 3

Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee: Resolution III of the Final Act of the Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics, held in Panamá, provided for the creation of this committee to consider means of establishing close cooperation between the American republics to protect their economic and financial structure, maintain their fiscal equilibrium, safeguard the stability of their currencies, promote and expand their industries, intensify their agriculture, and develop their commerce. First meeting held at the Pan American Union in Washington on November 15, 1939. (*DSB*, Oct. 7, 1939, pp. 324-325; Nov. 18, 1939, p. 564; Jan. 16, 1943, pp. 71-72; Mar. 27, 1943, pp. 260-263.)

DECEMBER 6

Interdepartmental Committee for the Coordination of Foreign and Domestic Military Purchases: Created to represent the United States in all matters relating to the purchase of military or naval supplies, materials, and equipment in the United States by foreign governments. Dissolved April 14, 1941. (*Manual*, pp. 619-620.)

1940

FEBRUARY 26

Division of Commercial Affairs: Established by departmental order in Department of State to direct activities of the Foreign Service per-

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taining to the promotion and protection of American agricultural and commercial interests abroad and the distribution of information submitted by the Foreign Service on these subjects and on economic developments abroad. (*DSB*, Mar. 2, 1940, p. 268.)

MAY 25

Office for Emergency Management: Created by Executive order to (1) "assist the President in the clearance of information with respect to measures necessitated by the emergency," (2) maintain liaison between the President and Federal or other defense agencies to "secure maximum utilization and coordination . . .", and (3) perform other duties as directed by the President. (*Manual*, pp. 62-63.)

JUNE 3

Inter-American Development Commission: Organized in accordance with a resolution of the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee (1) to stimulate increase of non-competitive imports from the American republics to the United States, (2) to stimulate and increase trade among the American countries themselves, and (3) to encourage development of industry in the American republics, particularly along the lines of production of consumer goods. (*DSB*, Jan. 16, 1943, p. 71.)

JUNE 28

Rubber Reserve Company: Created by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, pursuant to authority of section 5(d) of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act, as amended, to purchase, warehouse, and distribute all crude rubber, guayule, cryptostegia, and balata imported into the United States, etc. (*Manual*, p. 400.)

Metals Reserve Company: Created by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, pursuant to authority of section 5(d) of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act, as amended, "to produce, acquire, carry, and sell, or otherwise deal in, strategic and critical materials (primarily metals and minerals) necessary in con-

1940

nection with the War Program." (*Manual*, p. 401.)

JUNE 29

Division of Commercial Treaties and Agreements: Established by departmental order, effective July 1, 1940, in the Department of State to have "general charge of the formulation, negotiation, and administration of all commercial treaties and agreements having to do with the international commercial relations of the United States" and to "cooperate in the formulation of international commercial policy." (*DSB*, July 6, 1940, p. 16.)

JULY 2

Office of the Administrator of Export Control: Established by military order to administer section 6 of the act of July 2, 1940. (*DSB*, July 6, 1940, p. 12.) The responsibilities and duties of the office were transferred to the Economic Defense Board by an Executive order of September 15, 1941. (*Manual*, p. 604.)

AUGUST 16

Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations Between the American Republics: Created by the Council of National Defense, with the approval of the President to insure proper coordination of the activities of the Government with respect to hemisphere defense, with particular reference to the commercial and cultural aspects of the problem. (*DSB*, Aug. 24, 1940, p. 151.) Abolished by the Executive order of July 30, 1941 which created the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. (*DSB*, Aug. 2, 1941, pp. 94-95.)

AUGUST 17

Permanent Joint Board on Defense, United States and Canada: Established by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister King of Canada to make "studies relating to sea, land, and air problems including personnel and *matériel*" and to "consider in the broad sense the defense of the north half of the Western Hemisphere." (*DSB*, Aug. 24, 1940, p. 154; Jan. 16, 1943, pp. 77-78.)

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JANUARY 7

Office of Production Management: Created by Executive order "to increase production for the national defense through mobilization of material resources and the industrial facilities of the nation". Among the duties assigned to the Office were to survey, analyze, and summarize the requirements of foreign governments for materials, articles, and equipment needed for defense; to take all lawful steps to obtain an adequate supply of essential raw materials; and to determine when, to what extent, and in what manner priorities shall be accorded to deliveries of material. (*FR*, Jan. 9, 1941, p. 191.) The Office was abolished by an Executive order of January 24, 1942, and its functions and powers were transferred to the War Production Board. (*Manual*, p. 623.)

FEBRUARY 7

Committee for Coordination of Inter-American Shipping: Created, with approval of President, to coordinate the shipping requirements of the Central and South American trades with the supply of vessel tonnage under the jurisdiction of the Maritime Commission and with the needs of the military branches of the Government. (*DSB*, Feb. 8, 1941, pp. 163-164.)

MARCH 11

Lend-Lease Act: Provided that "defense articles" could be furnished to the government of any country whose defense the President deemed vital to the defense of the United States. (Public Law 11, 77th Cong.) On March 11, 1943 the life of the act was extended for one year. (Public Law 9, 78th Cong.)

MAY 2

Division of Defense Aid Reports: Established by Executive order in the Office for Emergency Management to provide a channel for clearance of transactions and reports and to coordinate the processing of requests for aid under the Lend-Lease Act. Abolished by the Executive order of October 28, 1941 which

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created the Office of Lend-Lease Administration. (*Manual*, p. 613.)

MAY 14

Material Coordinating Committee, United States and Canada: Established (according to announcement of May 14, 1941 by the Office of Production Management) to make possible the free exchange of vital information between responsible officials of the two Governments relating to their supplies of strategic raw materials required for defense production. (*DSB*, Jan. 16, 1943, p. 76.)

JUNE 17

Joint Economic Committees, United States and Canada: Established to explore "the possibilities of (1) effecting a more economic, more efficient, and more coordinated utilization of the combined resources of the two countries in the production of defense requirements . . . and (2) reducing the probable post-war economic dislocation consequent upon the changes which the economy in each country is presently undergoing." (*DSB*, June 21, 1941, pp. 747-748; Jan. 16, 1943, pp. 74-75.)

JULY 17

Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Issuance of the first list of names of persons and firms denied the right to trade with residents of the United States because of pro-Axis ties, together with a presidential proclamation vesting in the Secretary of State the authority, in collaboration with the Secretary of the Treasury, Attorney General, Secretary of Commerce, Administrator of Export Control, and Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations Between the American Republics, to maintain the list. (*DSB*, July 19, 1941, pp. 41-43.)

JULY 21

Division of World Trade Intelligence: Established by departmental order in the Department of State "to handle the activities and problems envisaged in the President's Proclamation of July 17, 1941, relating to trade with aliens

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whose interests are inimical to the United States." (*DSB*, July 26, 1941, p. 78.)

JULY 30

Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs: Established by Executive order in the Office for Emergency Management "to provide for the development of commercial and cultural relations between the American Republics", and authorized "to take over . . . any contracts heretofore entered into by the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations Between the American Republics, established by order of the Council of National Defense on August 16, 1940." (*DSB*, Aug. 2, 1941, pp. 94-95.)

Committee on Inter-American Affairs: Established by Executive order in the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs to "consider and correlate proposals with respect to the commercial, cultural, educational, and scientific aspects of Hemisphere defense relations." (*DSB*, Aug. 2, 1941, pp. 94-95.)

Economic Defense Board: Established by Executive order to coordinate and develop "policies, plans, and programs designed to protect and strengthen the international economic relations of the United States in the interest of national defense." (*DSB*, Aug. 2, 1941, pp. 97-98.) The name of the agency was changed to Board of Economic Warfare by an Executive order of December 17, 1941. (*Manual*, pp. 132-135.) The Board of Economic Warfare was abolished by an Executive order of July 15, 1943, and its powers, functions, and duties were transferred to the Office of Economic Warfare. (*DSB*, July 17, 1943, p. 32.) The Office of Economic Warfare was transferred by Executive order to the Foreign Economic Administration on September 25, 1943. (*DSB*, Sept. 25, 1943, pp. 205-206.)

AUGUST 28

Supply Priorities and Allocations Board: Established by Executive order in the Office for Emergency Management to secure unity of pol-

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icy and coordinated consideration of all relevant factors involved in the supply and allocation of materials and commodities among various phases of the defense program and competing civilian demands. Abolished by an Executive order of January 16, 1942, which transferred its powers and functions to the War Production Board. (*Manual*, p. 629.)

OCTOBER 7

Board of Economic Operations: Established by departmental order, effective October 8, in the Department of State "to carry out the Department's functions in connection with the economic defense of the United States . . . to assist in formulating policies and to coordinate the activities of the various divisions of which the Board is composed." (*DSB*, Oct. 11, 1941, pp. 278-279.) Abolished by departmental order on June 24, 1943. (*DSB*, June 26, 1943, p. 579.)

Division of Commercial Policy and Agreements: Established by departmental order, effective October 8, in the Department of State "to have general charge of the formulation, negotiation and administration of all commercial treaties and agreements having to do with the international commercial relations of the United States, as well as matters of tariff, general trade and other questions relating to the international commercial policy of the United States." This division absorbed the Division of Commercial Treaties and Agreements, which was established on July 1, 1940. (*DSB*, Oct. 11, 1941, p. 279.)

Division of Exports and Defense Aid: Established by departmental order, effective October 8, in the Department of State to "have responsibility for all matters of foreign policy involved in the administration of the Act of July 2, 1940, (the Export Control Act), the Act of March 11, 1941, (the Lend-Lease Act), the Acts of June 28, 1940 and May 31, 1941, (in so far as priorities or allocations for export are concerned), and for the administration of Sec. 12 of the Act of November 4, 1939, (the Neutrality Act), the Act of

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September 1, 1937, (the Helium Act), and the Act of February 15, 1936, (the Tin Plate Scrap Act)." (*DSB*, Oct. 11, 1941, pp. 279-280.) This division was abolished by departmental order on June 18, 1942, and its duties were transferred to the Division of Commercial Affairs, Division of Defense Materials, and Division of Commercial Policy and Agreements. (*DSB*, June 20, 1942, p. 556.)

Division of Defense Materials: Established by departmental order, effective October 8, in the Department of State to "have responsibility in the formulation and execution of policies in the field of defense materials". (*DSB*, Oct. 11, 1941, p. 280.) Abolished by departmental order on August 27, 1943. (*DSB*, Aug. 28, 1943, pp. 142-143.)

Division of Studies and Statistics: Established by departmental order, effective October 8, in the Department of State to "have responsibility . . . for the preparation of current studies, analyses and statistical data needed in connection with matters arising before the Board of Economic Operations or as may be required by any of the Divisions of which it is composed in connection with policy considerations and national defense activities." (*DSB*, Oct. 11, 1941, p. 280.) This division was abolished by departmental order on June 18, 1942, and its duties were transferred to the Division of Commercial Policy and Agreements. (*DSB*, June 20, 1942, p. 556.)

Foreign Funds and Financial Division: Established by departmental order, effective October 8, in the Department of State to "have responsibility in all matters of foreign policy in foreign funds control and other financial matters". (*DSB*, Oct. 11, 1941, pp. 280-281.) On November 24, 1941, the departmental order establishing this division was revoked, and there were established the Financial Division and the Foreign Funds Control Division. The Financial Division was given "responsibility in all matters of foreign policy in financial matters

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other than foreign funds control". The Foreign Funds Control Division was given "responsibility in all matters of foreign policy in foreign funds control matters". (*DSB*, Nov. 29, 1941, p. 441.) The Foreign Funds Control Division was abolished by departmental order on August 27, 1943, and its functions were transferred to the Division of World Trade Intelligence, Division of Blockade and Supply, Deputy Director of the Office of Foreign Economic Coordination, and Financial Division. (*DSB*, Aug. 28, 1943, pp. 143-144.)

OCTOBER 9

Caribbean Office: Established by departmental order in the Department of State to encourage and strengthen social and economic cooperation between the United States and its possessions and bases in the Caribbean, and other countries, colonies, and possessions in the area. (*DSB*, Oct. 11, 1941, pp. 281-282.)

OCTOBER 28

Office of Lend-Lease Administration: Established by Executive order in the Office for Emergency Management, "to exercise any power or authority conferred upon the President by the [Lend-Lease] act and by the Defense Aid Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1941, and any acts amendatory or supplemental thereto, with respect to any nation whose defense the President shall have found to be vital to the defense of the United States." This order revoked the Executive order of May 2, 1941 establishing the Division of Defense Aid Reports; provided that master lend-lease agreements should be negotiated by the Department of State, with the advice of the Economic Defense Board and the Office of Lend-Lease Administration; and directed the Lend-Lease Administration to make "appropriate arrangements with the Economic Defense Board for the review and clearance of lend-lease transactions". (*DSB*, Nov. 1, 1941, p. 344.) The Office was transferred by Executive order to the Foreign Economic Administration on September 25, 1943. (*DSB*, Sept. 25, 1943, pp. 205-206.)

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NOVEMBER 5

Joint War Production Committee, United States and Canada: The Committee was first set up as the "Joint Defense Production Committee" by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Canada (announced Nov. 5, 1941) pursuant to a recommendation of the Joint Economic Committees, United States and Canada, of September 19, 1941. The Committee was to coordinate the capacities of the two countries for the production of defense matériel. (*DSB*, Nov. 8, 1941, pp. 360-361; Jan. 16, 1943, pp. 75-76.)

NOVEMBER 14

Inter-American Maritime Technical Commission: Resolution of the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee recommended the organization of this Commission to formulate plans for the efficient use of all the merchant vessels of the American republics available for service between the American republics and to recommend to the maritime authorities the allocation of such vessels to particular routes or to the carrying of articles of a specific nature. (*DSB*, Jan. 16, 1943, p. 73.)

NOVEMBER 24

Financial Division and Foreign Funds Control Division: Established in the Department of State. (See October 7, 1941, *ante*.)

DECEMBER 17

Board of Economic Warfare: An Executive order changed the name of the Economic Defense Board to the Board of Economic Warfare. (See July 30, 1941, *ante*.)

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JANUARY 16

War Production Board: Established by Executive order in the Office for Emergency Management to "Exercise general direction over the war procurement and production program". The Board took over the functions and powers of the Supply Priorities and Allocations Board, which was abolished, and also took over the

1942

supervision of the Office of Production Management. On January 24 the Office of Production Management was abolished by Executive order, and its functions and powers were transferred to the War Production Board. (*Manual*, pp. 112-125.)

JANUARY 26

Combined Raw Materials Board: Announcement of establishment by the President and Prime Minister Churchill to "plan the best and speediest development, expansion and use of the raw material resources, under the jurisdiction or control of the two Governments," and, in collaboration with others of the United Nations, to "work toward the best utilization of their raw material resources". (*DSB*, Jan. 31, 1942, p. 87; Jan. 16, 1943, p. 68.)

Munitions Assignments Board: Announcement of establishment by the President and Prime Minister Churchill stating: "Committees will be formed in Washington and London under the Combined Chiefs of Staff" to "advise on all [munitions] assignments both in quantity and priority, whether to Great Britain and the United States or other of the United Nations, in accordance with strategic needs." (*DSB*, Jan. 31, 1942, pp. 87-88; Jan. 16, 1943, p. 77.)

Combined Shipping Adjustment Board: Announcement of establishment by the President and Prime Minister Churchill "to adjust and concert in one harmonious policy the work of the British Ministry of War Transport and the shipping authorities of the United States Government". An Executive order of February 7, 1942 established a War Shipping Administration in the Office for Emergency Management, which comprises the American section of the Combined Shipping Adjustment Board. (*DSB*, Jan. 31, 1942, p. 88; Jan. 16, 1943, p. 69.)

FEBRUARY 20

American Hemisphere Exports Office: Established by departmental order to have authority over "all matters of foreign policy involving the administration of the Export Control Act

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relating to countries of the American hemisphere". The office was abolished by departmental order on February 1, 1943. (*DSB*, Feb. 6, 1943, p. 138.)

FEBRUARY 23

Mutual-Aid Agreement With Great Britain: This was the first "master" agreement to be concluded under the provisions of the Lend-Lease Act of March 11, 1941. (*DSB*, Feb. 28, 1942, pp. 190-192.)

MARCH 9

Anglo-American Caribbean Commission: A joint communiqué released simultaneously in Washington and London announced the creation of the commission "for the purpose of encouraging and strengthening social and economic cooperation between the United States of America and its possessions and bases in the . . . Caribbean, and the United Kingdom and British colonies in the same area". (*DSB*, Mar. 14, 1942, pp. 229-230; Jan. 16, 1943, p. 66.)

JUNE 9

Combined Food Board: Creation was announced by the President on June 9, 1942 and was established by the President and Prime Minister Churchill to obtain "a planned and expeditious utilization of the food resources of the United Nations". (*DSB*, June 13, 1942, pp. 535-536; Jan. 16, 1943, p. 67.)

Combined Production and Resources Board: Announcement of establishment by the President and Prime Minister Churchill "in order to complete the organization needed for the most effective use of the combined resources of the United States and the United Kingdom for the prosecution of the war". On November 10, 1942 Canada became a full member of the board. (*DSB*, June 13, 1942, pp. 535-536; Jan. 16, 1943, pp. 67-68.)

JUNE 18

Divisions of Exports and Defense Aid and of Studies and Statistics of the Department of State abolished by departmental order. (See October 7, 1941, *ante*.)

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JULY 24

War Relief Control Board: The President's Committee on War Relief Agencies, appointed on March 13, 1941, was continued and established by Executive order as the President's War Relief Control Board. It was authorized and empowered to control charities for (1) foreign and domestic relief arising from war-created needs, (2) refugee relief, (3) the relief of the civilian population of the United States affected by enemy action, and (4) the relief and welfare of the armed forces of the United States and their dependents. (*DSB*, Aug. 1, 1942, pp. 658-659.)

NOVEMBER 21

Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations: Governor Lehman was appointed director by the Secretary of State on December 4, 1942. (See publication entitled *The Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations*, Department of State, p. 3.)

NOVEMBER 25

Office of Foreign Territories: Established by departmental order in the Department of State to have "responsibility for dealing with all non-military matters arising as a result of the military occupation of territories in Europe and North Africa by the armed forces of the United Nations and affecting the interests of the United States". (*DSB*, Nov. 28, 1942, p. 971.) Abolished by departmental order on June 24, 1943. (*DSB*, June 26, 1943, p. 579.)

1943

JANUARY 14

Division of Economic Studies: Established by departmental order, effective January 1, 1943, in the Department of State to "have responsibility for the conduct of continuing and special research and for the preparation of studies required in the formulation of policies and the planning of integrated programs as a basis for action in the field of foreign economic relations affecting the interests of the United States". (*DSB*, Jan. 16, 1943, pp. 63-64.)

1943

FEBRUARY 1

Division of Exports and Requirements: Established by departmental order in the Department of State to "have responsibility for all matters of foreign policy involved in the administration of the Act of July 2, 1940, as amended (the Export Control Act), the Act of March 11, 1941 (the Lend-Lease Act), except the negotiation of master lend-lease agreements and the application of Article VII thereof under said Act, the Acts of June 28, 1940, and May 31, 1941 (in so far as priorities and/or allocations for export are concerned)" (*DSB*, Feb. 6, 1943, p. 138.)

FEBRUARY 1

American Hemisphere Exports Office of Department of State abolished by departmental order. (See February 20, 1942, *ante*.)

APRIL 6

Post-War International Monetary Stabilization Plan: Treasury Department made public a provisional outline of a plan (the White plan) for post-war international monetary stabilization. (*Federal Reserve Bulletin*, June, pp. 501-521.)

MAY 18 - JUNE 3

United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture: Met in Hot Springs, Virginia, to provide an opportunity for an exchange of views and information concerning post-war production of food and food requirements of the various United Nations with a view toward coordinating and stimulating by international action national policies for the economical and coordinated provision of adequate nutrition for the people of each country. A detailed Final Act was published containing recommendations and resolutions. (*DSB*, June 12, 1943, pp. 518-520; June 19, pp. 546-572.)

MAY 25

Mexican-United States Commission of Experts To Formulate a Program for Economic Cooperation Between the Two Governments: Held first meeting on May 25 in Washington.

1943

The Commission was established in accordance with the announcement of April 29 of the agreement reached by President Roosevelt and President Avila Camacho to have expert economists study the disturbances in the balance of international payments and the related economic situation of the Republic of Mexico under the war economy. (*DSB*, May 1, 1943, p. 376; May 22, 1943, p. 457; May 29, 1943, p. 473.)

MAY 27

Office of War Mobilization: Created by Executive order in order, with advice of a War Mobilization Committee and subject to direction and control of the President, to (1) develop unified programs and establish policies for the maximum use of the Nation's resources and manpower, and (2) unify and harmonize Government activities concerned with the production and distribution of military or civilian goods. (*FR*, June 1, 1943, p. 7207.) On July 15, 1943 the agency was given the authority to arrange for the unification of the activities of the Government relating to foreign economic matters. (*FR*, July 17, 1943, pp. 9861-9862.)

JUNE 3

Plan for Coordinating the Economic Activities of United States Civilian Agencies in Liberated Areas: The plan was sent by the President to the Secretary of State who was requested to "unify our foreign economic activities to the end that coherent and consistent policies and programs result" and who was informed that "the Department of State should provide the necessary coordination, here and in the field, of our economic operations with respect to liberated areas." On June 24, 1943 there was established by departmental order in the Department of State an Office of Foreign Economic Coordination to "have responsibility, so far as the Department is concerned, for the coordination of (1) activities related to economic affairs in liberated areas and the facilitation of military-civilian cooperation in regard thereto; and of (2) the foreign policy aspects of wartime economic controls and operations." (*DSB*,

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June 26, 1943, pp. 575-579.) The office was abolished by departmental order on November 6, 1943. (*DSB*, Nov. 13, 1943, pp. 333-334.)

JUNE 10

Draft Agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration: The Department of State (according to an announcement of June 11, 1943) submitted the draft agreement to the governments of all the United Nations and the other nations associated with them in the war. (*DSB*, June 12, 1943, pp. 523-527.) On September 24, 1943, it was announced that a revised text of the agreement, as of September 20, 1943, had been placed before all the governments concerned. (*DSB*, Sept. 25, 1943, pp. 211-216.)

JUNE 24

Office of Foreign Economic Coordination: Established by departmental order in the Department of State. (See June 3, 1943, *ante*.)

Office of Foreign Territories of Department of State abolished by departmental order. (See November 25, 1942, *ante*.)

Board of Economic Operations of the Department of State abolished by departmental order. (See October 7, 1941, *ante*.)

JULY 15

Office of Economic Warfare: Established by Executive order and given all the powers, functions, and duties of the Board of Economic Warfare, which was abolished (see July 30 and December 17, 1941, *ante*). All subsidiaries of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation which were engaged in financing foreign purchases and imports were transferred to the new Office of Economic Warfare. (*DSB*, July 17, 1943, p. 32.) The Office was transferred to the Foreign Economic Administration by Executive order on September 25, 1943. (*DSB*, Sept. 25, 1943, pp. 205-206.)

1943

AUGUST 27

War Commodities Division: Established by departmental order in the Office of Foreign Economic Coordination of the Department of State to be responsible for "all matters of foreign policy involved in the procurement abroad of materials and products needed in the prosecution of the war or for purposes of relief and rehabilitation". (*DSB*, Aug. 28, 1943, pp. 142-143.)

Blockade and Supply Division: Established by departmental order in the Office of Foreign Economic Coordination of the Department of State to be responsible for (1) the formulation and execution of programs relating to the economic blockade of enemy and enemy-occupied territories, programs for import requirements of all areas within the Eastern Hemisphere, and procurement programs for all areas within the Eastern Hemisphere, and (2) the conduct of preclusive purchasing operations in all areas throughout the world. (*DSB*, Aug. 28, 1943, pp. 142-143.)

Foreign Funds Control Division of the Department of State abolished by departmental order. (See October 7, 1941, *ante*.)

Division of Defense Materials of the Department of State abolished by departmental order. (See October 7, 1941, *ante*.)

SEPTEMBER 25

Foreign Economic Administration: Established by Executive order in the Office for Emergency Management to centralize the activities formerly carried on by the Offices of Lend-Lease Administration, Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, Economic Warfare, and Foreign Economic Coordination ("except functions and personnel thereof as the Director of the Budget shall determine are not concerned with foreign economic operations"). (*DSB*, Sept. 25, 1943, pp. 205-206.)

NOVEMBER 6

Office of Foreign Economic Coordination of Department of State abolished by departmental

1943

order; appointment of four groups of advisers to be "concerned, respectively, with the foreign policy aspects of matters relating to the allocation of supplies, of wartime economic activities in liberated areas, of wartime economic activities in eastern hemisphere countries other than liberated areas, and of wartime economic activities in the other American republics." (*DSB*, Nov. 13, 1943, pp. 333-334.)

NOVEMBER 9

Signature of Agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. (*DSB*, Nov. 13, 1943, pp. 317-319, 335-336.)

Treaty Information

WATER UTILIZATION

Treaty With Mexico Relating to the Utilization of Waters of the Colorado and Tijuana Rivers and of the Rio Grande

[Released to the press February 4]

Following negotiations lasting several months a treaty between the United States and Mexico relating to the conservation, distribution, and use of the available water supply of the Rio Grande below Fort Quitman, Texas, and of the Colorado and Tijuana Rivers was signed in Washington on Thursday, February 3, 1944. The treaty was signed for the United States by the Hon. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, the Hon. George S. Messersmith, American Ambassador to Mexico, and the Hon. Lawrence M. Lawson, United States Commissioner on the International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico; and for Mexico by His Excellency Señor Dr. Don Francisco Castillo Nájera, Mexican Ambassador in Washington, and the Hon. Señor Rafael Fernández MacGregor, Mexican Commissioner on the International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico.

The signature of this treaty marks a step of epic importance in the practical application of

the policy of the good neighbor. The adjustment of their international water problems had defied settlement for many years. Recently, having agreed that a solution of this long-standing problem would be to their mutual advantage, the two Governments renewed negotiations in the spirit of arriving at an equitable and fair settlement in the national interest of both countries. These discussions, which were carried on in the most friendly spirit, reached their culmination in the treaty signed February 3—an outstanding example of what can be attained when two countries decide to resolve their differences, however difficult, on the basis of what is to the best advantage of all concerned.

It is provided in the treaty that it shall enter into force on the day of the exchange of ratifications. From such time as the treaty may enter into force, the International Boundary Commission shall be known as the "International Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico".

The question of the conservation and equitable distribution of the waters of the Colorado River and the Rio Grande has been one of long standing between the United States and Mexico. In both countries the development of towns, cities, and agricultural areas along their common boundary has been possible only because of the availability of water from these streams. On the other hand, this rapid expansion of communities, as well as of irrigated crop-producing areas, has resulted in greatly increased demands upon the water supply and has thus emphasized during recent years the necessity for an international agreement covering these rivers.

The metropolitan districts of southern California, with their greatly increased population and attendant industrial growth as well as the large, developed agricultural area in the northern part of Baja California, Mexico, are all dependent upon the availability and control of the waters of the Colorado River.

On this river large storage dams and other facilities, including flood-protection works, already provide for the conservation for beneficial use of, and protection against, flood waters which formerly caused extensive damage. By

the terms of the treaty signed February 3 the two Governments will undertake the construction of additional facilities and works in order to bring the Colorado River under still better control for the benefit of agricultural, municipal, and industrial uses.

The Rio Grande Valley below El Paso, Texas, with over one-half million acres of intensively developed lands in cultivation and a rapidly increasing agricultural area in Mexico, together with a number of important towns and cities in both countries, primarily depend upon the limitrophe reach of the Rio Grande for their water supply. Precipitation alone in these areas is insufficient to sustain either inhabitants or crop production, and the demands for water in both countries have now become so great as to make inadequate the natural flow of the river.

In view of the present and probable future water requirements along the limitrophe reach of the Rio Grande, the two Governments, under the terms of the present treaty, will construct and operate large conservation, storage, and flood-protection works on this river between Fort Quitman, Texas, and the Gulf of Mexico. Furthermore, they will explore the possibilities of power generation at international hydroelectric plants.

This treaty provides for urgently needed works and facilities and for improvements to those now existing; for the conservation, control, and use of the available water supply of the Colorado and Tijuana Rivers, and of the Rio Grande below Fort Quitman, Texas; and for the equitable apportionment of such water supply, thereby not only confirming present beneficial water uses but also assuring additional developments in both countries.

AGRICULTURE

Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences

Cuba; Ecuador

With a letter dated January 27, 1944 the Director General of the Pan American Union transmitted to the Secretary of State certified

copies of the Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on January 15, 1944, with the signatures affixed thereto up to the date of that communication. According to the certified copies, the convention was signed on January 20, 1944 for Cuba and Ecuador.

The convention was signed for the United States of America, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Panama on January 15, 1944, the date on which it was opened for signature.

AUTOMOTIVE

Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic

Costa Rica

By a letter dated January 25, 1944 the Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State that on January 20, 1944 His Excellency the Ambassador of Costa Rica in the United States, Señor Don Carlos Manuel Escalante, signed in the name of his Government, the Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic, which was deposited with the Pan American Union and opened for signature by the governments members of the Union, on December 15, 1943.

The convention was signed on December 15, 1943 for Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Peru, and on December 31, 1943 for the United States, subject to a reservation with respect to article XV.

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

Inter-American Radiocommunications Convention and North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement ¹

Bahamas

By a communication dated January 18, 1944 the Director of the Inter-American Radio Office, Señor Pérez Goñi y Valles, informed the Secretary of State that the British Minister at

¹ See BULLETIN of June 5, 1943, p. 503.

Habana by note of December 24, 1943 notified the Government of Cuba of the adherence by the Bahamas to the Inter-American Radiocommunications Convention and to the North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement, both of which were signed at Habana on December 13, 1937. The notification was received by the Cuban Ministry of State on December 30, 1943, and the Department of State has, therefore, noted this date as the date of the Bahamian adherence to the convention and agreement.

The countries in respect of which the Inter-American Radiocommunications Convention is now in force as the result of the deposit of their respective ratifications or notifications of adherence are the United States of America, Bahamas, Brazil, Canada, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay (provisionally), and Peru.

The countries in respect of which the North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement is now in force as the result of the deposit of their respective ratifications or notifications of adherence are the United States of America, Bahamas, Canada, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Mexico, and Newfoundland.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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- Wartime Labor Conditions in India**, by Rajani Kanta Das. 1943. (Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.) ii, 28 pp. 10¢ (available from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office).
- Labor Conditions in Fascist Italy**. 1943. (Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.) i, 21 pp. Available from Bureau of Labor Statistics.
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 - The Balkans. vi, 73 pp., processed.
 - Bulgaria. iii, 34 pp., processed.
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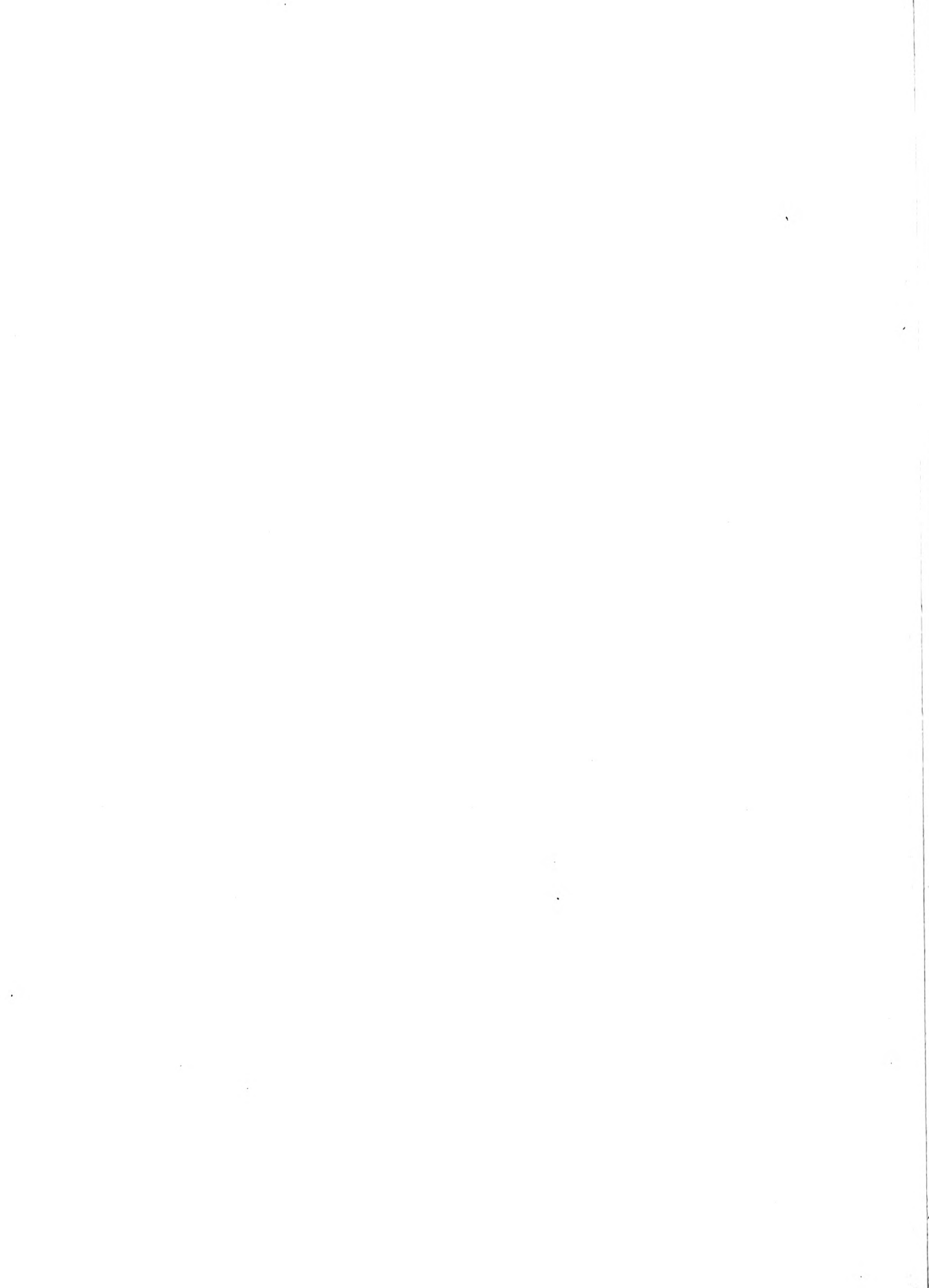
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The War

TRANSFER OF A WARSHIP TO THE NAVY OF FRANCE

Remarks by the President¹

[Released to the press by the White House February 12]

On behalf of the American people I transfer to the Navy of France this warship—built by American hands in an American navy yard. This is one of a long line of events symbolizing the ancient friendship between France and the United States. It emphasizes the determination of this nation, and of all the United Nations, to drive from the soil of France the Nazi invaders who today swagger down the Champs Élysées in Paris. This one transfer under the lend-lease law is typical of the thousands of transfers of American-made weapons of war which have been made to our fighting allies. They are bringing closer the day of inevitable victory over our enemies on all the fronts all over the world.

No day could be more appropriate for this ceremony than the anniversary we now celebrate of the birth of that illustrious American who, in his time, struck such mighty blows for the liberty and dignity of the human race—Abraham Lincoln.

In 1940 the Nazi invaders overran France. Although we were still on the sidelines, we in the United States realized the horror of that catastrophe—and the grave menace it carried to all the civilized world.

The land of France fell to the enemy, but not so the ships of France. Today her fleet still proudly flies the tricolor in battle against our common enemy. At Nettuno and Anzio, French ships were among those which bombarded the German coastal installations. In a strategic sector of the Allied line now pushing

toward Rome are French troops. The Nazis on the Italian front know only too well that France is not out of this war.

And the time will soon come when the Nazis in France will learn from millions of brave Frenchmen—now underground—that the people of France, also, are not all out of this war.

In a sense this transaction today can be regarded not only as lend-lease—it might even be regarded as reverse lend-lease. For in the early days of our national history this situation was reversed. At that time, instead of France receiving an American-made ship, the young nation of the United States was glad to receive a ship made in France by Frenchmen—the *Bonhomme Richard*—a ship made illustrious under the command of John Paul Jones, in the days of our Navy's infancy. And it is well to remember that that ship was named in honor of our Minister to France, Benjamin Franklin—that wise old philosopher who was the father of close friendship between France and the United States.

This vessel, which today we are turning over to the people of France, will somewhere, sometime, engage the enemy. She is a part of the growing strength of the French Navy. She is a new class—a destroyer escort—speedy and dangerous. I want to tell you something else about her—there are more where she came from. Under our lend-lease agreement, she is not the only ship you will receive from us—we are building others for your sailors to man.

¹Delivered at the Washington Navy Yard, Washington, D. C., Feb. 12, 1944.

I hope that the Nazis and the Japs are listening today as we make this transfer. For it will help them better to understand the spirit and determination which binds together all of the fighting fleets and armies of the United Nations on the road to ultimate victory.

Vice Admiral Fenard, you are the senior officer of the French Navy here, and you are the chief of the French Naval Mission. It has been your duty to work with us in outfitting your

fleet. My years of friendship with officers of the French Navy make this a particularly memorable occasion to me, personally. To you, we turn over this ship—the *Senegalais*. We recall with pleasure that it was a French ship which fired the first salute ever rendered to the Stars and Stripes flying from a United States man-of-war. We remember that salute today—and symbolically return it.

Good luck, *Senegalais*—and good hunting.

JAPANESE ATROCITIES

United States Representations of January 27, 1944 to Japan

[Released to the press February 11]

Published below are the texts of two telegrams sent to the American Legation in Bern for communication to the Japanese Government through the Swiss Government representing the interests of the United States in Japan. In these communications the Government of the United States again made comprehensive representations to the Japanese Government concerning abuses and neglect to which American nationals in Japanese custody had been subjected and called for amelioration of the treatment accorded them.

JANUARY 27, 1944.

Please request Swiss Legation Tokyo to deliver the following textually to the Japanese Government:

The Government of the United States refers to its communication delivered to the Japanese Government on December 23, 1942 by the Swiss Legation in Tokyo in charge of American interests in Japan and Japanese-occupied territory concerning reports that the Government of the United States had received of the mistreatment of American nationals in Japanese hands. The Swiss Legation in Tokyo on May 28, 1943 forwarded to the Government of the United States a preliminary reply from the Japanese Government to this communication in which that Government stated that it would communicate in due course the results of investigations concerning each instance referred

to in the note of the Government of the United States. No reports of investigations regarding these instances have yet been received.

The Government of the United States has taken due note of the statements of the Japanese Government "concerning the special circumstances prevailing in areas which have until recently been fields of battle" and concerning "the manifold difficulties which exist in areas occupied by the Japanese forces or where military operations are still being carried on". The Government of the United States points out, however, that the regions in which Americans have been taken prisoner or interned have long ceased to be scenes of active military operations and that the Japanese holding authorities have therefore had ample opportunity to establish an orderly and humane internment program in accordance with their Government's undertakings. Despite this fact the Government of the United States continues to receive reports that the great proportion of American nationals are the victims either of inhuman cruelty or of callous failure to provide the necessities of life on the part of the Japanese holding authorities, in violation of the common laws of civilization and of the Japanese Government's undertaking to apply to American nationals the humane provisions of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.

There follows a statement of the principal categories of the deprivation of rights, cruelties, wanton neglect, mistreatment and hardships to which, according to information received by the Government of the United States from many sources, Americans in Japanese custody have been subjected.

I. Representatives of the Swiss Government entrusted with the protection of American interests in Japan and Japanese-occupied territory have not been permitted to go to every place without exception where prisoners of war and civilian internees are interned, have not been permitted to interview without witnesses the persons held, and have not had access to all places occupied by the prisoners (Article 86 of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention).

II. Representatives of the International Red Cross Committee have been refused permission to visit most of the places where American nationals are held by the Japanese authorities (Articles 79 and 88).

III. American nationals have not been permitted to forward complaints to the Japanese holding authorities or to representatives of the protecting power (Article 42).

IV. The Japanese authorities have punished and have threatened to punish American nationals for complaining concerning the conditions of captivity (Article 42).

V. The Japanese Government has failed to furnish needed clothing to American nationals (Article 12).

VI. The Japanese authorities have confiscated personal effects from American civilian internees and prisoners of war (Article 6).

VII. American prisoners of war and civilian internees have been subjected to insults and public curiosity (Article 2).

VIII. Civilians and prisoners of war interned by Japan are suffering from malnutrition and deficiency diseases because of the failure and refusal of the detaining authorities to provide health sustaining food for their charges, or to permit the United States to make regular shipments on a continuing basis under appropriate neutral guarantees of supplemental

food and medical supplies. (Article 11 and the specific reciprocal undertaking of Japan to take into account national differences in diet).

IX. The Japanese authorities have devoted to improper and forbidden uses the profits of the sale of goods in camp canteens instead of devoting them to the welfare of the persons held in the camps (Article 12).

X. Contrary to the specific undertaking of the Japanese Government, the detaining authorities have compelled civilians to perform labor other than that connected with the administration, maintenance and management of internment camps. Officer prisoners of war have been forced to labor and noncommissioned officers to do other than supervisory labor (Article 27).

XI. Prisoners of war have been required to perform labor that has a direct relation with war operations (Article 31).

XII. Medical care has in many instances been denied to prisoners of war and civilian internees and when given has been generally so poor as to cause unnecessary suffering and unnecessary deaths (Article 14).

XIII. The Japanese Government has reported the names of only a part of the American prisoners of war and civilian internees in its hands (Article 77) and of American combatants found dead by Japanese forces (Article 4 of the Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Sick and Wounded of Armies in the Field, to which Japan is a contracting party).

XIV. The Japanese Government has not permitted internees and prisoners of war freely to exercise their religion (Article 16).

XV. The Japanese Government has not posted the Convention in camps in English translation, thus depriving American prisoners of war and civilian internees of knowledge of their rights thereunder (Article 84).

XVI. The Japanese Government has failed to provide adequate equipment and accommodations in prisoner of war and civilian internment camps and transports, but on the contrary forced them to subsist in inhumane conditions (Article 10).

XVII. The Japanese Government has completely failed to apply the provisions of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention (Title III, Section V, Chapter 3) with regard to trial and punishment of prisoners of war despite the fact that violations of its undertaking in this respect have repeatedly been called to its attention, but on the contrary has imposed cruel and inhuman punishments without trial.

XVIII. The Japanese authorities have inflicted corporal punishment and torture upon American nationals (Article 46).

The Government of the United States emphasizes that it has based the foregoing charges only on information obtained from reliable sources. Many well-authenticated cases can be cited in support of each of the charges.

The Government of the United States also desires to state most emphatically that, as the Japanese Government can assure itself from an objective examination of the reports submitted to it by the Spanish, Swedish, and International Red Cross representatives who have repeatedly visited all places where Japanese are held by the United States, the United States has consistently and fully applied the provisions of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention in the treatment of all Japanese nationals held by it as prisoners of war or (so far as they are adaptable) as civilian internees, detainees or evacuees in relocation centers. Japanese nationals have enjoyed high standards of housing, food, clothing, and medical care. The American authorities have furthermore freely and willingly accepted from the representatives of the protecting Powers and the International Red Cross Committee suggestions for the improvement of conditions under which Japanese nationals live in American camps and centers and have given effect to many of these suggestions, most of which, in view of the high standards normally maintained, are directed toward the obtaining of extraordinary benefits and privileges of a recreational, educational or spiritual nature.

The Government of the United States demands that the Japanese Government immediately take note of the charges made above and

take immediate steps to raise the treatment accorded American nationals held by Japan to the standard provided by the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention, which the United States and the Japanese Governments have mutually undertaken to apply. The Government of the United States also expects the Japanese Government to take proper disciplinary or penal action with regard to those of its officials, employees, and agents who have violated its undertakings with respect to the Geneva Convention and the international Common Laws of decency.

The Government of the United States again directs the attention of the Japanese Government to the system of neutral supervision provided in Article 86 of the Geneva Convention. The Government of the United States again reminds the Japanese Government of the complete fulfillment of the provisions of this Article as respects the activities of the Government of Spain acting as protecting Power for Japanese interests in the continental United States and of the Government of Sweden as protecting Power for Japanese interests in Hawaii.

The Government of the United States therefore expects the Japanese Government, in accordance with recognized practice of civilized states, fully to implement the provisions of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention. The United States Government demands that the Japanese Government will, among other things, promptly implement the provisions of Article 86 in respect to the activities of the Government of Switzerland as protecting Power for American interests in Japan and Japanese-controlled territory and will make it possible for the Government of Switzerland to give to the Government of the United States assurances to the effect that Swiss representatives have been able to convince themselves by the full exercise of the rights granted under Article 86 that the abuses set forth in the foregoing statement have been completely rectified or that steps have been taken in that direction that are considered by Switzerland to be adequate.

The United States Government until the present has refrained from publishing in this country the facts known to it regarding outrages

perpetrated upon its nationals, both prisoners of war and civilian internees, by the Japanese. The United States Government hopes that as these facts are now again officially called to the Japanese Government's attention that Government will adopt a policy of according to United States nationals in its hands the treatment to which they are entitled, and will permit representatives of the protecting Power to make such investigations and inspections as are necessary in order to give assurances to this Government that improved treatment is in fact being accorded to American nationals. In such case this Government would be in a position to assure the American people that the treatment of American nationals by the Japanese authorities had been brought into conformity with the standards recognized by civilized nations.

HULL

JANUARY 27, 1944.

There are recited in the following numbered sections, the numbers of which correspond to the numbered charges in the Department's urgent telegram of even date, examples of some of the specific incidents upon which this Government bases the charges made by it against the Japanese Government in the telegram under reference. The specific incidents have been selected from the numerous ones that have been reported from many reliable sources to this Government. Ask the Swiss Government to forward this statement textually to its Minister in Tokyo with the request that he present it to the Japanese Government simultaneously with the telegram under reference and that he call upon the Japanese Government promptly to rectify all existing derelictions and take such further steps as will preclude their recurrence.

The Minister should further seek for himself or his representatives permission, in accordance with Article 86 of the Convention, to visit each place without exception where American nationals are detained and request of the Japanese Government the amelioration of any improper conditions that he may find to exist.

The Swiss Minister in Tokyo should be particularly asked to report promptly and fully all

steps taken by the Japanese Government in conformity with the foregoing.

Charges I and II. Prisoner of war and civilian internment camps in the Philippines, French Indochina, Thailand, Manchuria, Burma, Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies, and prisoner of war camp no. 1 in Formosa have never been visited by Swiss representatives although they have repeatedly requested permission to make such visits. None of these camps except the one at Mukden are known to have been visited by International Red Cross representatives. In recent months visits have not been allowed to the prisoner of war camps near Tokyo and Yokohama, and the prisoner of war camps in and near Hong Kong, although the Swiss representatives have requested permission to make such visits.

The value of such few visits as have been permitted to some camps has been minimized by restrictions. Swiss representatives at Shanghai have been closely escorted by several representatives of the Japanese Consulate General at Shanghai during their visits to camps and have not been allowed to see all parts of camps or to have free discussion with the internees. Similar situations prevail with respect to the civilian internment camps and prisoner of war camps in metropolitan Japan and Formosa.

By contrast, all of the camps, stations, and centers where Japanese nationals are held by the United States have been repeatedly visited and fully inspected by representatives of Spain and Sweden who have spoken at length without witnesses with the inmates, and International Red Cross representatives have been and are being allowed freely to visit the camps in the United States and Hawaii where Japanese nationals are held.

Charge III. Communications addressed by the persons held to the protecting Power concerning conditions of captivity in several of the civilian camps near Shanghai, among them Ash Camp and Chapei, remain undelivered. The same situation exists with respect to the civilian internment camp in Baguio, and in most if not all of the camps where American prisoners of war are held. Persons held at

Baguio, Chefoo, Saigon, and at times in the Philippine prisoner of war camps were denied permission to address the camp commander.

Charge IV. On one occasion during the summer of 1943 all of the persons held at the Columbia Country Club, Shanghai, were punished by cancellation of dental appointments because complaints were made to representatives of the Swiss Consulate General. During the same period, at Camp B, Yanchow, the entire camp was deprived of a meal by the Camp Commandant because complaints had been made concerning the delivery of spoiled food.

There are cited under Section XVIII below, cases of prisoners of war being struck because they asked for food or water.

Charge V. Civilian internees at Hong Kong have gone without footwear and civilian internees at Kobe have suffered from lack of warm clothing. In 1942 and 1943, American and Filipino prisoners of war in the Philippines and civilian internees at Baguio were forced to labor without shoes and clad only in loin cloths.

Charge VI. This is reported to have been the case at the following camps: prisoner of war camps in the Philippine Islands, prisoner of war enclosures at Mariveles Bay, Philippine Islands, civilian internment camps at Baguio, Canton, Chefoo, Peking, Manila, Tsingtao, Weihsien, and Yangchow, and at the Ash Camp, Chapei Camp, Lungwa Camp, and Pootung Camp, in or near Shanghai. The articles most needed by the prisoners and internees have been taken. For example, Japanese soldiers took the shoes from an American officer prisoner of war who was forced to walk unshod from Bataan to San Fernando during the march which began about April 10, 1942. Although the prisoners constantly suffered from lack of drinking water canteens were taken from prisoners during this march; one of these victims was Lieutenant Colonel William E. Dyess.

At Corregidor a Japanese soldier was seen by Lieutenant Commander Melvyn H. McCoy with one arm covered from elbow to wrist and the other arm half covered with wrist watches taken from American and Filipino prisoners of war.

Charge VII. American prisoners of war in Manila were forced by Japanese soldiers to allow themselves to be photographed operating captured American military equipment in connection with the production of the Japanese propaganda film "Rip down the Stars and Stripes".

Prisoners of war from Corregidor being taken to Manila were not landed at the port of Manila but were unloaded outside the city and were forced to march through the entire city to Bilibid Prison about May 23, 1942.

Japanese school children, soldiers, and civilians have been admitted to internment camps and encouraged to satisfy curiosity regarding the persons held. Such tours were conducted at Baguio, Hong Kong, and Tsingtao.

Charge VIII. Deficiency diseases such as beriberi, pellagra, scurvy, sprue, et cetera, are common throughout Japanese internment camps. These diseases are least common in the civilian internment camps (called assembly centers) at Shanghai and in some other camps where the persons held have but recently been taken into custody or where trade by the internees themselves with outside private suppliers is allowed. It appears therefore that the great prevalence of deficiency diseases in prisoner of war camps where internees have been solely dependent upon the Japanese authorities for their food supply over an extended period is directly due to the callous failure of these authorities to utilize the possibilities for a health sustaining diet afforded by available local products. The responsibility for much of the suffering and many of the deaths from these diseases of American and Filipino prisoners of war rests directly upon the Japanese authorities. As a specific example, prisoners of war at Davao Penal Colony suffering from grave vitamin deficiencies could see from their camp trees bearing citrus fruit that they were not allowed to pluck. They were not even allowed to retrieve lemons seen floating by on a stream that runs through the camp.

Charge IX. For example, in the prisoner of war camps at Hong Kong, the profits of the

canteens have not been used by the holding authorities for the benefit of the prisoners.

Charge X. At Baguio civilian internees have been forced to repair sawmill machinery without remuneration.

Officer prisoners of war have been compelled by Major Mida, the Camp Commandant at Davao Penal Colony, to perform all kinds of labor including menial tasks such as scrubbing floors, cleaning latrines used by Japanese troops and working in the kitchens of Japanese officers.

Charge XI. Ten American engineers were required to go to Corregidor in July 1942 to assist in rebuilding the military installations on that island, and prisoners of war have been worked in a machine tool shop in the arsenal at Mukden.

Charge XII. The condition of health of prisoners of war in the Philippine Islands is deplorable. At San Fernando in April 1942, American and Filipino prisoners were held in a barbed-wire enclosure so overcrowded that sleep and rest were impossible. So many of them were sick and so little care was given to the sick that human excrement covered the whole area. The enclosure at San Fernando was more than 100 kilometers from Bataan and the abominable treatment given to the prisoners there cannot be explained by battle conditions. The prisoners were forced to walk this distance in seven days under merciless driving. Many who were unable to keep up with the march were shot or bayoneted by the guards. During this journey, as well as at other times when prisoners of war were moved in the Philippine Islands, they were assembled in the open sun even when the detaining authorities could have allowed them to assemble in the shade. American and Filipino prisoners are known to have been buried alive along the roadside and persistent reports have been received of men who tried to rise from their graves but were beaten down with shovels and buried alive.

At Camp O'Donnell conditions were so bad that 2,200 Americans and more than 20,000 Filipinos are reliably reported to have died in the

first few months of their detention. There is no doubt that a large number of these deaths could have been prevented had the Japanese authorities provided minimum medical care for the prisoners. The so-called hospital there was absolutely inadequate to meet the situation. Prisoners of war lay sick and naked on the floor, receiving no attention and too sick to move from their own excrement. The hospital was so overcrowded that Americans were laid on the ground outside in the heat of the blazing sun. The American doctors in the camp were given no medicine, and even had no water to wash the human waste from the bodies of the patients. Eventually, when quinine was issued, there was only enough properly to take care of ten cases of malaria, while thousands of prisoners were suffering from the disease. Over two hundred out of three hundred prisoners from Camp O'Donnell died while they were on a work detail in Batangas.

At Cabanatuan there was no medicine for the treatment of malaria until after the prisoners had been in the camp for five months. The first shipment of medicines from the Philippine Red Cross was held up by the camp authorities on the pretext that they must make an inventory of the shipment. This they were so dilatory in doing that many deaths occurred before the medicine was released. Because of lack of medicines and food, scurvy broke out in the camp in the Fall of 1942. Since the prisoners had been at the camp for some months before this disease became prevalent, the responsibility for it rests upon the detaining authorities.

It is reported that in the autumn of 1943 fifty percent of the American prisoners of war at Davao had a poor chance to live and that the detaining authorities had again cut the prisoners' food ration and had withdrawn all medical attention.

Though the medical care provided for civilian internees by the Japanese camp authorities appears to have been better than that provided for prisoners of war, it still does not meet the obligations placed on the holding authorities by their Government's own free undertaking and by the laws of humanity. At the civilian

internment camp, Camp John Hay, childbirth took place on the floor of a small storeroom. At the same camp a female internee who was insane and whose presence was a danger to the other internees was not removed from the camp. A dentist who was interned at the camp was not permitted to bring in his own equipment. The Los Banos Camp was established at a recognized endemic center of malaria, yet quinine was not provided, and the internees were not allowed to go outside of the fence to take anti-malarial measures.

The Japanese authorities have not provided sufficient medical care for the American civilians held in camps in and near Shanghai and the internees have themselves had to pay for hospitalization and medical treatment. Deaths directly traceable to inadequate care have occurred.

Even in metropolitan Japan, the Japanese authorities have failed to provide medical treatment for civilian internees, and it has been necessary for Americans held at Myoshi, Yamakita, and Sumire to pay for their own medical and dental care.

Charge XIV. For example the internees at Camp John Hay were not allowed to hold religious services during the first several months of the camp's operation, and priests have not been allowed to minister to prisoners held by the Japanese in French Indochina.

Charge XV. No copy of an English translation of the text of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention has been available to civilian internees or prisoners of war nor have the Japanese authorities taken other steps to inform the persons held of their rights under the terms of the Convention. Reports have been received of the Japanese authorities informing prisoners of war that they were captives, having no rights under international law or treaty.

Charge XVI. At Camp O'Donnell many of the men had to live without shelter during 1942. In one case twenty-three officers were assigned to a shack, fourteen by twenty feet in size. Drinking water was extremely scarce, it being necessary to stand in line six to ten hours to get a drink. Officers had no bath for the first

thirty-five days in the camp and had but one gallon of water each in which to have their first baths after that delay. The kitchen equipment consisted of cauldrons and a fifty-five gallon drum. Camotes were cooked in the cauldrons, mashed with a piece of timber, and each man was served one spoonful as his ration.

In late October 1942, approximately 970 prisoners of war were transferred from the Manila area to the Davao Penal Colony on a transport vessel providing only twenty inches per man of sleeping space. Conditions on the vessel were so bad that two deaths occurred, and subsequently because of weakness some fifty percent of the prisoners fell by the roadside on the march from the water front at Lasang, Davao to the Penal Colony.

The places used by the Japanese authorities for the internment of American civilians in the Philippine Islands were inadequate for the number of persons interned. At the Brent School at Baguio, twenty to thirty civilians were assigned sleeping accommodations in a room which had been intended for the use of one person.

At the Columbia Country Club at Shanghai the internees were obliged to spend CRB \$10,000 of their own funds to have a building de-loused so that they might use it for a needed dormitory. At Weihsien no (repeat no) refrigeration equipment was furnished by the Japanese authorities and some of the few household refrigerators of the internees were taken from them and were used by the Japanese guards, with the result that food spoiled during the summer of 1943. The lack of sanitary facilities is reported from all of these camps.

Charge XVII. American personnel have suffered death and imprisonment for participation in military operations. Death and long-term imprisonment have been imposed for attempts to escape for which the maximum penalty under the Geneva Convention is thirty days arrest. Neither the American Government nor its protecting Power has been informed in the manner provided by the Convention of these cases or of many other in-

stances when Americans were subjected to illegal punishment. Specific instances are cited under the next charge.

Charge XVIII. Prisoners of war who were marched from Bataan to San Fernando in April 1942 were brutally treated by Japanese guards. The guards clubbed prisoners who tried to get water, and one prisoner was hit on the head with a club for helping a fellow prisoner who had been knocked down by a Japanese army truck. A colonel who pointed to a can of salmon by the side of the road and asked for food for the prisoners was struck on the side of his head with the can by a Japanese officer. The colonel's face was cut open. Another colonel who had found a sympathetic Filipino with a cart was horsewhipped in the face for trying to give transportation to persons unable to walk. At Lubao a Filipino who had been run through and gutted by the Japanese was hung over a barbed-wire fence. An American Lieutenant Colonel was killed by a Japanese as he broke ranks to get a drink at a stream.

Japanese sentries used rifle butts and bayonets indiscriminately in forcing exhausted prisoners of war to keep moving on the march from the Cabanatuan railroad station to Camp No. 2 in late May 1942.

At Cabanatuan Lieutenant Colonels Lloyd Biggs and Howard Breitung and Lieutenant R. D. Gilbert, attempting to escape during September 1942 were severely beaten about the legs and feet and then taken out of the camp and tied to posts, were stripped and were kept tied up for two days. Their hands were tied behind their backs to the posts so that they could not sit down. Passing Filipinos were forced to beat them in the face with clubs. No food or water was given to them. After two days of torture they were taken away and, according to the statements of Japanese guards, they were killed, one of them by decapitation. Other Americans were similarly tortured and shot without trial at Cabanatuan in June or July 1942 because they endeavored to bring food into the camp. After being tied to a fence post inside the camp for two days they were shot.

At Cabanatuan during the summer of 1942 the following incidents occurred: A Japanese sentry beat a private so brutally with a shovel across the back and the thigh that it was necessary to send him to the hospital. Another American was crippled for months after his ankle was struck by a stone thrown by a Japanese. One Japanese sentry used the shaft of a golf club to beat American prisoners, and two Americans, caught while obtaining food from Filipinos, were beaten unmercifully on the face and body. An officer was struck behind the ear with a riding crop by a Japanese interpreter. The same officer was again beaten at Davao Penal Colony and is now suffering from partial paralysis of the left side as the result of these beatings. Enlisted men who attempted to escape were beaten and put to hard labor in chains.

At the Davao Penal Colony, about April 1, 1943, Sergeant McFee was shot and killed by a Japanese guard after catching a canteen full of water which had been thrown to him by another prisoner on the opposite side of the fence. The Japanese authorities attempted to explain this shooting as an effort to prevent escape. However, the guard shot the sergeant several times and, in addition, shot into the barrack on the opposite side of the fence toward the prisoner who had thrown the canteen. At about the same time and place an officer returning from a work detail tried to bring back some sugarcane for the men in the hospital. For this he was tied to a stake for twenty-four hours and severely beaten.

In the internment camp at Baguio a boy of sixteen was knocked down by a Japanese guard for talking to an internee girl, and an elderly internee was struck with a whip when he failed to rise rapidly from his chair at the approach of a Japanese officer. Mr. R. Gray died at Baguio on March 15, 1942 after being beaten and given the water cure by police authorities.

At Santo Tomas, Mr. Krogstadt died in a military prison after being corporally punished for his attempted escape.

HULL

MODERN FORCE AND INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Address by Assistant Secretary Berle ¹

[Released to the press February 7]

A profound student of affairs once observed that, in government, how things are done is quite as important as what things are done. Methods of action and the institutions based on them tend to be lasting, while the action of the day may well be transitory.

That is a great reason why the policy of the good neighbor as a basis of international action becomes vitally important in a world which is changing rapidly and profoundly.

Everyone knows that world forces are shifting, but few save technicians realize the depth and scope of impending shifts. A glance at some of them will indicate their extreme seriousness.

According to competent students, the relative strength of countries not only has changed already but is due to change even more strikingly in the next 25 years. Estimating to 1970, the United States, with a present population of approximately 135 million people, will have risen to perhaps 165 million, and may perhaps increase after that at a much slower rate. Great Britain, which in 1940 had about 46 millions, will have dropped to 42 millions and probably stop there. The population of Germany, which in 1940 was 69 millions, will probably have dropped to 64 millions and will be gradually diminishing. The population of France, which in 1940 was 41 millions, will probably fall to 37 millions. Soviet Russia, numbering 175 millions in 1940, will rise to 222 millions and probably will steadily and continuously increase for a long time.

This means that, in our lifetime, the United States will have stabilized. Western Europe will have stood still if, indeed, it has not actually begun to decline. Soviet Russia will be headed for a considerably greater population which in time may outnumber all of Western Europe combined.

A single South American nation, Brazil, presently has a population of 42 millions. This population doubles in number in somewhat less than a quarter of a century, so that in 1970 Brazil, with a territory and resources larger than the United States, will have a population of, roughly, 90 millions. When I was a child the population of the United States was 90 millions. Brazil alone, therefore, in the next generation, will be not merely a great South American country but a world power if she so chooses.

The shifts are equally striking in India, China, and the surrounding states; but the figures, though dramatic, are less important than the probability that these nations will have learned in far greater degree the Western arts of industrialization and possibly also of war. A substantial part of their hundreds of millions, instead of being out of the main stream of action as they are today, will probably exert direct influence on the economics, the production, and the politics of the world.

The estimated census figures, though striking, are likely not to be the most important of the new factors. Changes are occurring not only in numbers but in the power and possibilities of each individual. Maurice Hindus recently remarked to me that the greatest change which had occurred in Soviet territories was the fact that the moujik had at last conquered the machine; that, instead of having a primitive agricultural civilization, the Soviet Union was destined to make and use the most powerful and wide-spread industrial developments in the world. This means that the 222 millions of Russians are not to be considered only as so many more living human beings; rather, the effectiveness of the population will be multiplied many times by their skills, their electric power, their chemistry, new processes and inventions, and all the possibilities opening through modern science, urged on by war. The same possibility exists in the Asiatic countries,

¹ Delivered at Duke University, Durham, N.C., Feb. 7, 1944.

though there is reason to believe that the development will come far more slowly.

For more than a century Western Europe and the Americas have held a substantial monopoly on the developments of modern science, modern industries, and transport. With that monopoly they were dominant throughout the world. That monopoly is now passing. Its end is likely to be, in literal fact, the end of an era, or, more accurately, the beginning of a new era. Whole populations, whether static or growing, are about to be endowed with new capacities for construction and destruction, for good and evil.

Even a glimpse of these new capacities is almost beyond conception. Occasionally we are privileged to look over the lip of the great technical and scientific crucible in which the machines and processes of tomorrow are being wrought out. These touch almost every field of human endeavor. You would see the plans of airplanes outcarrying and outdistancing any ship presently in the air. You would find engines capable of double, treble, or quadruple the work of any existing machines. You would hear of rocket projectiles capable of shelling an enemy objective at hundreds of miles. The possibility exists that human beings may be transported by air at a speed approximating that of sound. You would find methods by which an entire newspaper can be produced simultaneously in every capital of the world. It is not wholly fantastic to forecast that in the foreseeable future each of us may be able to have an individual radio wavelength, because scientists are increasingly splitting and making usable the infinities of the radio spectrum.

Lest the possibilities of the situation be too lightly dismissed I must recall that early in this century Mr. H. G. Wells wrote a prophetic novel called *When the Sleeper Wakes*. It was drawing a dream picture of a world as it might appear to a man who had remained in a trance for many years. The climax of this romance, as I remember it, was a duel over London between a dirigible balloon and a fighter plane, while electrically controlled

horns blared out the news in the city below. This was the utmost of a novelist's imagination. In fact, only a few years later, in 1916, British airplanes fought German Zeppelins over London—and the radio told the story on the ground.

All of these possibilities—and some of them are already realities—have to be taken into account in dealing with foreign affairs. Even now they have changed the relative weights and values of the elements involved.

Sea power, for instance, was one of the forces by which the world was regulated. It happens that sea power is one of the most economical methods of military force—that is to say, a relatively small expenditure of national income could produce and maintain sea power, with its attendant force and control, greater in proportion than the size or resources or population of the country creating it. Air power, by contrast, is relatively more expensive; it appears to require a far greater base of raw material, manufacturing technique and skill, and natural resources. Temporarily, therefore, equations may seem to have shifted. Sea power may have to be modified as a basis of calculation. We do not yet know what the new equation will be. So far no one has arisen to analyze air power as Admiral Mahan analyzed naval strength. We do know that where sea power cannot operate—as in the middle of continental land areas and in narrow seas where air force can dominate—the position of small nations has changed, at least for the time being.

Again, the impact of the new processes, existing and to come, plainly changes the content of a national boundary or frontier. You can have boundaries which set limits to surface traffic by land or sea. But you do not and cannot have the same kind of boundary for the purposes of aircraft. A ship must stop when it reaches shore, a truck may be stopped by blocking the road. An airplane can only be controlled by agreement, by hostile action, or by control of landing points—a quite different conception from the old boundaries on the flat map. And telecommunications, rocket

projectiles, and other new means of hostile or friendly contact of course recognize no boundaries at all. There are no effective frontiers for radio broadcasts. There can be agreements to divide the spectrum or to control the power of the sending stations, but there is as yet no known way of stopping an electric wave by a line on a map.

The present situation seems to be that as long as men move on the surface of the earth or the water they move within boundaries, as we used to know them; but when they get into the third dimension of air and ether, men are dealing in an area which has to be made orderly by agreements governing the actions of men within their countries—a quite different condition.

You recall how deeply the use of the automobile has affected surface life. We must accept the possibility that air and ether may affect institutions even more profoundly. As progressively we move into this third dimension, either physically, as by airplanes, or mentally, through communications and other scientific developments, we are of necessity moving out of the conception of the flat map and solid frontier and into areas where the best we can do is to hammer out agreements of conduct making it possible for men and nations to live together. Indeed, it can almost be said that men have to do that or destroy each other.

Against this background must be set the doctrine of the good neighbor.

The text of it is worth repeating:

“In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.”

The cardinal importance plainly lies in the fact that it is not a scheme to solve a set of problems but an international philosophy which makes possible the solution of any problem. The task of bringing into being those institutions which will permit the application of this broad philosophy has been in the past, and will be for a long time in the future, the main work

of enlightened statesmen throughout the world.

We are seeing today the slow but steady endeavor to work out, line by line, the bases of the institutions which will maintain and strengthen world order even amid the violent changes which take place. Necessarily the work takes time. In any real sense it will never be finished. Institutions, unlike devices, are not put together; they grow, and evolve, and are given form and content as they establish themselves.

No better illustration perhaps can be given than the evolution of the inter-American community of nations. Its beginning was in the mind of a great statesman, Bolívar. Its first effort at organized life was only partly successful. Through more than a century successive efforts were made to find forms by which the conception could become effective. In 1890 a narrow base of common action was worked out, and the Pan American Union was formed, calling for regular conferences to express the common will of the 21 independent American nations. Driven by the increasing pressure of our own time, the institutions of the inter-American conferences, strengthened by the institution of consultation among foreign ministers, steadily grew. In 1938, after Munich, an inter-American conference hammered out a common foreign policy of Western Hemisphere defense; and, through the passionate war years which have followed, the work of common defense and of mutual economic support has steadily grown. Alone, no one of the American nations, including our own, can be certain of defending itself; and few, if any, could maintain their economic life. Together, there is every prospect that they will come safely through the present storm with invaluable experience to assist them in working together to navigate through the dangerous and troubled times which lie ahead. This institution of the Western Hemisphere, the most successful grouping of nations for mutual benefit in modern history, is the result of patient and constant building by the common effort of many men.

Now, we are engaged in the greatest adventure of our time—the building of an institution of international organization.

World organization is no new concept. It has been dreamed many times; tried, in different forms, at different periods. The plan of a concert of powers after the Napoleonic wars was a groping toward this end. The League of Nations after the last World War was a definite and clear-cut expression of a general will to work out a basis for permanent, peaceful, and orderly international relations through permanent and competent institutions. Today we have the privilege, the responsibility, and the duty to make a new attempt.

To be successful, it is essential that there shall be a sound moral base. Many of us believe that the principles of the good-neighbor policy offer the only substantial foundation upon which institutions of world organization may be successfully built. We are seeing the fate of structures built on naked force: Hitler's new Europe, which was to last a thousand years, is already crashing in ruins, deadly evidence that design of world domination by any race or power is condemned to bloody failure. The only permanent foundation is that of common consent and of general moral acceptance.

Such acceptance is gradually emerging from the days when the Atlantic Charter set out the joint policy of the Governments of the United States and of Great Britain, and when that Charter was accepted as the basis of the great alliance known as the United Nations. At Moscow, Secretary Hull, by authority of the President, secured the assent of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, China, and the United States to the declaration of Moscow,¹ pledging these countries, diverse in experience and habit, to the establishment of a world organization open to all. The basis is stated to be recognition of the sovereign equality of all who participate. The procedures were set up to solve problems arising before the world organization should be consummated. The first great step out of the present travail, the first great step toward world unity, was taken.

It may be assumed—and we must accept the certainty—that difficulties will arise in working

toward this greatest of goals. Individual or local problems and controversies, important in themselves but secondary in relation to the great picture, will unquestionably come up. The essential thing is to remember that they are in fact secondary when set beside the fate of an entire world civilization, and that they must not interrupt steady effort for the main objective. It will be necessary to exercise the virtues of faith and patience almost beyond measure. But if the principles are maintained and the objective is kept in mind we have the right to hope that the most serious problems will find solution and that the institutions being born will draw strength from their early struggles.

We began by observing that the manner in which things are done is as important as the immediate action. Clearly, the problems of war will pass into equally grave problems of transition, and these again will merge with the problems of organizing peace. Clearly, the forces now active will bring up questions staggering in size, and new in kind and scope. As we have seen, one great category of these problems can only be solved by common action. In the largest sense no great problems can be soundly solved unless common international action gives to the world a reasonable probability of permanent peace.

FINNISH POSITION IN THE WAR

In response to an inquiry in regard to reports from Stockholm that there had recently been an exchange of communications between the United States and Finland on the Finnish position in the war, the Secretary of State replied on February 8, 1944 that the American Government has recently taken occasion to say to the Finnish Government, as it has on a number of occasions in the past, that the responsibility for the consequences of Finland's collaboration with Germany and continuance in a state of war with a number of the allies of the United States, including the Soviet Union and the British Commonwealth of Nations, must be borne solely by the Finnish Government.

¹ BULLETIN of Nov. 6, 1943, p. 308.

EXCHANGE OF AMERICAN AND GERMAN NATIONALS

[Released to the press February 12]

The United States Government has requested of all the belligerents safe-conduct for the motorship *Gripsholm* to travel to Lisbon and return to effect the repatriation of the staff of the former American Embassy at Vichy and of the American consular offices in the former unoccupied zone of France, together with certain newspaper correspondents, relief workers, and officials of certain of the other American republics, all of whom since early 1943 have been held in Germany.

The *Gripsholm* is expected to leave New York on or about February 15, 1944, reaching Lisbon on or about February 24.

On its voyage to Lisbon the *Gripsholm* will carry certain German consular officials who came into the custody of the United States during the course of military operations in North Africa and Italy, members of the former French diplomatic and consular establishments in the United States who wish to return to continental France, and certain non-official Germans whose repatriation has been pending since June 1942.

THE PROCLAIMED LIST: CUMULATIVE SUPPLEMENT 5 TO REVISION VI

[Released to the press for publication February 12, 9 p.m.]

The Acting Secretary of State, acting in conjunction with the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, the Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, on February 12 issued Cumulative Supplement 5 to Revision VI of the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals, promulgated October 7, 1943.

Part I of Cumulative Supplement 5 contains 64 additional listings in the other American republics and 77 deletions. Part II contains 70 additional listings outside the American republics and 33 deletions.

The Far East

IMMIGRATION QUOTA FOR CHINESE

President Roosevelt, acting under the power vested in him by the act of December 17, 1943 repealing the Chinese exclusion acts, issued a proclamation (No. 2603) on February 8, 1944 fixing the annual quota of Chinese immigrants at 105, effective for the remainder of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944 and for each fiscal year thereafter. The full text of the proclamation appears in the *Federal Register* of February 10, 1944, page 1587.

The American Republics

TRADE RELATIONS WITH CHILE

Replying to an inquiry in regard to United States trade relations with Chile in the light of reports that there seemed to be a lack of interest by either or both Governments in the development of such relations, the Secretary of State declared on February 8, 1944 that both the United States and Chile have important trade relations and trade opportunities of mutual interest and that there should be a splendid future in the way of trade development between the two countries. He added that both countries have for some time been diligent in discussing all phases of economic relations with respect to the present and especially to the post-war period. He concluded by saying that there was an equal desire to continue such discussions with a view to the fullest practicable development of trade and that there was no occasion for any misunderstanding with respect to these matters.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

On December 1, 1943 announcement was made¹ of the designation of representatives on

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 4, 1943, p. 394.

the part of the United States to a celebration to take place at Ciudad Trujillo between February 23 and March 3, 1944 commemorating the first centennial of the proclamation of the independence of the Dominican Republic.

Maj. Gen. William E. Shedd, U.S.A., who has succeeded Maj. Gen. H. C. Pratt, U.S.A., as Commanding General of the Antilles Department, San Juan, Puerto Rico, has also succeeded General Pratt as a member of this delegation.

The Foreign Service

EMBASSY RANK FOR REPRESENTATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND IRAN

[Released to the press February 10]

The Government of the United States has decided to elevate the status of its diplomatic mission at Tehran from that of a legation to an embassy. The Iranian Government has notified the Department of State of its intention to take corresponding action with regard

to the status of its diplomatic mission in Washington. This action has been agreed upon in recognition of the greatly increased relations which have recently developed between the two countries and is in accordance with the status of Iran as a full member of the United Nations.

REPORTS REGARDING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS ABROAD

During the year just prior to the entrance of the United States into the present war, the Department of State received approximately 37,212 reports from Foreign Service officers with respect to economic developments in various countries of the world. Approximately 33,370 reports were received in the form of despatches from the field and 3,842 in the form of telegrams from the field. While the volume of such reports has increased manifold since the United States became involved in the present war, the well-organized peacetime reporting system was readily adaptable to wartime economic reporting on behalf of the Department of State and some 50 other departments and agencies of the United States Government, and through this medium Foreign Service officers have contributed extensively to the economic-warfare program.

One of the most essential functions of the Foreign Service today is to protect the rights and interests of the United States in its international agricultural, commercial, and financial

relations. In pursuance of this duty, the Foreign Service must (a) guard against the infringement of rights of American citizens in matters relating to commerce and navigation which are based on custom, international law, or treaty, and (b) observe, report on, and, whenever possible, endeavor to remove discriminations against American agricultural, commercial, and industrial interests in other countries.

Executive Order 8307 of December 19, 1939¹ lists seven ways in which the Foreign Service may promote the national economic interests of the United States:

1. "By carefully studying and reporting on the potentialities of their districts as a market for American products or as a competitor of American products in international trade."
2. "By investigating and submitting World Trade Directory Reports on the general stand-

¹ 4 *Federal Register* 4910.

ing and distributing capacity of foreign firms within their districts."

3. "By preparing and submitting upon request trade lists of commercial firms within their districts."

4. "By keeping constantly on the alert for and submitting immediate reports on concrete trade opportunities."

5. "By endeavoring to create, within the scope of the duties to which they are assigned, a demand for American products within their districts."

6. "By facilitating and reporting on proposed visits of alien business men to the United States."

7. "By taking appropriate steps to facilitate the promotion of such import trade into the United States as the economic interests of the United States may require."

In order to fulfil these duties in the most efficient manner, each Foreign Service officer is instructed to make an intensive study of his district with a view to ascertaining its potentialities as a market for, and competitor of, American agricultural and industrial products and as a source of supply for essential raw materials required by American industry. This requires that a study be made of his predecessor's reports and all published materials pertinent to the subject available in his district. Each officer is also expected to make personal contact with the leading importers and businessmen of his district and, whenever a fitting opportunity arises, to apprise them of the merits of American products and trade methods; to maintain within his office a commercial reading-room where local businessmen can consult current copies of American daily newspapers, trade journals, and catalogs; to supply all proper information to American citizens traveling in his district on business; and to lend aid to American Chambers of Commerce and similar organizations within his district.¹

Officers of the Foreign Service are required by the Executive order of December 19, 1939 to prepare and submit reports in connection with

their duties of protecting and promoting American agricultural and commercial interests and for the purpose of providing general information on economic developments within their respective districts for the Departments of State, Agriculture, and Commerce, and for other governmental departments and agencies, in accordance with such rules and regulations as the Secretary of State may prescribe. The reports are prepared in response to a general schedule of reports prepared in the Department of State; special schedules of reports prepared in the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Treasury and transmitted by the Department of State to the selected groups of offices indicated in the schedules; and special requests made by the Department of State for its own benefit or for the benefit of other governmental departments and agencies. In addition, Foreign Service officers frequently submit voluntary reports on timely subjects.

The required reports take the following forms. Each mission and certain consulates general submit an annual economic review, which presents a compact, general, analytical survey of economic conditions in the country under review during the preceding year. The annual economic review is designed to give a composite picture of economic conditions as a whole and an appraisal of the economic position of the country during the period under review, with the result that it should contain data regarding (1) the salient developments of the year in industry, agriculture, finance, labor, legislation, and foreign trade and (2) the major changes in governmental control of production, prices, extension of credit, trade, and other aspects of the economy. Certain officers may also be called upon from time to time to prepare monthly and quarterly economic reviews in order to provide the Department of State and other interested departments and agencies with a timely picture of economic developments. The monthly and quarterly economic reviews deal with such subjects as the factors affecting domestic agriculture, industry, and commerce (seasonal buying, fluctuations in price levels, and employ-

¹ Foreign Service Regulations, ch. IV.

ment conditions); crop movements; price trends; tariff changes; and public and private financial conditions.

When a post is designated in a special schedule prepared in the Department of Agriculture to prepare and submit a national and regional report, the reporting office may call upon other posts within the country or region to be reported on for any contributory material required. National and regional reports are divided into four basic groups, as follows:

1. Agricultural-commodity-situation reports (brief and on regular schedule), appraising estimates of crops and livestock production, consumption prices, and the extent and nature of foreign trade in farm products
2. Comprehensive analytical policy reports (as requested)
3. Basic surveys (as requested) of the agricultural resources and requirements of a particular country and of production, marketing, and consumption of a particular crop for a country or region
4. Special reports on miscellaneous agricultural questions.

It is also required that annual reports be prepared and submitted to the Department of State on port facilities and aircraft facilities.

Officers of the Foreign Service are also expected, on their own initiative, to submit voluntary reports on current industrial, agricultural, or commercial developments within their districts which in any way affect the industrial, agricultural, or commercial interests of the United States. Data voluntarily furnished to the Department of State usually take the form of commodity reports, financial reports, reports on sales-promotion methods, reports on purchasing, reports on expositions, tariff reports, reports on transportation, and reports on navigation, lighthouses, buoys, and shoals.

Information thus obtained for the Department of State is promptly made available to the other interested governmental departments and agencies. The distribution to be made with respect to each document prepared by the Foreign Service is determined in the Department of State in accordance with the nature of

the data which the document contains. Economic reports—monthly, quarterly, and annual—are customarily distributed, for example, to Department of Agriculture, Department of Commerce, Department of the Navy, War Department, Department of the Treasury, Foreign Economic Administration, Office of Strategic Services, Office of Price Administration, War Production Board, Tariff Commission, War Shipping Administration, Federal Reserve Board, and Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.

The Department of Agriculture is charged with the analysis and dissemination to American agricultural interests of information relating to world supply and demand for agricultural products, the production, marketing, and distributing of agricultural products in foreign countries, and farm management, and any other phases of the agricultural industry prepared and submitted by the Foreign Service.¹ The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce, and its district and cooperative office systems, under its statutory function to foster, promote, and develop the various manufacturing industries of the United States and markets for the same at home and abroad, domestic and foreign, has among its duties the gathering, compiling, analysis, and dissemination to American business interests of all useful information and statistics pertaining thereto, and the publication of reports supplied by the Foreign Service relating to such trade and industry.² One medium which the Department of Commerce uses in connection with the performance of this function is its weekly periodical entitled *Foreign Commerce Weekly*. The February 12, 1944 issue of that periodical contains, for example, an article on "Canada's Surplus Disposal Program", which is based on economic reports received from the American Embassy at Ottawa, Canada.³

¹ 7 U.S.C. § 54.

² 15 U.S.C. § 175.

³ Reference will be made in the section headed "Publications" in future issues of the *Bulletin* to any other articles which appear in *Foreign Commerce Weekly* and which are based on economic reports prepared by the Foreign Service.

The Department

DIVISION OF COORDINATION AND REVIEW

On February 10, 1944 the Secretary of State issued Departmental Order 1221, effective February 8, 1944, which reads as follows:

"There is hereby established a Division of Coordination and Review in the Office of Departmental Administration. The Executive Assistant to the Secretary, Mrs. Blanche R. Halla, shall be Chief and Miss Sarah D. Moore and Miss Helen L. Daniel shall be Assistant Chiefs of the Division of Coordination and Review.

"Responsibility for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in matters pertaining to: (a) the review of all outgoing correspondence; (b) the coordination of correspondence for consideration and initialing before signing, and submission to appropriate officers for signature; and (c) the furnishing of information concerning diplomatic precedents, accepted styles of correspondence, and related matters, is hereby transferred from the Division of Communications and Records (as set forth under 4(b), page 35, of Departmental Order No. 1218 of January 15, 1944) to the Division of Coordination and Review.

"The routing symbol of the Division of Coordination and Review shall be S/CR."

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

By Departmental Order 1220 of February 8, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Bernard F. Haley as Chief of the Commodities Division in the Office of Economic Affairs, effective February 5, 1944.

By Departmental Order 1222 of February 11, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Robert Woods Bliss a Special Assistant to the Secretary, effective February 10, 1944.

Treaty Information

ARMED FORCES

Agreement With Colombia Regarding Military Service by Nationals of Either Country Residing in the Other

[Released to the press February 12]

The following notes were exchanged by the Department of State and the Colombian Ambassador at Washington in regard to the application of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, to Colombian nationals in the United States, on the basis of reciprocity:¹

JANUARY 27, 1944.

EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to refer to conversations which have taken place between officers of the Colombian Embassy and of the Department of State with respect to the application of the United States Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, to Colombian nationals residing in the United States.

As you are aware, the Act provides that with certain exceptions every male citizen of the United States and every other male person between the ages of eighteen and sixty-five residing in the United States shall register. The Act further provides that, with certain exceptions, registrants within specified age limits are liable for active military service in the United States armed forces.

This Government recognizes that from the standpoint of morale of the individuals concerned and the over-all military effort of the countries at war with the Axis Powers, it is desirable to permit certain nationals of cobelliger-

¹ Agreements on this subject are now in effect with 18 countries: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, Greece, India, Mexico, New Zealand, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia.

ent countries who have registered or who may register under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, to enlist in the armed forces of their own country, should they desire to do so. It will be recalled that during the World War this Government signed conventions with certain associated powers on this subject. The United States Government believes, however, that under existing circumstances the same ends may now be accomplished through administrative action, thus obviating the delays incident to the signing and ratification of conventions.

This Government has, therefore, initiated a procedure permitting aliens who have registered under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, who are nationals of certain cobelligerent countries and who have not declared their intention of becoming American citizens to elect to serve in the forces of their respective countries, in lieu of service in the armed forces of the United States, at any time prior to their induction into the armed forces of this country. This Government is also affording to such nationals, who may already be serving in the armed forces of the United States, an opportunity of electing to transfer to the armed forces of their own country. The details of the procedure are arranged directly between the War Department and the Selective Service System on the part of the United States Government and the appropriate authorities of the cobelligerent government concerned. It should be understood, however, that in all cases a person exercising an option under the procedure must actually be accepted by the military authorities of the country of his allegiance before his departure from the United States.

Before the above-mentioned procedure is made effective with respect to a cobelligerent country, this Department wishes to receive from the diplomatic representative in Washington of that country a note stating that his government desires to avail itself of the procedure and in so doing agrees that:

(a) No threat or compulsion of any nature will be exercised by his government to induce

any person in the United States to enlist in the forces of his or any foreign government;

(b) Reciprocal treatment will be granted to American citizens by his government; that is, prior to induction in the armed forces of his government they will be granted the opportunity of electing to serve in the armed forces of the United States in substantially the same manner as outlined above. Furthermore, his government shall agree to inform all American citizens serving in its armed forces or former American citizens who may have lost their citizenship as a result of having taken an oath of allegiance on enlistment in such armed forces and who are now serving in those forces that they may transfer to the armed forces of the United States provided they desire to do so and provided they are acceptable to the armed forces of the United States. The arrangements for effecting such transfers are to be worked out by the appropriate representatives of the armed forces of the respective governments;

(c) No enlistments will be accepted in the United States by his government of American citizens subject to registration or of aliens of any nationality who have declared their intention of becoming American citizens and are subject to registration.

This Government is prepared to make the proposed regime effective immediately with respect to Colombia upon the receipt from you of a note stating that your Government desires to participate in it and agrees to the stipulations set forth in lettered paragraphs (a), (b), and (c) above.

Accept [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:

G. HOWLAND SHAW

[Translation]

EMBASSY OF COLOMBIA,

Washington, January 27, 1944.

MR. SECRETARY:

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that I have received instructions from my Government to accept the arrangement of an ad-

ministrative character proposed by Your Excellency in note 27 of the current month, with regard to the application to Colombian citizens of the United States Selective Training and Service Act of 1940.

The Colombian Government accepts, on terms of reciprocity, the option proposed in favor of Colombian citizens registered under the aforementioned Act or who at present may be serving under the United States flag, of requesting their incorporation into or transfer to the Army of Colombia, as well as the guarantees stipulated in paragraphs (a), (b), and (c) of the note referred to.

The Government of Colombia is prepared to put the proposed arrangement into force immediately and to study the details of its application with the appropriate authorities of the Government of the United States.

On this occasion I repeat [etc.]

GABRIEL TURBAY

Legislation

American Prisoners of War in the Far East: Remarks of the Hon. Elbert D. Thomas, a Senator from the State of Utah, in the Senate of the United States February 7, 1944 relative to American prisoners of war in the Far East. S. Doc. 150, 78th Cong. ii, 3 pp.

Draft of a Proposed Provision Pertaining to an Existing Appropriation, Foreign Economic Administration: Communication from the President of the United States transmitting draft of a proposed provision pertaining to an existing appropriation of the Foreign Economic Administration, designed to authorize expenditures necessary to return dependents of employees of the Foreign Economic Administration and the State Department who were moved to foreign posts of duty at Government expense. H. Doc. 415, 78th Cong. 2 pp.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The State Department Speaks. [A series of four broadcasts presented over the facilities of the National Broadcasting Company on January 8, 15, 22, and 29, 1944 to acquaint the American people with what the Department of State is doing to meet international problems.] Publication 2056. 65 pp. Free.

Exchange of Official Publications: Agreement Between the United States of America and Iran—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Tehran August 21, 1943; effective August 21, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 349. Publication 2052. 10 pp. 5¢.

Military Mission: Agreement Between the United States of America and Paraguay—Signed December 10, 1943; effective December 10, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 354. Publication 2054. 10 pp. 5¢.

Jurisdiction Over Criminal Offenses Committed by Armed Forces: Agreement Between the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland—Effected by exchange of notes signed at London July 27, 1942; effective August 6, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 355. Publication 2055. 4 pp. 5¢.

The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 5, February 11, 1944, to Revision VI of October 7, 1943. Publication 2061. 62 pp. Free.

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

"Canada's Surplus Disposal Program", prepared by the British Empire Unit, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, on the basis of reports from Ottawa. *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, February 12 1944, pp. 3, 4, and 24. (Department of Commerce.) 10¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1944

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.
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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

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The War

EXCHANGE OF AMERICAN AND GERMAN NATIONALS

[Released to the press February 15]

On February 15 the motorship *Gripsholm* left New York for Lisbon under safe-conduct from all the belligerents. It is carrying 18 members of the former French diplomatic and consular establishments in the United States, 26 German consular officials with their wives and families who came into the custody of the United States during military operations in North Africa, a German consular officer and wife taken in Italy, and several hundred German nationals who entered the United States in 1942 from certain of the other American republics en route to Germany but who were unable to continue their voyage at that time. Other passengers include about 375 German nationals being repatriated on humanitarian grounds because of illness or other special circumstances and 131 seriously sick and seriously wounded prisoners of war, including 14 from Canada, who are being repatriated under the provisions of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.

On its return voyage from Lisbon the *Gripsholm* will bring back to the United States the staff of the former American Embassy at Vichy and of the American consular offices in the former unoccupied zone of France, together with certain newspaper correspondents and relief workers, numbering in all about 156, as well

as 95 officials of certain of the other American republics, all of whom since early in 1943 have been held in Germany. Some members of these groups who for illness or other reasons were unable to join them in Germany are expected to be added to the official party as it passes through France.

In addition to the foregoing groups the *Gripsholm* is expected to embark at Lisbon for return to the United States about 375 nationals of the United States and of the other American republics whom the German Government reciprocally is releasing for repatriation on humanitarian grounds, and a number of seriously sick and seriously wounded American prisoners of war who are being repatriated by the German Government in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention. The Department of State has not yet received information concerning the names of the persons to be included in these last two groups, as their selection will be made in Europe.

Lists of those being repatriated will be made public as soon as they are received.

On the voyage to Lisbon and return, the *Gripsholm* will carry Red Cross relief supplies for prisoners of war and civilian internees as well as prisoner-of-war and civilian-internee mail.

RED CROSS AID TO AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR IN THE FAR EAST

[Released to the press by the American Red Cross February 13]

On February 13 the American Red Cross in Washington, D. C., issued the following statement summarizing its efforts to get relief to American war prisoners in Japanese hands:

The American Red Cross has spared and will continue to spare no effort to effect Japan's full

compliance with the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention of 1929 and to establish a regular route for the shipment of supplies to prisoners of war and internees in the Far East. A chronological summary of steps which have been taken to date in this regard in full cooperation with the International Committee of the Red

Cross and all the national Red Cross societies of the United Nations directly involved, follows:

From December 7, 1941 to the end of January 1943, 167 cables were sent by the American Red Cross to Geneva, Switzerland, pertaining to the shipment of relief to American prisoners of war and civilian internees in the Far East and related subjects. Many of these cables dealt with mail and communications facilities, while others were concerned with the local procurement of supplementary relief supplies by means of cash from the American Red Cross.

As the Department of State has recently pointed out, although Japan is not a party to the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention, the Department, immediately after the outbreak of hostilities in the Far East, obtained from the Japanese Government a commitment to apply the provisions of the convention to American prisoners of war, and, so far as adaptable, to civilian internees held by Japan. Following this, the Japanese Government approved the appointment of International Committee delegates for permanent station in Japan, Shanghai, and Hong Kong. Despite repeated representations by the American Red Cross, however, the Japanese Government has yet to approve the appointment of an International Committee delegate to function in the Philippines or even to visit the islands.

On December 31, 1941 the International Committee was asked to obtain Japanese approval for a relief ship to carry supplies to prisoners of war and civilian internees in the Far East. When the American Red Cross was informed by the Committee that negotiations to that end were in progress, the *Kanangoora*, a Swedish ship then berthed at San Francisco, was chartered and loaded in the summer of 1942 with Canadian and American Red Cross supplies valued at over one million dollars. In August 1942 the Japanese authorities finally refused safe-conduct for this ship and stated that no neutral vessel would be permitted in waters controlled by Japan. The charter of the *Kanangoora* consequently was canceled and the ship unloaded.

While these negotiations were under way the Japanese agreed to accept relief supplies shipped on diplomatic exchange vessels. The *Gripsholm*, which was about to sail from New York on its first exchange voyage in June 1942, was accordingly loaded with more than 100 tons of American Red Cross supplies and an equal amount of Canadian, which eventually reached Yokohama in August 1942. It was expected that a second exchange would follow immediately upon the return of the *Gripsholm*, and in September 1942 a second cargo was loaded. Because of the delay in concluding the exchange negotiations, however, these supplies were discharged from the *Gripsholm* early in 1943.

Fully realizing that diplomatic exchange ships alone were at best nothing more than a temporary expedient, and that a regular route should be established for the flow of relief supplies to United Nations prisoners of war and civilian internees in the Far East, the American Red Cross, through the State Department and the International Committee, undertook a series of steps in an effort to reach some understanding with the Japanese authorities as to how this might be brought about.

It was suggested in turn (1) that a neutral port be selected to which a neutral ship might carry relief supplies from the United States, the supplies to be picked up at this neutral port by Japanese ships; (2) that the American Red Cross turn over to the Japanese a fully loaded ship in mid-Pacific or at any other point acceptable to the Japanese; (3) that supplies be flown from the United States to a neutral point for relay to Japan; (4) that, if the necessary arrangements could be made with the Soviet Union, supplies be shipped on Soviet vessels to Vladivostok and then transshipped to Japanese-controlled territory.

The most far-reaching proposal was made in February 1943 when the American Red Cross, with the approval of the United States Government, offered to furnish to the Japanese Red Cross a ship to carry relief supplies to the Far East. The proposal then made was that a fully loaded ship be turned over to the Japanese at

any point specified by them—even in mid-Pacific if necessary—from there be manned by a Japanese crew, and, after the distribution of the supplies, be returned empty. The Japanese crew would then pick up a second fully loaded ship and the process would be repeated.

The Japanese never even replied to this proposal. Instead, in April 1943 they suggested that they would consider accepting supplies sent by Soviet ships from a West Coast port to Vladivostok. The State Department secured the approval of the Soviet Union to this suggestion, and at the end of May 1943 the State Department advised the Japanese of the Soviet agreement, at the same time asking them to specify the means they proposed to use in getting the supplies from Vladivostok to the camps. While awaiting the Japanese answer, the United States Government asked the Russians to start carrying supplies to Vladivostok at once. In late August the Soviet Union agreed to carry 1,500 tons of supplies monthly on Soviet ships to Vladivostok.

Although no definite agreement had been reached with the Japanese that supplies shipped to Vladivostok would be accepted by them and in due course be distributed to the prison camps, the American Red Cross and interested governmental agencies decided that, despite the risks involved, it was highly desirable to lose no more time in accumulating a stockpile of food, medicines, and clothing at the nearest point possible to the Far Eastern camps. The aim was to avoid any further delay in the distribution of supplies in the event of Japanese agreement. Consequently, some 1,500 tons of urgently needed supplies were assembled and shipped from the West Coast and are now warehoused in Vladivostok. Further substantial amounts are ready in this country for immediate shipment as soon as the Japanese begin accepting the supplies already in Vladivostok. While the actual movement of goods was taking place, a series of cables were sent through Geneva to the Japanese Red Cross urging a definite Japanese proposal for the distribution of the supplies. There has still been no definite plan from the Japanese side, but further steps to obtain a solu-

tion to this problem are receiving continuous consideration.

The second shipment of American relief supplies on diplomatic exchange vessels was made in September 1943. The *Gripsholm* then left New York with a cargo valued at over \$1,300,000, including 140,000 specially prepared 13-pound food packages, 2,800 cases of medical supplies, including drugs, surgical instruments, and dressings, 7 million vitamin capsules; and large quantities of clothing and comfort articles for men, women, and children. The entire cargo was transferred to the Japanese exchange vessel *Teia Maru*, which sailed eastward from Mormugão on October 21, 1943. About one half of these supplies, including 78,000 food parcels and 73 tons of drugs and medicine, were unloaded at Manila on November 8, 1943 for distribution to camps in the Philippines. About a week later several hundred tons were unloaded at Yokohama for distribution in Japan and elsewhere in the Far East.

American Republics

PRESENTATION OF LETTERS OF CREDENCE BY THE AMBASSADOR OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC

[Released to the press February 15]

A translation of the remarks of the newly appointed Ambassador of the Argentine Republic, Señor Dr. Don Adrián C. Escobar, upon the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence, February 15, follows:

MR. PRESIDENT:

I have the honor to deliver to you the letters of credence with which my Government accredits me as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary and the letters of recall of my distinguished predecessor; and in this circumstance it is a pleasure for me to transmit to you the sentiments of admiration and fraternal friendship which the Government and people of Argentina cherish toward the great Republic of the North, with which we have always been joined by spir-

itual, material, and moral bonds which time has consolidated to the point of their becoming indestructible.

The Argentine people has just been stirred to its innermost depths by two very grave occurrences: one of these, the tragic catastrophe of San Juan which cost many lives and enormous material destruction. That disaster furnished occasion for putting to the test once again the solidarity of feeling among the American nations, and I am pleased to repeat to Your Excellency the gratitude of my country for the part which your country had in that sincere and spontaneous gesture. The other is the categorical determination which my Government has taken, interpreting the desire of our people, to break off relations with Germany and Japan, in view of the seriousness of activities which wounded its most noble sentiments. The Argentine Government could not permit countries to which we are closely bound by traditional ties of friendship to be injured, since those activities not only infringed on the national sovereignty but compromised its foreign policy and attacked the security of the continent.

Argentina knows and feels that the destiny of America is her own destiny. This thought, Mr. President, which is a double imperative, historical and geographical, contains a high significance for the relations among the sovereign countries of America which act with rectitude—relations which cannot be altered in spite of the differences which may arise in the evaluation of some essential questions. They must be clarified and settled in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, since today, as yesterday and as tomorrow, the common objective cannot be other than the most complete reciprocal understanding. Thus ideas will be discussed, certain interests will for the moment be divergent, but over and above the occasional and ephemeral clash of ideas and interests is placed respect for the immutable principles of morality and justice.

My country does not, in any manner, practice isolation. It has maintained and will always maintain the necessity for the closest union among the peoples of America. Its history proclaims this. It does not seek benefits, nor

shares, nor advantages. It recognizes fully the rights of others and firmly maintains its own. It has an honorable and untarnished tradition: it loves peace and never soiled its name by any aggression; it submitted its fundamental questions to arbitration, it set up principles and doctrines universally recognized, and at congresses and conferences defined its policy with generous and broad concepts, which have been incorporated as juridical standards in the common patrimony of the nations of America.

We desire, Mr. President, that the legal gains achieved at the Pan American congresses be consolidated; that the solidarity sealed at Lima be a living reality. To this end we have proposed to the limitrophe countries, without the most remote political aim, the study and formation of customs unions for the better economic development of the countries, members of such unions, and the attainment of a higher standard of living for the populations concerned. And it is our keenest desire to leave the doors wide open to the whole continent to adhere to this regime, thereby converting to a harmonious reality the dreams of Washington, of Bolivar, of San Martín and so many great men of America.

The good-neighbor policy, which you initiated, Mr. President, found in my country a sympathetic echo and instantaneous welcome and, as you have said in speeches which are famous, it must be understood that this new policy of the United States has a permanent character. For our part, I need not assure you that we shall tend toward the permanence of this reciprocal good-neighborhood. We must all be good neighbors and, moreover, good and sincere friends.

From its first days as an independent nation Argentina practiced good-neighborliness and made of fraternity an article of faith: she made an offering of the blood of her sons and her well-being for other American peoples fighting on the fields of battle for most noble ideals and contributing to the freedom of half a continent.

When the peoples of America suffered misfortunes Argentina hastened to their aid with solicitude. But she did not limit her efforts to them but also offered her aid to distant and dis-

similar countries when they were passing through a difficult situation. Thus, Argentina will now be present to aid the countries which are suffering the horrors of war, carrying out her mission with Christian generosity and diligent zeal.

The Government of my country will contribute, within its means, to the great work of aid, reconstruction, and rehabilitation to take care of the disasters and calamities which are scourging the world.

I hope that you, Excellency, who know my country, which had the gratification of receiving you with cordial rejoicing, will offer me the necessary opportunities to the end that I may discharge my mission which is, without reservation, that of a true rapprochement with the United States, of increasing cooperation, of sincere understanding and loyal friendship.

Mr. President, in the name of the Argentine people and Government I formulate good wishes for the prosperity of the United States, and express their warm desire for your personal happiness.

The President's reply to the remarks of Señor Dr. Don Adrián C. Escobar follows:

MR. AMBASSADOR:

I am indeed happy to greet you and to receive the letters accrediting you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Argentine Government near the Government of the United States of America. I accept at the same time the letters of recall of your distinguished predecessor, Dr. Felipe Espil, who will be remembered by his many friends in this country with deep affection and high esteem. Dr. Espil during his many years of service in the United States labored devotedly and unceasingly to bring about a deeper understanding between our two Governments and peoples.

I thank you for your expression of the sentiments of admiration and friendship cherished by the Government and people of Argentina for the United States. Similar sentiments have traditionally characterized the attitude of the Government and people of this country for the

Argentine Republic. The two events referred to by you—namely, the disastrous earthquake at San Juan and the recent action of your Government in severing diplomatic relations with the Axis powers—have given rise to renewed demonstrations of that attitude.

The tragic loss of life which occurred at San Juan aroused feelings of deep sympathy here as well as a desire to be of assistance to the afflicted people of that region.

The action of the Argentine Government in severing relations with Germany and Japan and Axis satellites has been received with satisfaction by free people everywhere. The importance of this and other related matters connected with the eradication of subversive activities in the promotion of the security of the Western Hemisphere against the continuing aggressions of the enemies of our civilization is manifest.

These aggressions have taken manifold forms.

They have included espionage conducted under the auspices of the diplomatic missions of the Axis nations.

Industries producing for United Nations war purposes have been sabotaged by agents of the Axis powers.

All manner of subversive activities have been engaged in not only for the purpose of impeding the war effort of the United Nations but even in some cases with the object of overthrowing by violent means governments friendly to our common cause.

All of these activities would have involved the most serious peril to our common interests if they had not been combated by the energetic and united action of the American republics. With the decision of your Government to cooperate fully in promoting the security of the continent, the Axis is severely handicapped in its conduct of operations in this hemisphere.

I am pleased to express my whole-hearted agreement with your observations concerning the policy of the good neighbor. That policy not only has long-term implications of incalculable importance; it has also enabled the American republics in a time of serious peril and

grave threat to their independence to concert measures and take steps in unison for their common defense. I am confident that the people of the United States have adopted this policy as a part of their permanent political philosophy.

I am very happy to extend to you, Mr. Ambassador, a most cordial welcome and to assure you of my own desire and of the desire of the officials of this Government to render you every possible assistance in the fulfilment of your mission. I am pleased also to have this opportunity of extending through you my best wishes for the happiness and welfare of the people of Argentina.

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS FROM OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS

[Released to the press February 18]

Miss Maria Junqueira Schmidt of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, has arrived in the United States as a guest of the Department of State. Miss Schmidt, who is a leader in the field of social welfare in Brazil and who is now planning her work as Director of the Cidade das Meninas, will visit similar institutions in the United States in order to make an extensive study of the educational methods and techniques which have been developed in this country.

The Far East

RETURN FROM CHINA OF UNITED STATES TELECOMMUNICATIONS ADVISER

[Released to the press February 18]

Mr. Omar C. Bagwell of New York City has just returned from China, where he has served for the past year under the Department of State as a specialist in telecommunications. He traveled extensively in China inspecting existing lines and giving advice to the Ministry of Communications in regard to operational matters. He was also of assistance to the Ministry of Communications in connection with plans for the future development of China's long-distance

telephone system. Mr. Bagwell was well qualified for this work by his service of many years as a representative in Spain of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Mr. Bagwell was one of 21 specialists who have been made available to the Government of China by the Department of State to assist that Government in its prosecution of the war.

The Department

LIAISON WITH THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD

On February 18, 1944 the Acting Secretary of State issued Departmental Order 1227, effective February 16, 1944, which reads as follows:

"Mr. George L. Warren is hereby designated Adviser on Refugees and Displaced Persons, in the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs, and Liaison Officer for the Department with the War Refugee Board established by Executive Order 9417 of January 22, 1944.

"All matters pertaining to the Department's participation in the work of the War Refugee Board shall be cleared through Mr. Warren, who shall coordinate all refugee matters of concern to the Department.

"Mr. Warren's routing symbol shall be WRB."

CHANGE IN TITLE AND SYMBOLS FOR OFFICE OF EASTERN AND AFRICAN AFFAIRS

On February 17, 1944 the Acting Secretary of State issued Departmental Order 1226, effective February 15, 1944, which reads as follows:

"Title for Office of Eastern and African Affairs

"The title of the 'Office of Eastern and African Affairs', as stated in Departmental Order No. 1218, January 15, 1944, is hereby changed to read 'Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs'. The routing symbol of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs shall be NEA.

“Change in Divisional Symbols

“The routing symbols for the Division of Near Eastern Affairs shall be NE, for the Division of Middle Eastern Affairs, ME, and for the Division of African Affairs, AF.

“Departmental Order No. 1218 is accordingly amended.”

ADDITIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE TELECOMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

On February 14, 1944 the Acting Secretary of State issued Departmental Order 1224, effective February 11, 1944, which reads as follows:

“In addition to its responsibilities as set forth in Departmental Order No. 1218 of January 15, 1944, the Telecommunications Division shall have responsibility for the initiation and coordination of policy and action in matters pertaining to: (a) the international aspects of mail and telephone communications, motion pictures (other than responsibilities assigned to the Office of Public Information) and (b) liaison with the Post Office Department.”

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

By Departmental Order 1223 of February 12, 1944, effective February 11, 1944, the Acting Secretary of State designated Mr. Charles A. Thomson, in addition to his responsibilities as Adviser to the Director of the Office of Public Information, as Acting Chief of the Division of Science, Education, and Art, and Mr. Willys R. Peck as a Special Assistant in the Office of Public Information.

The Foreign Service

CONSULATES

The American Consulate at Palermo, Sicily, was reopened for the transaction of public business on February 11, 1944.

Treaty Information

AGRICULTURE

Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences

Dominican Republic; Honduras

By a letter dated February 4, 1944, the Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State that the Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on January 15, 1944, was signed for the Dominican Republic and Honduras on January 28, 1944.

The convention was signed on January 15, 1944 for the United States of America, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Panama, and for Cuba and Ecuador on January 20, 1944.

FOODSTUFFS

Agreement With the Dominican Republic

[Released to the press February 18]

On February 17 completion of an agreement whereby the entire exportable surplus of several Dominican foodstuffs will be sold exclusively to the United States Government through the Foreign Economic Administration in order to help meet shortages of food in the Caribbean and other areas, was announced jointly by the Dominican Government and the United States Department of State. The agreement is to extend to June 30, 1945.

The cooperative efforts of the Government of the Dominican Republic and of the Dominican food producers, resulting in increases of production at this critical time, are an important contribution to the total United Nations food-supply program and will add to the total supplies available for distribution to deficit areas. It will be of special value to Puerto Rico and other Caribbean islands now largely dependent on exports of food from the United States.

Shipments of food from the Dominican Republic directly to these islands will result in saving of shipping. The Dominican Government is contributing substantially in this respect in providing a fleet of vessels for inter-island transportation of foodstuffs.

Under an agreement signed previously,¹ the Dominican Republic is selling exclusively to the United States for Caribbean areas its surplus of corn, rice, and peanut cake. The new understanding adds peanuts, red kidney beans, and live cattle to the list. In addition, the United States receives an option to buy butter, eggs, fresh vegetables, and fruits.

Legislation

Reports To Be Made to Congress: Letter from the Clerk of the House of Representatives transmitting a list of reports which it is the duty of any officer or department to make to Congress. H. Doc. 406, 78th Cong. [List of reports to be made to Congress by the Secretary of State, pp. 3-4.] 31 pp.

United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Organization: Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 78th Cong., 2d sess., on H.J. Res. 192, a joint resolution to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Organization. February 9 and 10, 1944. ii, 50 pp.

S. Rept. 688, 78th Cong., on H.J. Res. 192 [favorable report]. 14 pp.

Supplemental Estimates of Appropriations for the State Department: Communication from the President of the United States transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the fiscal year 1944, amounting to \$3,493,500, for the Department of State. H. Doc. 418, 78th Cong. 4 pp.

¹ Executive Agreement Series 350.

State, Justice, and Commerce Appropriation Bill, Fiscal Year 1945 (78th Cong., 2d sess.):

Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, on the Department of State Appropriation Bill for 1945. ii, 326 pp.

H. Rept. 1149, on the State, Justice, and Commerce Appropriation Bill, Fiscal Year 1945. [Department of State, pp. 4-11.] 33 pp.

Supplemental Estimates of Appropriations for the Fiscal Year 1944: Communication from the President of the United States transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the fiscal year 1944, amounting in all to \$139,719,249. H. Doc. 424, 78th Cong. [Department of State, pp. 4 and 14.] 17 pp.

Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities: Report on the Axis Front Movement in the United States—Japanese Activities. (Appendix, Part VIII, Second Section.) viii, 148 pp.

Investigation of the National Defense Program: Additional Report of the Special Committee Investigating the National Defense Program pursuant to S. Res. 71, 77th Cong., and S. Res. 6, 78th Cong. (Report of Subcommittee Concerning Investigations Overseas; Section 1—Petroleum Matters). [Appendix VI, pp. 70-76, consists of a statement on "United States Foreign Petroleum Policy," which was prepared in the Department of State.] iv, 80 pp.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

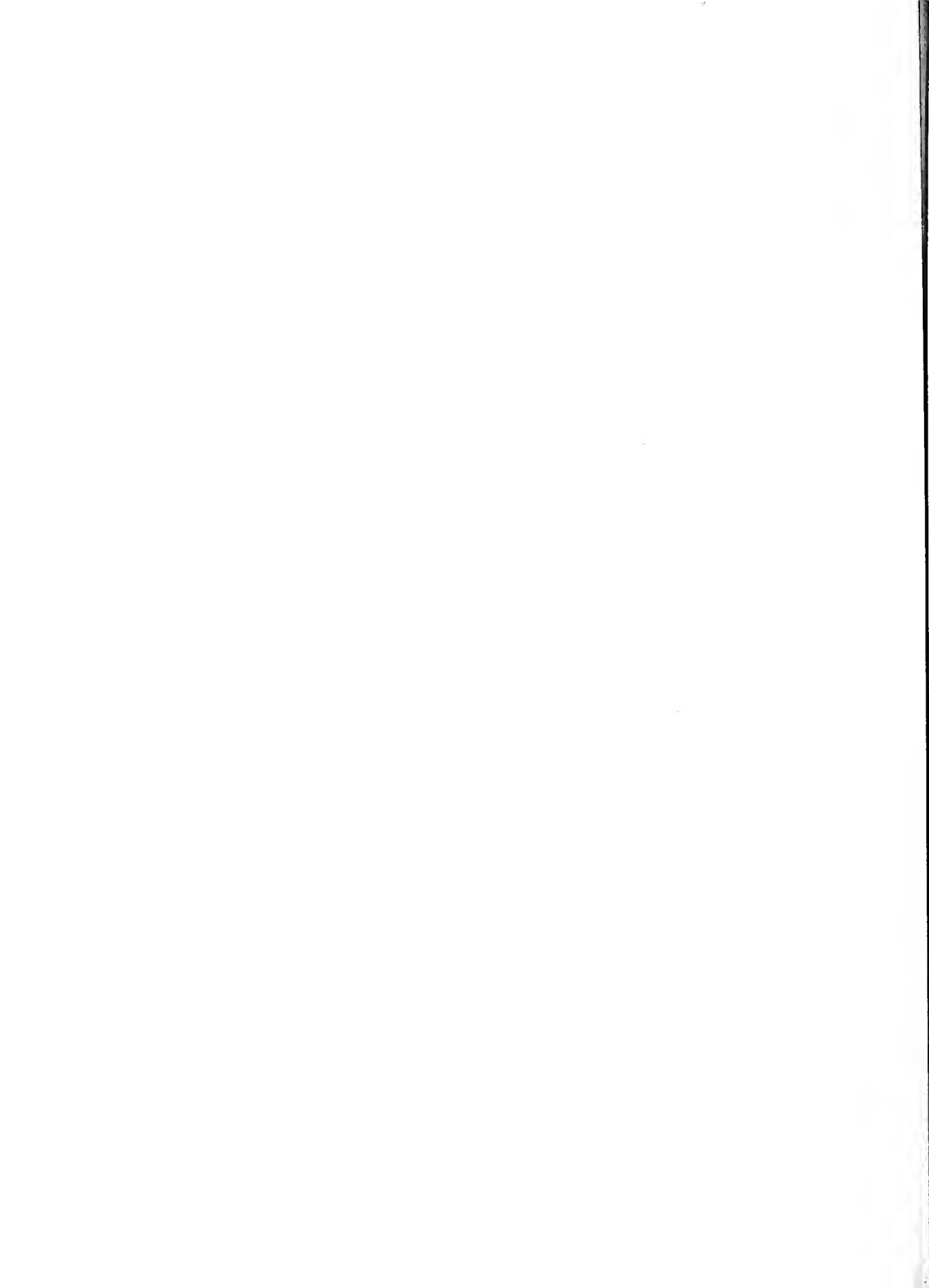
Access to Alaska Highway: Agreement Between the United States of America and Canada—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Ottawa April 10, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 362. Publication 2057. 3 pp. 5¢.

Diplomatic List, February 1944. Publication 2060. ii, 120 pp. Subscription, \$1 a year; single copy, 10¢.

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

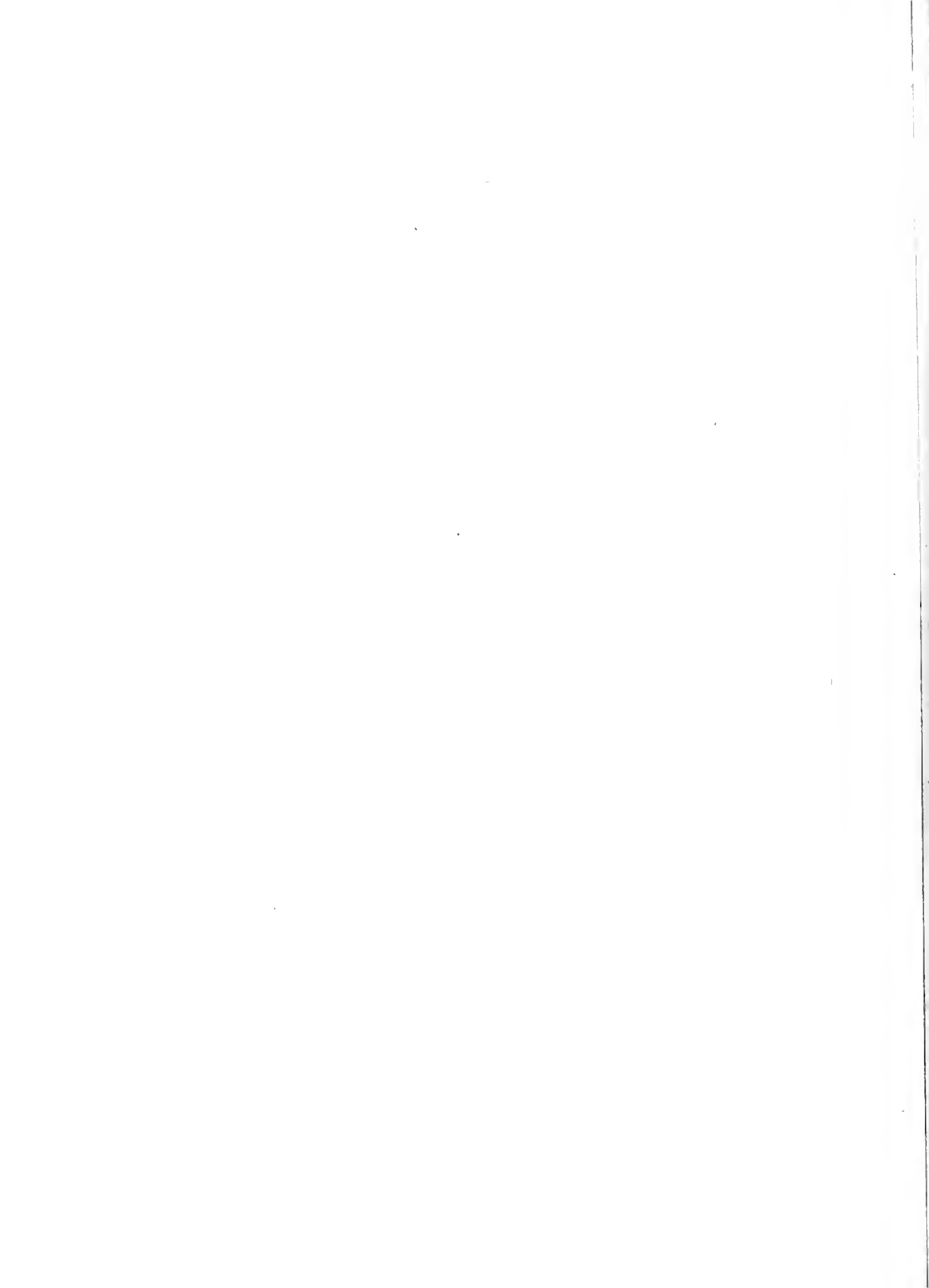
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The War

THE COMBINED MIDDLE EAST SUPPLY PROGRAM

Address by Frederick Winant¹

[Released to the press February 23]

In discussing this afternoon the current situation and problems of civilian supplies to the Middle East, I think it would be worth our while at the outset to review the situation and the problems of the area during the earlier stages of the war. Bearing in mind that fateful day in September 1939 when Poland was invaded, we must note the fearful events that occurred in the following year—Dunkirk in May and the fall of France in June, and in the next year, 1941, the loss of Greece in April and our own Pearl Harbor in December. All these now historic events, coupled with the German attack on Russia in June 1941, had their full impact on the countries and the peoples of the Middle East. In fact, these earlier events laid the stage for the military drama whereby the land known as the cradle of civilization might well have become known as the grave of civilization as well. Yes, it might have been the beginning and the end!

When the Mediterranean was lost to merchant shipping and the only faint promise of supporting the area was by way of the sea lanes around the Cape of Good Hope, it was clear to all and in particular to the military that shipping had moved into position of first over-all priority. When you treble the voyage of a ship carrying cargo from one given port to another given port, you in effect reduce your shipping to one third of the original tonnage. To offset this practical loss in shipping and the enormous difficulties of using inferior and

improperly equipped ports, the British military authorities created the Middle East Supply Center for the purpose of reorganizing transport for the better prosecution of the war. The thought back of the new organization was the need for better coordination of military and civilian shipping and the dire need for a single authority for dealing with the diverse elements of a civilian shipping program. It was an effort to bring some semblance of order to a hopeless situation of clogged ports with precious ships waiting endlessly for unloading berths; and cargoes, when unloaded, piled into truly pyramid-like structure with little chance of onward movement. This confusion was caused to a large extent by the fact that a good part of the cargoes arriving were wholly unrelated to the war effort and just in the way militarily. The result was that the quantity of military supplies which reached the forces was not in accord with the seriousness of the situation.

Not long after the formation of MESC along military lines, the Army found that high ranking generals and their deputies and aides were of necessity devoting too much time to the political and civic aspects of the problem. So that the generals might spend their full time on strategic and operational matters, the Center was transferred from military control and placed under the authority of the Ministry of War Transport. It has remained essentially civilian in character since.

The first objective of MESC was to reduce the importation of goods not directly related to the war effort, thus releasing shipping space and port facilities for the handling of the all-essential military items. In assuming the responsibility for reducing the non-essential items, MESC very

¹Delivered before a meeting of the Commerce and Industry Association of New York, in New York City, Feb. 24, 1944. Mr. Winant is an Adviser in the Eastern Hemisphere Division, Department of State, and Chairman of the Middle East Supplies Committee, Washington.

definitely assumed the responsibility for supplying the essential civilian items. Thus, although restrictive in character, the Center was not purely negative, and on essential items it has kept faith with the areas concerned. From the period of worst abuse, where goods of no war value ran as high as thirty percent of the arriving cargoes, MESC in the course of a little over a year was able to reduce this alarming figure to less than one percent. The accruing benefits to the military were handsomely and fortunately realized at the very time when Rommel was poised at El Alamein. Military supplies did come through—they were not too late nor were they too little. I would like to insert at this point that I know beyond a shadow of a doubt that each and every one of you gentlemen here this afternoon subscribes whole-heartedly, regardless of actual or potential personal loss, to the premise that military items and items in direct support of military operations take precedence over all other items.

There was a period at El Alamein when the war became a battle of supplies. Complete exhaustion of troops and *matériel* had forced a lull, but it was an ominous lull, one of foreboding for the side that could not recuperate quickly. Rommel's position in the bleak sands of the Quatarra Depression was untenable for any length of time; it was a certainty that he must make a final break for the fertile, lush fields of the Delta. Much credit for the ultimate British successes must go to the RAF, under their great leader Air Marshal Tedder, which consistently and with paralyzing effect blasted the German lines of supply. But credit must also go to the positive side of the service of supplies which was re-equipping the great British Eighth Army. Over the longest supply line in history the new improved Sherman tanks and the new 105 mm. anti-tank guns and other vital equipment were coming through in ever-increasing volume from America. They were quickly placed in the competent hands of Generals Alexander and Montgomery, who lost no time in schooling the men of the Eighth Army in the handling of the new weapons. The MESC played no small part in effecting this orderly and smooth-working service of supply.

In tracing the history of supplies to the Middle East, I will now take you back to Washington during the winter and spring of 1942. Sometimes it is difficult to think today in terms of yesterday. As we go home tonight and are exposed to the winter blasts, it is with incredulity that we try to recall our intense discomfiture during the torrid days of last summer. War—and I mean total war, to include those factors of supply such as raw materials, manpower, production, procurement, inland shipping, warehousing, and port handling—is in no sense static, either on the battle front or on the home front. Articles and commodities in free supply change, seemingly, overnight. Conversely, items in tight supply suddenly become available. Sometimes we forget the supply position of a short time ago.

But to go back to the first half of 1942, you will perhaps recall the condition of extreme scarcity, you might even say famine, among such commodities as steel, medical supplies, agricultural machinery, and others. We can always remember that period with pride. Our country was building a mighty Army and Navy and providing them with the necessary fighting equipment. It was an heroic accomplishment, second only to the heroic achievements of that Army and Navy in action. But during the period of arming our forces there was little chance of satisfying civilian needs. There just was not enough stuff to go around. Individual export orders had tough going as a general rule. With the factories going full blast on war orders, it was seldom that an individual private order could receive sufficient priority to carry it through the production line.

It was during this time of near embargo on most civilian-type goods that questions and problems concerning supplies to the Middle East began to arise. Quite often the Middle East governments would request assistance in providing certain articles for their countries. The problem at the time was not so much the terms under which the goods could be moved overseas but whether the goods could be gotten there at all.

In working on these problems, I began to bump into the Middle East Supply Center of Cairo for the first time. To boil down the details, I made a study of the organization. It appeared to embody

a thoroughly realistic approach to a wartime supply problem. In the first place, it provided the best and only machinery for the optimum utilization of shipping space for the direct war effort. In the second place, it provided protection to the people and stability to the area engulfed by war. It thus offered a double-edged sword: one edge for cutting down the Germans; the other edge for cutting down famine and epidemics, those other grim reapers who also stalk the lands of innocent people.

The other aspect of MESC which caught my attention was that here was a British organization working in conjunction with the local territorial governments in determining what imports were needed from the U.K. and the U.S.A. It seemed that for supplies coming from the U.S.A. there should be full American participation in passing on the requirement applications. To be sure, the actual authority for the release of American goods for export was in American hands in Washington. However, the main point in deciding exports was generally on the basis of essentiality, and the determination of essentiality seemed logically to belong to those supply people on the spot who were naturally more cognizant of the particular requirement and the general requirements of a given country and of the over-all requirements of the area as a whole.

And then again, there was the question of shipping. Shipping during war properly follows the course of military operations. The Middle East theater of war was under British military responsibility. As such, shipping to the Middle East was in conformity with British military plans. To orient this period in military chronology, I will remind you that the time was after the British had successfully cleared Eritrea, Italian Somaliland, and Ethiopia of Italian troops, and were then engaged with Rommel's Afrika Korps in the desert warfare which produced so many startling results. It was also at the time when the vanguard of the American troops was reaching the area.

In this complex situation of supply and shipping and British military responsibility, our wish was to give 100 percent support to the military action against the Germans and at the same time to do what we could under war exigencies to sustain the internal economy of those countries of the Middle East with whom we had been on friendly terms

for so long. As we pondered the question, we received a cordial invitation from the British Government to participate, to whatever extent we should determine, in the affairs of the Middle East Supply Center in Cairo. Favorable response on our part would seem to supply the answer to our perplexing problem, and accordingly our Government agreed to send to the MESC a civilian and a military representative. This occurred in the spring of 1942.

As for the designation of the U.S. representatives, the War Department appointed General Russel Maxwell, whom you will remember favorably from the earliest days of export control and who at that time was the Commanding General for all American forces in the Middle East; the State Department, to my surprise, appointed me. I might add parenthetically that in the spring of 1941 I had left my business at home and had gone down to Washington to offer my services to the War Department. It seemed to me then that we were likely to be drawn into the war for our own preservation and for the preservation of our way of life and our form of government. At any rate, it was apparent that we were in troubled times and that at least greatly increased defense measures were necessary. The War Department was not greatly moved by my offer, pointing out that I was beyond the desirable age group and holding fast to the fact that I had been retired from active duty shortly after the last war because of gunshot wounds received in action. At this time I met General Maxwell and as he seemed to think I might be of some use in the then new export-control set-up, I was glad to join him in the new undertaking. Just to round out the picture of my own wartime service, I subsequently transferred to the State Department where I served as liaison officer with the Lend-Lease Administration until I received traveling orders for Cairo.

As I have said, I was asked to go out to the Middle East as the U.S. civilian representative to the MESC. I accepted on the basis that I might take three men with me to conduct an initial survey. For my staff I requested one man with lend-lease experience, one with OEW experience, and the third to be experienced in agriculture. I was particularly anxious to have an agricultural ex-

pert along as I felt sure that as the pressure of war increased, food would become of increasing concern.

As I left Washington on the first of July, I was able to read in the papers all about the Middle East. Rommel had made the area headline news.

The latter portion of my trip out might be of interest to you. The flight from Khartoum to Cairo was unique, probably not likely to be repeated. We began at normal flying height, but as we got deeper into Egypt we dropped to an unusually low altitude. You see we were entering the combat zone and the plane's radio was barred. We flew low so our plane might be readily identified as a friendly aircraft. Under these flying conditions I watched from my perch on a large packing crate the country passing below. We were over the Nile for most of the last leg of the journey so I was privileged to observe at close range the extraordinarily intensive farming of that narrow border of land so well nourished by the great Nile River. It appeared like a patchwork quilt through which was woven a silver ribbon.

Of all the waterways which have meant life and living to the human race, there is none comparable to the Nile. For thousands of years this thread-like watercourse has been the bloodstream, the nervous system, and the backbone of Egypt. Out of the barren desert, the coupled forces of the Blue Nile and the White Nile have reclaimed a strip of arable land which has supported from the beginning of history one of our most ancient of races and which unstintingly continues to support the ever-increasing Egyptian population. Even its surface manifestations offer a harmonious blending of beauty and utility. With no cross-currents and few cross-winds, the picturesque feluccas pass in the river—one sailing upstream with a favorable breeze, the other drifting downstream with an equally favorable current. Small wonder that the Egyptians love the Nile!

On arrival in Cairo, my reception was on the undemonstrative side. At sunset our Pan-Air pilot put us down neatly and gently on the civilian airfield. But there was no ground crew to take over. Thinking that the system had been changed, the pilot hopped us over to the military field and again let us down with the touch of an artist. Our pres-

ence here did not go unnoticed. A U.S. staff car raced over and a sergeant bellowed, "The Commanding General says for you to get the hell off this field with that g— d— big commercial plane." We again took to the air and went back to the commercial field where we unloaded ourselves and hitch-hiked into town. The next morning I learned that the Germans were at the time in the habit of bombing military objectives, and I could fully understand the General's perturbation at having our Douglas plane serve as a large "sitting duck" on his military preserve.

Cairo, generally known as the most cosmopolitan of the cities of the world, was outdoing itself in picturesqueness. To the teeming native population, there were added legions of troops. You saw soldiers from India—the heavy-set and heavy-bearded Sikhs and the lighter, wiry Gurkhas; you saw the ever-colorful Australians and Scots, the New Zealanders and the South Africans, and hosts of "Tommy Atkins". You saw French and legionnaires of most of the United Nations. I suppose in wars the centers of communication systems will always be crowded with the military. Cairo will undoubtedly remain the number one international crossroad of the world. It is where the East meets the West, but where, it has been demonstrated beyond a doubt, the Germans will never meet the Japs!

Most of you are familiar with the area but perhaps you do not all realize that when we speak of the "Middle East" in this supply service, we mean an area which, starting with Malta, includes Cyprus, Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Aden, Somalilands, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan, Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and in some instances, Turkey. There are eighteen political areas involved which offer the following varied patterns of government: six sovereign states, four British colonies, four mandated states, three territories formerly belonging to the enemy, and one condominium. The total area is larger than continental United States, with an estimated population of 83 million. Offhand, I cannot think of a more complex political and economic group for servicing in the matter of civilian supplies under war conditions.

Of course Cairo is the normal headquarters of the MESC, and there are local offices in each of the areas. When I first visited the Center there were 100 persons in the organization. At that time the regional offices were generally housed with the British Legations. The changing-over of this entirely British organization to an Anglo-American complexion has been gradual due to the extreme difficulty of getting American civilians to those distant lands. Shortly after my arrival there I was joined by the three men who had been selected by Lend-Lease, Economic Warfare, and Agriculture—Bill Rountree, Marshal MacDuffie, and Ben Thibodeaux. There could not have been a better team, but when it was decided that we should join in the operations of the Center and asked for the necessary additional personnel from home, nothing happened beyond cabling. No substantial increase in American personnel occurred until early last summer, when everybody concerned got together and started pushing people abroad. At the present time there are some 90 people out there on the American side working on supplies and general economic matters. It is difficult to say exactly how many of these may be considered as working in the Center. We have treated lend-lease as an American operation, and consequently certain lend-lease men are stationed at the American Legation in Cairo. Perhaps we can say 50 Americans are connected with the Center.

With the added American strength in the field, we are placing men in the regional offices. In other words, we are fast approaching a truly Anglo-American composition in the Center's set-up.

In the matter of American participation in MESC, I have always advocated adequate representation but not necessarily equality in numbers—what might be termed equality of voice regardless of numbers. It has seemed to me that what we wanted was a selected group of experienced men who could be placed at the strategic points in the organization. I believe we should have an American staff sufficient to make a real contribution to the day-to-day work of the Center and to add the American slant to policy decisions. The organizational chart of the Center provides for five divisions: Food, *Matériel* Supplies, Motor Transport, Medical Supplies, and Secretariat. An American serves as Director of the *Matériel* Sup-

plies, and another American is on his way to take charge of Medical Supplies. In the important Food Division there is an American serving as Assistant Director on food production. The British Director, incidentally, graduated from Cornell University. For Motor Transport we have an excellent man lined up, and he should soon join MESC as Assistant Director. Sprinkled throughout the Divisions are the other Americans assigned to the Center. On the top administrative side are a Director General—an Australian—and a Deputy Director General—a New Zealander. Above this is a Policy Committee—or as I believe it is described today, a Directing Committee—consisting of two Britishers and two Americans.

A brief description of the requirement procedure might be of interest. Allocation of shipping tonnage is established by the combined shipping authorities and Cairo is notified of the schedule proposed for the ensuing six-month period. Cairo in turn informs the local governments of their expected quota. Within the framework of this program the local government issues import licenses. The government then files with the local MESC office a list of the import permits granted, which list is forwarded to Cairo. MESC in Cairo reviews the several regional lists in accordance with the original schedules and in the light of current information on shipping and procurement. The final approved list with shipping priorities is sent on to Washington and London. Cairo might be said to provide an equitable correlation of the regional wants as well as to supply the most current information on shipping and procurement.

The determination of the supply area for Middle East requirements is difficult on certain articles, but fairly clear on most. The controlling principle is of course the best prosecution of the war. But other things being equal—that is, in the absence of an overriding war requirement such as shipping, supply, and the like—the choice of the importer prevails. He determines from where and from whom he shall buy.

In speaking of source of supply, the natural question comes to mind, "What source has supplied the goods to the Middle East?" The answer is several sources; in most cases the source which is

nearest to the requirement. If a requirement can be met from a surplus of one of the adjoining areas, that source is always tapped first. The war has naturally given an impetus to local production. If the product is for the war effort, the production has been encouraged and aided by MESC. Just as a single example, we have made strenuous efforts to increase the growth and yield of cereal crops. We have been able to get out to the area a limited quantity of agricultural machinery and a certain quantity of Chilean nitrates. By providing shipping space for this machinery and fertilizer we save enormously on later shipments of wheat. We not only make a provident investment in shipping but we also insure that there will be foodstuff on hand regardless of the difficulties and hazards of the sea. Similar support has been given to local industries with the result that the area as a whole has achieved a surprising degree of self-sufficiency. By this part of the program MESC has been credited with the saving of better than a million tons of shipping space for the use of the military during the year 1942.

When a requirement cannot be met from a source within the area, the next nearest supply area is selected, always bearing in mind that long ocean haul on products of the U.S.A. and the U.K.

Of course, because of production capacity in the U.S.A. and the U.K., these sources are resorted to on many items. As to the relative standing between these two sources of supply, the exports from the U.K. have shown a proportionately greater reduction over peacetime exports than the exports from the U.S.A. Although figures during the war years may not be published, I may say that the relative position has changed materially from a pre-war year such as 1938 when U.S. exports to the Red Sea area were \$24,500,000 as compared with \$65,000,000 from the U.K. In fact during the past year or so the civilian goods imported into that area have been predominantly of U.S. origin.

Perhaps you wonder to what extent commercial orders of U.S. origin have been displaced by lend-lease shipments. The significance of civilian lend-lease goods to normal trade channels has not been as great as is generally accepted. Commercial channels have retained by far the greater portion of the supplies destined for civilian end use in the Middle East.

In discussing angles of this sort, I would like to point out that there are necessary restrictions in divulging statistical information because of the inherent connection between civilian and military shipments. The civilian program is superimposed on the military program and therefore becomes a matter to be treated as confidential. The drastic cuts in civilian exports to the Middle East during the fall of 1942 and early 1943, if published at the time, would have been a perfect tip-off to the North African campaign and its subsequent developments.

As I wish to make way for my friend and able associate from FEA—Jack Dawson—I shall conclude my remarks with the observation that in my opinion the adoption of a combined Middle East supply program was, and still is, the only feasible scheme for getting on with the war and for providing the areas concerned with sufficient civilian supplies to sustain an orderly economy.

In final conclusion, I wish to express my appreciation to you for this opportunity of discussing with you our mutual problems involved with civilian supplies to the Middle East under war conditions.

TWENTY-SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RED ARMY

[Released to the press February 23]

The President has sent the following message to Marshal Joseph V. Stalin, Supreme Commander of the armed forces of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the occasion of the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Red Army:

FEBRUARY 22, 1944.

On this twenty-sixth anniversary of the Red Army I wish to convey to you as Supreme Commander my sincere congratulations on the great and significant victories of the armed forces of the Soviet Union during the past year.

The magnificent achievements of the Red Army under your leadership have been an inspiration to all. The heroic defense of Leningrad has been crowned and rewarded by the recent crushing defeat of the enemy before its gates. Millions of Soviet citizens have been freed from enslavement and oppression by the victorious advance of the Red Army.

These achievements together with the collaboration and cooperation which was agreed upon at Moscow and Tehran assure our final victory over the Nazi aggressors.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

REPRESSION OF AXIS ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES IN CHILE

[Released to the press February 25]

The Acting Secretary of State at his press and radio news conference February 25 made the following statement in reply to a request for comment on the Chilean Government's recent action in respect to Axis espionage activities in Chile:

"The Chilean Government has again given concrete evidence of its constant readiness to move effectively and energetically to stamp out Axis espionage activities. Its recent action is in line with Chile's policy of repression of acts hostile to continental security.

"This further proof of the Chilean Government's sincere desire to make effective its commitments at the Rio de Janeiro conference is deeply gratifying. Chile has taken another important step in the defense of the hemisphere."

EXCHANGE OF AMERICAN AND GERMAN NATIONALS

[Released to the press February 26]

The *M. S. Gripsholm* is expected to arrive in the United States sometime during the period from March 10 to 15, bringing Americans who have been detained by Germany.

The American Red Cross will be the only social agency on the pier when the *Gripsholm* arrives from Lisbon and will be responsible for giving information to repatriates, delivering mail, telegrams, and messages.

For security reasons relatives and friends will not be permitted on the pier in New Jersey. They should remain at their hotels, homes, or other points of contact away from the pier and should advise the American Red Cross as to their location and telephone numbers in New York City. Mail and telegrams for repatriates arriving on the *Gripsholm* should be addressed as follows:

"Mr. John Doe, *Gripsholm* Repatriate,
c/o American Red Cross,
Postmaster, New York, N. Y."

Repatriates requiring assistance in obtaining transportation from the pier in New Jersey to Manhattan will be provided with motor-corps service by the American Red Cross.

Financial assistance, assistance with travel arrangements, or other appropriate services will be arranged, if required by repatriates, by the American Red Cross through referral to the various agencies concerned. The office through which such arrangements will be made is located at 315 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

Civilian repatriates on the *Gripsholm* are being advised of the detailed arrangements made for their reception at New York City.

American Republics

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN ARGENTINA

[Released to the press February 25]

The Acting Secretary of State at his press and radio news conference on February 25 made the following statement concerning the recent developments in Argentina:

"The information regarding the overnight Argentine development is not complete but is still coming in. The reports at hand do give ground for concern. It is quite possible that questions may be raised affecting the security of the hemisphere which might well call for an exchange of information and views between the American republics."

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

On February 22, 1944 it was announced that the Honorable Frank P. Corrigan, American Ambassador to Venezuela, had succeeded the Honorable Charles W. Taussig as chairman of the special delegation which had been designated by the President¹ to represent the United States at a celebration at Ciudad Trujillo between February 23 and March 3, 1944, commemorating the first centennial of the proclamation of the independence of the Dominican Republic.

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 4, 1943, p. 394, and Feb. 12, 1944, p. 180.

General

AMERICAN SEAMEN AND THE FOREIGN SERVICE

*By Frances M. Dailor*¹

Since December 1941 the number of seamen serving aboard American ships in foreign operation has increased approximately from 50 thousand to 150 thousand. During that period more than 10 thousand shipwrecked American seamen have been repatriated from foreign ports. These figures give some indication of the increased responsibilities which have faced American consular officers at seaports. The primary duty of these officers is the protection of American seamen and shipping, the most ancient function of the American Consular Service.

The work of consular officers has been complicated not only by the increased number of cases but also by the antiquated nature of the laws under which these cases must be administered.² The care and repatriation which consular officers furnish American seamen is based upon a seaman's official "condition of destitution". An American seaman who is in fact destitute is entitled to relief and repatriation at the hands of a consular officer regardless of the cause of his destitution. The statutes provide further that two classes of seamen are destitute regardless of the amount of money in their possession: (1) shipwrecked seamen and (2) those who have incurred illness or injury in the service of an American vessel.

The statutes in themselves are clear enough, but conditions which have evolved since their enactment have rendered their administration compli-

cated. For example, the "shipwreck law"³ provides that the wages of a seaman shall cease with the loss of a vessel and the seaman shall be considered destitute. This was not illogical in the days when the law was enacted. Each ship at that time was usually an individual enterprise and adventure which one person or group of persons financed, and, if the vessel were lost, the owners were frequently almost as destitute as the seamen. Therefore no further wages could be paid by the owners and the only way to get the men home was to have the Government assume responsibility.

Today fleets of ships fully covered by insurance are operated by responsible corporate entities and the seamen's wages continue after shipwreck. Despite the fact that seamen may not be actually destitute after the loss of their vessel, they are still legally destitute and the Government is responsible for their care and repatriation.

It is further stipulated by statute⁴ that such seamen are to be cared for and repatriated "in the most reasonable manner". This cannot be interpreted generally to mean housing at a first-class hotel and repatriation by airplane. Thus a consular officer who is obliged to repatriate a shipwrecked seaman finds himself bound by law to repatriate "in the most reasonable manner" a "destitute" seaman who is drawing full pay. This often fails to satisfy a seaman who could himself afford better accommodations and means of travel.

In 1937 and 1938 the United States Maritime Commission adopted regulations providing that seamen serving aboard vessels owned or subsidized by the Maritime Commission should be cared for and repatriated by the operators. This started a trend toward assumption of responsibility by the large shipping concerns, which soon carried, as a matter of course, protection and indemnity insurance to cover these liabilities.

The seamen's unions furthered the trend by concluding bargaining agreements with the operators

¹ The author of this article is in charge of the Seamen's Section of the Shipping Division of the Department of State.

² Among the basic laws which contain provisions for the protection of American seamen are an act of Apr. 14, 1792 (1 Stat. 254), an act of Feb. 28, 1803 (2 Stat. 203), and an act of June 7, 1872 (17 Stat. 262). References to these acts and to other relevant legislation will be found in 46 U.S.C. §§ 593, 678, and 679.

³ Derived from the act of June 7, 1872.

⁴ Derived from the act of Feb. 28, 1803.

which provided for care and repatriation of seamen on a considerably higher scale than that possible "by the most reasonable means" as provided by law. Thus seamen became accustomed to excellent accommodations in port and during repatriation. Since the advent of the war, American consular officers have been faced with a legal responsibility to furnish some 10 thousand American seamen with care and repatriation in a style to which their involuntary guests were not and did not care to become accustomed.

The War Shipping Administration, which controls all American shipping at the present time, came to the rescue with operations regulations which provided for care, repatriation, and cash advances to be furnished by the operators. Foreign Service officers may furnish destitute American seamen clothing, subsistence, hospitalization, and repatriation but have no authority to disburse government funds in cash advances unless the operators deposit funds therefor with the Department.

The necessity for depositing funds obviously causes delay, and to seamen coming ashore after days in an open boat a package of cigarettes is often more essential than a suit of clothes. Many crews have been furnished cigarettes and candy bars from consuls' personal funds because the consuls could not ask the seamen to wait until the requirements of the regulations should be met. The War Shipping Administration regulations provide that upon arrival ashore after shipwreck seamen may receive advances of \$50 each from the operators' agents.

The resourcefulness of American consular officers has been tested many times during this war. From February 1 to September 30, 1942, 2,954 seamen survivors—American, Allied, and Asiatic—passed through one port which had very limited housing facilities, limited food supplies, and inadequate recreation facilities. The Consulate was faced with the task of securing for the seamen proper medical attention, sufficient food and shelter, and the earliest possible transportation. The Consul and Vice Consuls were occupied day and night for weeks meeting the needs which the situation demanded.

About a year ago, there were for over a month 200 shipwrecked American seamen in the Azores

along with approximately 100 shipwrecked seamen from other United Nations vessels. Supplies of clothing, food, and recreation facilities were sorely taxed. Transportation was almost impossible to obtain, and instead of the usual week or ten days before repatriation, six weeks elapsed before the Consul succeeded in returning all the men to the United States. As a result of this experience, the Red Cross and War Shipping Administration have assisted in increasing the supplies of clothing, toiletries, and means of entertainment in that area so that a similar situation, if one should arise, will be more adequately met.

One Consul in South America received word that a number of American seamen survivors had landed on a remote shore of Brazil. In his own words, "Our first consideration was to locate the survivors and carry food, clothing and medical assistance to them, our secondary consideration was to get them to civilization where they could be properly cared for . . ." The Consul with two Navy doctors departed in a Navy plane. He continues:

"Upon arriving at São Luiz, Maranhão, we found it impossible to communicate with Parnaíba, Piauí and could get no further information as to the actual whereabouts of the survivors. We therefore continued on some 250 miles endeavoring to pick up Barreirinhas. At about 4 p.m. we put the plane down at a point indicated on the map as Barreirinhas. Here we ran aground, getting off only with difficulty because of a falling tide. On taking off again we barely escaped cracking up because of the rough water. The pilot decided not to risk the ship again by going on to Parnaíba and insisted upon returning to São Luiz. From there we cabled . . . for a Baby Clipper . . . It was not until 3:30 p.m. of the following day . . . that the heavier Baby Clipper arrived at São Luiz. We loaded aboard the meager supplies of clothing and food we had been able to buy in São Luiz and went on to Parnaíba where we spent the night. The pilot had a report that there was not sufficient water and runway at Barreirinhas and had decided not to go in but to return to Belém in the morning. This left us in a position of being within striking distance of the survivors with supplies and medical help but unable to get to them. We explored the possibilities of renting a sea-going

tug but were advised it could not get over the sand bar at the mouth of the river on which the town is located. After some discussion and local inquiries as to the water at Barreirinhas the pilot of our Baby Clipper decided to risk a landing if a preliminary survey from the air were favorable. . . .

"We started out again at 4 a.m. . . . and after considerable searching actually found the town and with it an excellent piece of quiet and deep water for landing and take-off. We landed at approximately 7 a.m. The doctors took care of the injured men at once. In the meantime food and clothing was distributed. We found it practicable to get the men away while we had the plane as a means of transportation. Consequently we got the first plane-load off to São Luiz at 8:30 a.m. I returned with the first group to São Luiz where the Consular Agent . . . had made arrangements to use the Air Transport Command's barracks and mess hall at the airport. These were not quite completed and it was necessary to buy mattresses and kitchen utensils; also it was necessary to organize a mess."

These are only a few examples of the problems which have been faced by American consuls during the past three years.

Since the beginning of the war, several agencies of the United States Government besides the Consular Service have taken an interest in American seamen. The War Shipping Administration, with its huge task of operating American ships, has representatives abroad whose responsibilities include keeping crews intact and filling vacancies without delay. The Army and Navy have concerned themselves with disciplining merchant seamen whose actions appear to endanger the war effort or the safety of a vessel. Merchant Marine Hearing Units have been established at United States and foreign ports by the United States Coast Guard for the purpose of promoting, demoting, or disciplining merchant seamen.

The hearing units at foreign ports are particularly helpful to American consuls in the present situation because they may take definitive action where consular officers may not. An American consular officer may, for sufficient cause, remove any crew member from a vessel and return him to the United States, or he may hold any member

for grand jury, but he does not have power of trial and punishment. Removing a seaman from a vessel in a foreign port has never been encouraged, and it is even less desirable now when ship movement is so important in the war effort. On the other hand, discipline is equally essential to the efficient operation of American ships. By virtue of its authority to issue or rescind American seamen's papers, it is possible for the United States Coast Guard to exert control over American sea-going personnel, and to exert that control near the scene of action.

A procedure has been set up under established rules of practice whereby reports of misconduct are investigated by a Coast Guard Hearing Unit, consisting of a hearing officer and an examining officer, as soon as possible after the alleged misconduct has occurred. The seaman is given every opportunity to defend himself and may be assisted by a lawyer, ship delegate, Coast Guard officer, or any person he desires. If the seaman is found not guilty, the case is closed. If he is found guilty, his license or certificate may be suspended for a period of time or revoked entirely. In some cases the sentence is suspended and the seaman placed on probation.

A report of the United States Coast Guard Merchant Marine Hearing Unit at New York reveals that the 8,808 new cases investigated by the unit from February 15 to December 31, 1943 affected only 2.58 percent of the estimated total merchant-marine personnel arriving at New York during that period. These figures indicate a proportionately high good-conduct record on the part of American seamen.

The Coast Guard Hearing Units also have authority to examine licensed officers and certificated men for raises in grade and advancement. In this way seamen who show outstanding ability or diligence may be promoted en route rather than at the completion of a voyage which may last for months.

Thus it is apparent that the American Consular Service, the War Shipping Administration, the Army, the Navy, and the United States Coast Guard are all concerning themselves with the men of the merchant marine, dovetailing their functions in order that the Merchant Marine may contribute most effectively in the greatest movement of ships and supplies in history.

The Department

INFORMATIONAL ACTIVITIES AND LIAISON

Departmental Order 1229 of February 22, 1944¹

[Released to the press February 23]

PURPOSE OF ORDER

It is the purpose of this Order to: (I) reassign certain informational functions as set forth in Departmental Order No. 1218 of January 15, 1944, which is amended accordingly; (II) establish an additional division in the Office of Public Information; and (III) establish in each Office of the Department a point of liaison for several related purposes, including an improved informational service to American missions abroad, aid to the Department's public informational work, and policy guidance to Federal agencies having informational programs that involve foreign policy and relations.

I. REASSIGNMENT OF CERTAIN INFORMATIONAL FUNCTIONS

Special Assistant to the Secretary—Press Relations

The Special Assistant to the Secretary, Mr. McDermott, as the Secretary's principal assistant in matters concerning the Department's relations with the press, shall have responsibility for: (a) liaison between the Department and the domestic and foreign press, including the conduct of the press conferences of the Secretary, the Under Secretary, and other officials of the Department; (b) liaison between the Department and other agencies of the Government, particularly the Office of War Information, the Office of Censorship, the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and the public relations bureaus of the War and Navy Departments, in connection with the current operations of such agencies relating to the dissemination abroad of information regarding the war effort, where such information is of an immediate news character; (c) clearance, in consultation with the appropriate officers of the Department, of speeches submitted to the Department by the Office of War Information and the Coordinator of Inter-Ameri-

can Affairs, and submission of speeches by the Department to the Office of War Information for clearance as may be required; (d) coordination of the Department's relations with agencies concerned in psychological warfare and related activities, including representation of the Department on the Board of Overseas Planning for Psychological Warfare of the Office of War Information; and (e) preparation and distribution within the Department and to the Foreign Service of clippings, daily press summaries and bulletins bearing upon foreign relations.

Mr. Homer M. Byington and Mr. Lincoln White are hereby designated Executive Assistants to Mr. McDermott.

The Division of Current Information is hereby abolished.

To assist Mr. McDermott in carrying out his responsibilities (a) in connection with the current operations of other agencies relating to the dissemination abroad of information of an immediate news character regarding the war effort and (b) for the coordination of relations with agencies concerned in psychological warfare, a Special Assistant shall be designated in each of the four geographical Offices. This Special Assistant may be the same as, and in any case will work in association with, the chief information liaison officer prescribed in section III of this Order.

The Special Assistant to the Secretary, Mr. McDermott, shall be a member of the Department of State Policy Committee and of the Committee on Postwar Programs.

The routing symbol for the office of the Special Assistant, Mr. McDermott, is SA/M.

The Motion Picture and Radio Division, Office of Public Information

The Motion Picture and Radio Division, Office of Public Information, shall act as liaison between the Department and other agencies in connection with the current operations of such agencies relating to overseas motion picture and radio programs, and dissemination abroad of printed fea-

¹ Effective Feb. 21, 1944.

tures and other informational material which is not of an immediate news character.

The functions and responsibilities of the Informational Unit of the former Division of Current Information/Liaison are hereby transferred to the Motion Picture and Radio Division.

The functions and responsibilities on the matters mentioned above, which were formerly exercised by the Latin American Unit of the former Division of Current Information/Liaison, are hereby transferred to the Motion Picture and Radio Division.

The responsibility for liaison with the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs concerning the operations of the Coordination Committees and the transmittal of communications between the Coordinator's Office and the Committees, previously exercised by the former Division of American Republics, is transferred to the Motion Picture and Radio Division.

Postwar Information Policies

The Office of Public Information shall be responsible for coordinating the Department's interests in, and for participating with other Departments and agencies of the Government in the formulation of policies relative to post-war overseas informational activities.

II. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIVISION OF PUBLIC LIAISON, OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION

There is hereby established in the Office of Public Information a Division of Public Liaison, which shall be responsible for:

(a) The Department's relations with private groups and organizations interested in the formulation of foreign policy;

(b) The collection and analysis of materials relating to public attitudes on foreign policy questions;

(c) Assistance to the officers of the Department in the public interpretation of foreign policy; and

(d) Handling of correspondence expressing public views on foreign policy (transfer of functions from the Division of Research and Publication).

Mr. Richard W. Morin, Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of Public Information, is hereby designated temporarily Acting Chief, and

Mr. S. Shepard Jones is hereby designated Assistant Chief of the Division of Public Liaison.

The routing symbol of this Division shall be PL.

III. INFORMATIONAL LIAISON REPRESENTATIVES AND THEIR DUTIES

A chief informational liaison officer shall be designated in each Office of the Department by the Director thereof, subject to the approval of the Director of the Office of Departmental Administration. He shall be provided with the assistance needed to effectuate this Order.

Informational Servicing of Missions

For the purpose of strengthening the flow of information to each of the missions, including confidential information about developments of crucial interest in other parts of the world, there is hereby established the Information Service Committee, which shall be composed of a representative from Mr. McDermott's office and the chief informational liaison officers from each of the following Offices: American Republic Affairs, European Affairs, Far Eastern Affairs, Near Eastern and African Affairs, Public Information, and Foreign Service Administration. The Director of the Office of Foreign Service Administration shall act as chairman of the Committee.

The representatives of the geographical Offices shall ordinarily give full time to the task of obtaining and collating information drawn from Divisions of their Offices, and from other Offices in the Department, which may usefully be made known to the heads of missions throughout the world as well as to appropriate officers in the Department. These representatives, subject to the direction of the Directors of their Offices, shall advise on the selection of information for transmission to the particular missions with which the Office is concerned.

It shall be the duty of the Information Service Committee (acting where necessary with the informational liaison officers in all the Offices of the Department) to aid in supplying the missions and the Department with pertinent information. Especially (taking account of the material which already is being prepared and transmitted regularly) the Committee shall supplement this ma-

terial by systematic, highly selective, confidential summaries of developments involving all parts of the world which should be known to the heads of missions.

The Secretary and the Under Secretary will designate an officer in their Offices to communicate to the Committee over-all information not available through other channels which is essential to the objective of supplying the heads of missions with information.

The Chairman of the Committee shall take care that the summaries are prepared and distributed to the missions on a weekly schedule. The summaries shall also be supplied to the Secretary, the Under Secretary, the members of the Policy Committee, and the Chiefs of Divisions in the four geographical Offices. In addition to the special and confidential service just described, it shall be the general duty of the Committee to survey the entire flow of information from the Department to the missions, in whatever form, and to initiate action for improving this service.

Liaison with the Special Assistant, Mr. McDermott

It shall be the duty of the informational liaison officers to keep the Special Assistant to the Secretary, Mr. McDermott, and officers designated by him, currently informed as to all developments within their Offices.

Liaison with the Office of Public Information

It shall be the duty of the informational liaison officers, individually or as a group, upon request, to advise and assist the Director of the Office of Public Information on matters within the scope of that Office.

E. R. STETTINIUS, JR.

**RESIGNATION OF THOMAS K. FINLETTER
AS SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE**

[Released to the press February 23]

The Acting Secretary of State at his press and radio news conference on February 23 informed correspondents that he had accepted with regret the resignation of Mr. Thomas K. Finletter as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State.

The text of the letter from Mr. Finletter to the Acting Secretary of State follows:

“DEAR ED:

“I tender my resignation as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State.

“My service in the Department of State has been to me a most gratifying experience, and I leave with real regret.

“I am indeed sorry that circumstances now compel me to end my most pleasant association with Secretary Hull, yourself and the other members of the Department.

“With all best wishes, I am,

“Sincerely yours,

“THOMAS K. FINLETTER

“FEBRUARY FIFTEENTH, 1944”

The text of the reply of the Acting Secretary of State to Mr. Finletter follows:

“FEBRUARY 22, 1944.

“DEAR TOM:

“It is with deepest regret that I have received your letter of February 15th tendering your resignation as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State.

“The Secretary and I greatly appreciate the splendid service you have rendered the Department during the past three years. Your contribution to our work in the field of Foreign Economics has been of inestimable value and I am sorry that the pleasant relationship which has existed between us must come to an end. Your work here has extended through the most difficult formative period in which wartime economic policies and programs in the foreign field had to be devised and then worked out in collaboration with other representatives of this Government and with other governments. To this task you brought imagination, resourcefulness and great energy.

“In reluctantly accepting your resignation to become effective on March 9, 1944, I understand the force of the reasons which has led to your decision and wish to express the gratitude of the Secretary and the Department for all that you have done. May I add also my own personal word of appreciation and my best wishes for your future happiness and success.

“Sincerely yours,

“EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.”

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

By Departmental Order 1230 of February 23, 1944, effective February 7, 1944, the Acting Secretary of State designated Mr. Sidney Alexander Mitchell as Chief of the Liberated Areas Division, to succeed Mr. Herman B. Wells.

By Departmental Order 1231 of February 23, 1944, effective February 22, 1944, the Acting Secretary of State designated Mr. Charles W. Yost as Executive Secretary of the Policy Committee.

Treaty Information

PROMOTION OF INTER-AMERICAN CULTURAL RELATIONS*Bolivia*

The Department of State has received a despatch from the American Embassy at La Paz reporting that on October 14, 1943 the Bolivian Congress gave its approval to the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations signed at Buenos Aires December 23, 1936. According to the despatch, the convention was promulgated by the Bolivian Government on November 29, 1943.

PROMOTION OF HISTORICAL STUDIES, PERU AND VENEZUELA

The Director General of the Pan American Union has informed the Secretary of State that on January 24, 1944 the Government of Peru registered with the Pan American Union a Convention between Peru and Venezuela Concerning the Promotion of Historical Studies signed at Lima on November 11, 1942, which became effective on November 27, 1943 upon the exchange of ratifications at Caracas on that date.

PERMANENT COURT OF ARBITRATION

[Released to the press February 23]

The President has approved the designation of the Honorable Henry L. Stimson and Mr. Michael Francis Doyle as members on the part of the United States of the Permanent Court of Arbitration for new terms of six years each, which will terminate on February 7, 1950. These designations are in accordance with the provisions of the Hague conventions of July 29, 1899 and October 18, 1907.

The Court was first established in 1900 and its members constitute a panel of competent jurors from which arbitrators may be chosen by states parties to a dispute to pass upon that controversy. Members, acting as national groups, are also entitled to nominate candidates in the election of judges in the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Each signatory power can select a maximum of four members. The membership on the part of the United States on the Permanent Court of Arbitration is now as follows:

Manley O. Hudson, of Massachusetts (term expires March 9, 1949)
 Green H. Hackworth, of Kentucky (term expires March 9, 1949)
 Henry L. Stimson, of New York
 Michael Francis Doyle, of Pennsylvania

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Inter-American Highway: Agreement Between the United States of America and Panama—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Panamá May 15 and June 7, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 365. Publication 2059. 3 pp. 5c.

Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and Brazil—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Washington March 14, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 372. Publication 2063. 3 pp. 5c.

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The War

UNITED STATES PROGRAMS FOR THE PROMOTION OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING WITH OTHER PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

[Released to the press February 29]

There follows the text of a report from the Acting Secretary of State with an accompanying memorandum, to the end that the act approved August 9, 1939, entitled "An act to authorize the President to render closer and more effective the relationship between the American republics", may be amended to permit the development of similar programs of mutual understanding and cooperation with other nations of the world.¹

FEBRUARY 21, 1944.

THE PRESIDENT:

I have the honor to submit with a view to its transmission to the Congress, if you approve, a bill to amend the act approved August 9, 1939, entitled an Act "To authorize the President to render closer and more effective the relationship between the American republics." The purpose of the amendment is to authorize extension to other nations of the world of programs to promote mutual understanding and cooperation in general character similar to that developed and maintained with the American republics under the authority of the existing legislation.

1. The act approved August 9, 1939 (Public No. 355, 76th Congress) authorized appropriations whereby the President was enabled to utilize the services of the Departments, agencies and independent establishments of the Government in carrying out the purposes set forth in the treaties, resolutions, declarations and recommendations signed by the twenty-one American republics at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, held at Buenos Aires in 1936, and at the Eighth International Conference of American States held at Lima, Peru in 1938. This act

¹ The report and the memorandum were transmitted to Congress by the President with a message of Feb. 29, 1944 (see H. Doc. 474, 78th Cong.)

also authorized the creation of advisory committees composed of leaders of American thought and opinion to provide essential guidance and to enlist widespread cooperation on the part of private as well as government agencies in formulating a concrete program.

Under the authority of Public No. 355, funds have been appropriated to the Department of State for "Cooperation with the American Republics", which funds are in turn allocated to the separate Departments, agencies and establishments for the purpose of carrying out specific projects relating to the other Americas.

The coordination and integration of these projects into one concrete program is carried out through the Interdepartmental Committee for Cooperation with the American Republics, which approves individual projects on the basis of their contribution to the furtherance of more effective relationships in the broad divisions of economic, social, scientific and cultural fields.

2. The last of these programs, as it relates to the other American republics, developed and maintained pursuant to Public No. 355, is centered in the Department of State. Close cooperation has been maintained with the program carried forward by the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs through a joint committee which has met weekly to consider and correlate all Government activities in this field. For the present year, in accordance with an exchange of letters of August 12 and 14, 1942, between the Under Secretary of State and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, there has been transferred to the Department of State responsibility for those activities having long-range implication which in the past have been carried on by the Office of the Coordinator. The purpose of this transfer is to place the cooperative program of the Government on a permanent basis.

3. The present scope of the program under the direct supervision of the Department of State is indicated by the following brief summary of activities.

Exchange of persons. Primary emphasis has been placed upon the increase of mutual understanding through personal relationships between leaders of thought and opinion in all fields. The exchange of persons has in the past included visits to the United States of persons of influence in the press and professions, education and the sciences from the other American republics, and a reciprocal southward movement, as well as the exchange of students, interns and professors.

The Department has cooperated with the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in exchanges related to the important fields of health and sanitation, of commerce, industry and agriculture.

American centers. A substantial part is played in the development of continental solidarity by the local institutions in the principal cities of the other American republics, such as American institutes and libraries at Mexico City, Bogotá, and Rio de Janeiro. Their membership includes nationals as well as resident citizens of the United States. Among their activities are the teaching of English; maintenance of libraries of United States books and periodicals; sponsorship of radio programs, concerts, lectures and exhibits representing the United States; aid in the selection and orientation of students and other persons who plan to travel or study in the United States; and publication of articles on American life and civilization. American institutes have been formed in twenty-two important cities of the other American republics and in addition well equipped American libraries have been set up in Mexico City, Montevideo, and Managua.

Publications. To promote a broader knowledge and understanding of American life, books and publications are a medium of highest value. The Department has cooperated with the Office of the Coordinator and with other agencies in meeting increasingly numerous requests from libraries, universities and other institutions for materials on the United States. More than 100 outstanding titles in the fields of history, biography, technical

works and social studies have already been translated or are in process of translation and publication. Thousands of volumes and copies of periodicals in English have also been distributed in answer to requests—a movement which has great significance in the light of the rapidly growing study of English.

Motion pictures and radio. Motion pictures are the world language of today and serve to reach all classes of people in foreign countries with the story of the United States. During recent months educational documentary films procured in cooperation with the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs have reached audiences totaling more than two million persons monthly. Showings have been made through schools, universities, hospitals, army and navy officials, labor groups, government officials, political clubs, professional men and other groups of adults and children.

The radio is an indispensable instrument for creating an understanding of the United States, particularly among the "masses" of foreign countries. The Department has cooperated in this field with the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, the Office of War Information, and the national and other broadcasting companies in the United States.

Reciprocal aspects of the program. A program for better understanding must be a two-way process. It is as essential to inform the people of the United States concerning the other American republics and other countries, as it is to inform those nations about the United States. Accordingly, the Department has sought, with marked success, to enlist the active cooperation of the educational, intellectual, civic and related institutions and organizations—both governmental and private—of the United States.

4. That progress has been made toward the establishment of closer and more effective relations among the American republics is indicated by their unity of thought and action at the conferences of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics at Habana in July of 1940, and again at Rio de Janeiro in January of 1942; and by the general support of the policy of hemispheric solidarity by the peoples of the twenty-one nations.

Reports on the basis of approximately four years of operations substantiate the conclusion that the fostering of closer relations through the facilities of an educational and intellectual interchange has been an important factor in the success of the broad program both to the extent that mutual knowledge and understanding have been increased and to the extent that cooperation in the economic, scientific and social fields has thereby been facilitated.

5. As transportation and communications have progressed, economic interdependence, political interaction, social intercourse and intellectual exchange have increased among all peoples.

This circumstance, in turn, has not only added to the knowledge of peoples about one another but also emphasized the need for an ever better understanding between them.

To achieve this end, many of the nations instituted "cultural programs," involving the study and teaching of foreign languages, the exchange of scientific information, books, films and art objects, and the interchange of students, teachers and technical experts. Some of these programs have been carried on under governmental guidance, others have been spontaneous undertakings of private initiative.

As an outgrowth of this general situation, the United States undertook under the Authority of the Act of August 9, 1939 to initiate under the guidance of the Department of State, with cooperation from other Government agencies and private organizations a program to promote mutual understanding with the other American republics.

However, from the outset an attempt was made to supply the demands for international exchanges which came from all parts of the world. Informative educational films were supplied, in addition to the other American republics, to such countries as Belgium, South Africa, Canada and Switzerland, although in numerous other instances the Department was unable to accede to requests for films.

Since the bulk of the Department's funds for international exchanges came from appropriations authorized under Public No. 355 (and therefore restricted to use in relation to the American republics), the program for the other areas of the world was necessarily developed on a very limited scale.

6. The changing world situation and the entrance of the United States into the war intensified the need for cooperative programs for certain areas outside the other American republics. In January, 1942, a program with China was initiated on a limited scale by means of a grant from the President's Emergency Fund. The three basic activities then inaugurated and carried forward during the 1943 fiscal year have been: (1) The provision of technical and educational leaders to China; (2) The extension of aid to Chinese students in the United States thus augmenting China's supply of skilled technicians; and (3) the furnishing of certain urgently needed informational materials such as microfilms of scholarly and scientific articles and books, and documentary and educational motion pictures.

7. Apart from the intensification of the cooperative program on an emergency basis necessitated by the conduct of the war, the widening horizon of international responsibilities opened to the United States by the war and its probable effects requires for the future a continuing and coordinated program to promote mutual understanding with other peoples. Provisions of the lend-lease agreements already negotiated commit the signatory governments to continuing collaboration and cooperation for an indefinite period after the cessation of hostilities. A program underlying and supporting these cooperative efforts, recognized as an important factor to their success in wartime, would be no less vital in the period of postwar adjustment.

If the past decades have brought close contacts among those peoples having similar interests, the postwar world, with increased facilities for transportation and communication, will undoubtedly see these contacts grow both more numerous and more continuous.

Programs of this character are an effective means of achieving international, hence national, security. Measures which spread an understanding of the democratic way of life and diffuse scientific knowledge useful in organizing it, may be made the support of political and economic peace measures. In this connection it should be emphasized that the amelioration of the lives of common men is actually achieved only as they learn new ways of doing things. Thus the cooperative program may provide means of creating necessary conditions for orderly and peaceful

development. In providing the world's peoples with the means of doing better for themselves, the American people will be creating conditions favorable to the development of their own way of life; and in this prospect alone is true national security.

Since these cooperative activities provide the means of social advancement to peoples in the shape of books, trained persons, and other means of diffusing knowledge, they do not excite either political antipathy, or fear of foreign domination, or dread of interference with domestic politics. As non-political and non-patronizing activities, they are truly the means of implementing a foreign policy of a democratic people whose national interest is the maintenance and orderly development of their democracy.

8. From the foregoing it may be seen that a twofold need exists. First, it is evident that there is an urgent need for a constructive program of long-term and continuing character, not only with the republics of the Western Hemisphere but on a world-wide basis. Secondly, it is desirable that activities developed in furtherance of the program should not be inaugurated merely on an opportunistic basis as crises arise but should be part of a considered and integrated plan.

To ensure the formulation of a suitable and comprehensive program and its effective operation, funds should be provided in one appropriation administered under the direction of one responsible agency.

In developing the program applicable only to the American republics which was authorized under Public No. 355, it is believed that suitable machinery has been set up for the centralization of appropriations, the concentration of directive responsibility and the most effective coordination of effort. Public No. 355 as now worded does not authorize the appropriation of funds for the carrying on of an active cooperative program beyond the republics of the Western Hemisphere. The limitations of Public No. 355 also preclude the use of the valuable advisory committees, already functioning in relation to the program in the Americas, for dealing with the preliminary studies of programs for other regions. Such guidance would be of inestimable benefit at this time in laying the

groundwork on which the permanent post-war structure might be erected as well as in meeting the urgent current needs of the war period.

I have the honor, therefore, to recommend that the Congress be requested to enact legislation amending Public No. 355, in order to authorize extension of the program therein comprehended to any other country, countries or regions, in furtherance of the objectives of the United States in the present war and in the peace to follow.

A draft of the proposed legislation is enclosed for your convenience.

Respectfully submitted,

E. R. STETTINIUS, JR.
Acting Secretary of State

[Enclosure]

A BILL To amend the Act approved August 9, 1939, entitled, An Act "To authorize the President to render closer and more effective the relationship between the American Republics."

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Act entitled an Act "To authorize the President to render closer and more effective the relationship between the American Republics," approved August 9, 1939 (53 Stat. 1290), is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof the two following sections:

"SEC. 3. The President is also hereby authorized, subject to such appropriations as may be made available for the purpose, to develop and maintain, under the direction of the Secretary of State, such cultural and cooperative programs with other countries of the world as he may consider justified in furtherance of the purposes of the United States in the present war and in the peace to follow; and to create and utilize to such extent as may be necessary, subject to the foregoing limitations respecting salary, travel, and expenses, advisory committees for assistance in the development of such programs.

"SEC. 4. The title of this Act is hereby corrected to read, and it may be cited as 'An Act to promote, through mutual understanding with other peoples, more effective cooperation for a durable peace'."

ADDRESS BY JOSEPH C. GREW AT BOSTON'S 1944 RED CROSS WAR FUND RALLY¹

[Released to the press February 29]

At a recent luncheon in Washington, in which well over a thousand people participated and approximately a thousand more had to be turned away, honoring Miss Mabel T. Boardman for her great service of over 40 years to the American Red Cross and to the District of Columbia Chapter of the Red Cross, the Chief Justice of the United States in his address of tribute said:

"Few women have been so showered with honors as has this gracious lady. . . . But, far more significant to her and to us than any of these well-deserved honors are the shattered lives that have been rebuilt because of her efforts—the pain and suffering that have been made easier to bear because she has helped the Red Cross to fulfil its great possibilities.

"Now, in the nation's hour of greatest need, her grand conception is bearing its finest fruits. In collecting life-saving blood plasma, in making millions of garments and surgical dressings, in bringing renewed courage to our service men on every shell-torn battlefield of the world, the Red Cross has reached the pinnacle of its service. It is little wonder that so many of these men and their relatives and friends at home are saying, 'Thank God there is an American Red Cross.' . . .

"You may well be proud that such a woman is the founder of your organization. Proud, yes. But you should be humble also, when you look upon the example she has set. She has given to you and to all Americans a heritage that is to be treasured above earthly possessions. She has shown us the true significance of that genuine philanthropy which knows no bounds of friendship or enmity, of wealth or poverty. She has implanted in us a new conception of human understanding, of brotherly love, of compassion, and of humanitarian service. That, my friends of the Red Cross, is Mabel Thorp Boardman—and that is the American Red Cross."

¹ Delivered in Boston, Mass., Feb. 29, 1944, at the rally held by the Boston Metropolitan Chapter of the Red Cross. Mr. Grew, formerly American Ambassador to Japan, is now Special Assistant to the Secretary of State.

I have quoted these words of Chief Justice Stone because they so aptly and so poignantly and so powerfully convey not only his tribute to a great lady but his conception of the mission of the Red Cross—its work, its achievements, and its goal of splendid service to humanity. Now, once again, our opportunity and what I conceive to be our high duty of supporting that enlightened service lie before us. I do not believe that we—any of us—will be found wanting.

The world-wide character of the Red Cross is fittingly and significantly represented here tonight. Through all my service of some 40 years abroad I have watched the movement take root and develop in many countries. Strange as it may seem today, there was no stronger and more effectively constituted an organization of the Red Cross than in Japan. The opening paragraph of the constitution of the Japanese Red Cross Society states: "The object of the Japanese Red Cross Society, in accordance with the principles of the International Treaties and in conformity with those of the Red Cross Societies of the Powers, is to care for the sick and wounded of *both belligerents* in time of war. . . ." And the constitution of the Japanese Junior Red Cross opens with the words: "The Admonition given by H.I.H. Prince Kan-in, Honorary President of the Japanese Red Cross Society, says that the object of the Junior Red Cross Organization is to infuse into the minds of little boys and girls the spirit of universal love and the fundamentals of hygiene; to practice health habits and foster love for children of all parts of the world. . . . The Junior Red Cross has a collaborative object in that it follows the path of universal love in word and in deed; it strives hard for humanitarian training, and works for contribution toward the peace of mankind. It is a world organization, spiritual in nature, bound together with this object, and the Japanese Junior Red Cross is but a link of the chain. To be instrumental to an organ of international culture is a distinguished feature possessed by the Junior Red Cross. In a word, the Japanese Junior Red Cross . . . has the characteristic of serving as a means for training one's self, in personal expe-

rience, self-government, community life and international education."

Those words were not written and adopted with tongue in cheek. I knew those Red Cross people well. Alas, if the military authorities in Japan had allowed their own Red Cross to function as it was organized and equipped and intended to function, the fate of our American fighting men and civilians in prison camps in Japan and the Philippines might have been a very different story. In Japan's methods of warfare and in the minds of the Japanese military there is no room for humanity.

Ladies and gentlemen, the pleasure and privilege of meeting and addressing you tonight are great. It is right and proper, I think, that in this hard-edged life of ours, sentiment should occasionally be given expression, and my own sentiment for Boston, the city of my birth and youth, and for you, the people of Boston, is very deep. James Grahame expressed that feeling well: "What strong, mysterious links enchain the heart to regions where the morn of life was spent." It is with that mutual bond very much in mind that I appeal to you tonight. My own life has been closely associated with the Red Cross in many lands abroad and, as a one-time member of the Central Committee, at home. The proceeds from my book *Report From Tokyo* were given wholly to the Red Cross, and I say this merely to indicate that I would not ask you to do something that I was not willing to do myself. Other authors, including Mr. Stettinius, our Under Secretary of State, have done the same.

I think we ought to look at the question of giving generously to the Red Cross from a very simple angle: Our young men are fighting, and some of them are dying, to preserve the security of our country and for civilization and humanity. They are, all too often, suffering the agonies of almost unbearable pain. The Red Cross can and does relieve that pain; often it can and does make the difference between life and death. We—you and I—cannot actually be at the side of our boys and men abroad in their hour of need, and yet we *can* be at their side, not only spiritually but effectively, through the Red Cross. Let us all, every one of us, have that thought in mind when we are deciding what our contribution is to be. Let us stop

to think what that extra dollar, or that extra hundred dollars, or that extra thousand dollars are going to mean in practical terms to our fighting men on the far-flung battle-fronts and to their dependents at home.

And now, my friends. I turn to another subject. The Red Cross is the fundamental theme of this great meeting, but I have been asked to say something tonight about our war with Japan, and in that war, just as in our war with Germany and the other enemies, the Red Cross has an essential role to play.

In traveling about our country almost steadily since our return from Japan a year and a half ago, I have found almost everywhere a very dangerous lack of appreciation of the fighting-power and staying-power of the Japanese enemy. There exists among our people far too much wishful thinking, optimism, and complacency to the effect that once we have defeated the Germans we shall mop up the Japanese in short order. Given the situation and the facts as they exist, I cannot see any sound basis for that sort of thinking.

Please let me for a moment try to set forth some of those facts.

First of all, consider the tremendous extent of territory which Japan has seized and controls today: Korea; Manchuria; all of north China and vast areas in other parts of China; most of the China coast with its many ports offering shipbuilding facilities; the islands of Formosa, Hainan, Hong Kong; Indochina, Thailand, the Malay Federated States, and Singapore; Burma and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands; the Philippines; the Dutch East Indies, especially the great islands of Borneo, Java, and Sumatra; and in the Pacific Ocean many an island fortress which must be reduced or bypassed before we can continue our inexorable approach to Tokyo. The fighting-power that we are now able to concentrate and the training, grit, and determination of our fighting men are progressively and intensively showing their inevitable results in the Central and Southwest Pacific. But let us not delude ourselves by thinking that we have not still a long, long way to go, or that blood, sweat, and tears will not be our portion for a long time to come.

I wonder how many of our people visualize that far-flung extent of Japanese-controlled territory

that I have described, or who realize that within those areas there exists practically every raw material that any country could need or desire for national power—oil, rubber, tin, metals, medicines, foodstuffs—practically nothing is lacking. Furthermore, the Japanese control an almost unlimited supply of native labor—both skilled and unskilled—which we know by long experience that they will use as forced labor to process these raw materials. And the Japanese will let no grass grow under their feet in developing that power, for they are hard-working, pertinacious, thorough, and scientific in their methods.

To keep that great prospective empire of theirs together, the Japanese need two further assets: one is ships, the other time—ships to ferry manpower and supplies between the homeland and the outlying areas, time to consolidate and to develop their territorial gains. We are attending to their shipping daily, as published statistics show. I myself do not know just what their present ship-building capacity is; perhaps none of us knows in precise terms. Certainly they are building a great many wooden ships in the many ports under occupation; with equal certainty we are sinking their ships with heartening regularity. I would say, as I often have said, that shipping is the "Achilles' heel" of Japan, but we shall have to sink a great deal more tonnage before the end comes in sight.

As for time, that is the most important factor in all their calculations, and that is the asset we cannot afford indefinitely to allow them, for time to them means strength.

People often ask me if the morale of the Japanese will not eventually crack, especially when we begin to bomb Tokyo and their other cities. Nobody can with certainty predict the effects on Japanese morale of such eventual bombing, simply because the Japanese people have never yet been subjected to persistent bombing from the air, and it is dangerous to try to measure Japanese mentality and psychology by Western yardsticks. But it is important, in this connection, to remember two things: first, that the Japanese people throughout history have been subjected to and have become inured to great and continual cataclysms of nature—earthquakes, typhoons, fire, and floods; and secondly, that their military police ex-

ercise a strangle-hold on the people probably surpassing in effectiveness even the strangle-hold of the Gestapo on the people of Germany. I have always believed that German morale will crack in due course and that once that process begins it will be like a snowball rolling downhill, gathering momentum as it goes. I do not believe that the morale of the Japanese will similarly crack until we are very near the end of the road, if then. Some authorities disagree with me on this point. I may be wrong, and I hope I am wrong. The point cannot be proved yet. But let us not allow our calculations to be based upon or influenced by any assumption of an eventual disintegration of Japanese morale or any hope of domestic revolt of the Japanese people against their military masters. They are a fanatical people.

What I do think will happen is this. At a given moment, when the Japanese military leaders know beyond peradventure that they are beaten or that they cannot win, they will more than likely try to get us into an inconclusive and compromise peace. The pill, if presented, will be beautifully sugar-coated. It might involve an offer to retire their forces from a large or considerable part of the occupied areas, on condition that we leave their homeland undisturbed. It might go farther still. But unless we continue our determination to destroy that Japanese military machine and caste and cult once and for all, and unless we take effective measures to prevent that cancer of aggressive militarism from digging underground and secretly building itself up again, as it did in Germany, our sons and grandsons will be fighting this war over again in the next generation. The show-down must be complete and irrevocable.

I believe that our people should look on this war with Japan not through rosy glasses but with a full realization that the struggle may be very much longer and tougher than our optimists conceive. We should all appreciate the fact that the Japanese, as I have repeatedly said, are fanatics and that they are capable of fighting to the last cartridge and the last man wherever they may be. In the outlying areas they will have taken every step to render those areas so far as possible self-sustaining against the day when, through the process of attrition of their shipping, they can no longer count on connection with the homeland, putting in

order the industrial and war plants already available, erecting new ones, building up their stock piles. Knowing the nature of that enemy, I would not care to base my calculations on the wholesale unconditional surrender of those far-flung forces even after the investment of Tokyo by our troops. I do not think that we can afford to take *anything* for granted. I think that we should be prepared for a long, hard pull, perhaps much longer and harder than our people are able today to visualize, and I think that, as time goes on, our determination to cut out that cancer of aggressive militarism wholly and permanently should steadily be intensified, never for a moment relaxed, so that Japan can never again threaten world peace.

In fighting this war Japan has an important practical advantage in the power to place any Japanese in any position for any work at any time. The technical advantages of such a system are apparent, for it affords flexibility and elasticity in the war machine on the home-front.

Mr. Matsuoka, the Foreign Minister of Japan who took Japan into the Axis, used to tell me that the United States and the other democracies were incapable of waging total war. This is the day of the totalitarian powers, he said; Germany will unquestionably win the war and will control all of Europe, while Japan will continue to be the "stabilizing power" in greater East Asia. Democracy, he added, is bankrupt. The American people are effete and flabby from too much luxury and are dependent on their creature comforts. The democracies, Matsuoka went on, could never make the sacrifices required for total war. In any case, he said, your domestic troubles and disunity would also make it impossible for you to wage total war. These were not necessarily his precise words but they represent the drift of his argument. In reply I said to him that little did he understand the fundamental spirit of our democracy. I said that we hated war and were generally not prepared for war, and when war came we were likely to start in low gear with the wheels grating and grinding in the initial stages. What he could not realize, however, was that when war was forced upon us we would rapidly move up through the gears, and that when once we slipped into high gear with the component parts of our great machine working in unison nothing in the world could

stop us. I remember Mr. Matsuoka looking at me to see if I were joking, and when he saw that I was grimly serious he shook his head as if he were talking to a child.

We have already proved Mr. Matsuoka's lack of comprehension of the spirit of our democracy and of the American people. We have proved that our so-called "effete" democracy is capable of waging total war.

I have been asked my reaction to the reported atrocities of the Japanese military in the Philippines and elsewhere. Neither you nor I can interpret our reaction in words, for our feeling is far too deep to try to express it in language. Our anger against those responsible for these dastardly acts is inexpressible, and at the same time I know that we are all filled with the deepest sorrow for those who have suffered and that our profound sympathy goes out to their families at home. Such mediaeval barbarism and unspeakable atrocities can have only one effect in our country—namely, to arouse our people from coast to coast and make us fight the war with grimmer determination than ever before.

As to the reaction in Japan to these revelations, we must realize that the Japanese people will not be allowed to know the facts through their own authorities or controlled radio or press, and they will have no opportunity to learn the facts from abroad since they are allowed no short-wave radio sets and no access to foreign newspapers. I remember many talks with prominent Japanese before Pearl Harbor, even with members of the Imperial Diet, who knew nothing about the rape of Nanking, or the insensate cruelties and indiscriminate bombing of undefended Chinese towns and villages and of our religious missions in China, or the indignities purposely inflicted on American citizens by the Japanese military. Similarly, those people will not be permitted to know of the terrible acts of their armed forces in the Philippines, in Thailand, and elsewhere.

Now, as to the reaction of the Japanese military leaders to these revelations. Strange as it may seem, the Japanese, even the military leaders, do not like to be regarded by the rest of the world as uncivilized. I think that the reaction upon individuals will differ according to the character and personality of the individual. Some will be

merely angered, and I doubt whether the perpetrators themselves will have any feeling whatever of repentance. But others, including perhaps some of the highest leaders, may and probably will feel a sense of shame or, at the very least, a desire to offset in future this record of barbarism. The Japanese people as a whole would, if they knew the facts, be utterly ashamed. They showed this sense of shame in a spontaneous and nation-wide demonstration when their military fliers sank our ship the *Panay* in 1937. The mere revelation of these atrocities cannot and will not change the inherent character of any Japanese, but it is conceivable and I hope possible that the higher military leaders may gradually, if not immediately, take steps to insure better treatment for our compatriots who are still prisoners in their hands.

In broadcasts to Japan I am appealing for that spark of chivalry in war which in times past the Japanese have asked us to associate with the Bushido code.

Before closing this statement, I should like to read to you a letter. You may perhaps have read it already because it was published in the *Reader's Digest* about a year ago, but it cannot be read too often, and I only wish that every man, woman, and child in our country could know it by heart. It is called "Testament of Youth" and it is a letter from a United States naval flier, missing since the Battle of Midway, to a friend at home:

"The Fates have been kind to me. When you hear people saying harsh things about American youth, you will know how wrong they all are. So many times that now they have become commonplace, I've seen incidents that make me know that we were never soft, never weak.

"Many of my friends are now dead. To a man, each died with a nonchalance that each would have denied was courage, but simply called a lack of fear and forgot the triumph. If anything great or good has been born of this war, it should be valued in the youth of our country, who were never trained for war, who almost never believed in war, but who have, from some hidden source, brought forth a gallantry which is homespun, it is so real.

"Out here between the spaceless sea and sky, American youth has found itself, and given of itself, so that a spark may catch, burst into flame,

and burn high. If our country takes these sacrifices with indifference it will be the cruelest ingratitude the world has ever known.

"You will, I know, do all in your power to help others keep the faith. My luck can't last much longer. But the flame goes on and only that is important."

Ladies and gentlemen, if we are to keep that flame going on, and if we are to take those sacrifices not with indifference and cruel ingratitude but with a grim determination to justify those sacrifices, and furthermore if we are to afford the millions of American men in our armed forces every chance of living through this conflict, I know of no better way to do it than by opening our hearts to the humanitarian appeal of the Red Cross in order that we may keep the Red Cross at the side of our fighting men and their dependents at home in their hour of greatest need. Tonight our thoughts are, above all else, with the success of the coming Red Cross campaign. I appeal to you all who are here tonight, and to all citizens of Boston as well, to open your hearts and to *give*.

LEND-LEASE SHIPMENTS TO THE SOVIET UNION

[Released to the press by the Foreign Economic Administration February 28]

Leo T. Crowley, Foreign Economic Administrator, made the following statement on February 28:

Shipments of munitions and other war supplies under lend-lease from the United States to the Soviet Union in 1943 were almost double 1942 shipments.

A total of 8,400,000 tons¹ of supplies with a dollar value of \$4,243,804,000 was exported to the Soviet Union from the United States from the beginning of the Soviet-aid program in October, 1941 to January 1, 1944. Shipments in 1943 totaled 5,400,000 tons, compared to 2,800,000 tons in 1942. Shipments in December 1943 were the largest on record for any single month in the history of the Soviet-aid program.

Several hundred more cargo ships left with lend-lease supplies for Russia in 1943 than in 1942, and 99 percent of the ships sailing in 1943 reached port

¹ U.S. tons of 2,000 pounds.

in safety. In 1942 twelve out of every hundred ships taking supplies from the United States to the Soviet Union were sunk by enemy submarines, surface raiders, or bombers. In 1943 only one ship out of every hundred was lost.

Up to January 1, 1944 more than 7,800 planes had been sent from the United States to the Soviet Union. Over 3,000 of these were ferried all the way by air to the U.S.S.R. More than 5,000 planes were sent in 1943, twice as many as in 1942. Virtually all planes sent to the Soviet Union have been combat types. In 1943 they were principally Bell Airacobra P-39 fighters, Douglas A-20 attack bombers, and North American Mitchell B-25's.

We have sent, up to January 1, 1944, over 4,700 tanks and tank-destroyers and over 170,000 trucks, 33,000 jeeps, and nearly 25,000 other military motor vehicles. Twice as many trucks were sent in 1943 as in 1942 to help meet the advancing Red Army's transport and supply needs. For the men of the Red Army over 6,000,000 pairs of army boots have been shipped, together with large quantities of food needed to maintain the Soviet Army rations. Food shipments have consisted principally of wheat and flour; dried peas and beans; sugar; canned, cured, and dehydrated meat; powdered milk, dried eggs, and dehydrated vegetables; and substantial quantities of lard, pork fat, and vegetable oils, including oleomargarine. We have sent over 580,000 tons of these fats and oils, which have been especially important to the Soviet Army rations during the winter offensives carried on in sub-zero weather. In addition to these fats and oils we have sent 50,000 tons of butter especially for use in Soviet Army hospitals. Food shipments to the Soviet Union up to January 1, 1944 totaled 2,250,000 tons. In 1943 these food shipments were about 3½ percent of our total food supply in the same period.

In addition to food, we have sent 9,000 tons of seeds under lend-lease to aid Soviet production of its own food in new agricultural regions and in devastated areas reconquered from the Germans.

Other shipments to the Soviet Union up to January 1, 1944 have included:

177,000 tons of explosives for manufacture into bombs and shells in Soviet factories;

1,350,000 tons of steel, 384,000 tons of aluminum, copper, and other metals, and \$400,000,000 worth of industrial equipment, machinery, and machine tools for the production of Soviet artillery, tanks, planes, and other war weapons; and

740,000 tons of aviation gasoline and other refined fuels and lubricating oils needed for the Soviet Air Force and for the ground fighting on the Eastern front.

In order to reduce the Soviet's need for refined fuels from the United States, 145,000 tons of refinery equipment have been sent for installation in the U.S.S.R. American engineers in the U.S.S.R. are now assisting in the construction of these refineries which will, when completed, produce large additional quantities of aviation gasoline and other refined products from Russia's own oil resources.

Similarly, the United States shipped to the Soviet Union in 1943 used and new machinery for a complete tire factory that can produce at least 1,000,000 military-truck tires annually from the Soviet's own synthetic and natural rubber supplies.

TWENTY-SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RED ARMY

[Released to the press by the White House February 29]

The President received on February 29, 1944 the following message from Marshal Stalin:

"I ask you to accept my sincere thanks for your friendly congratulations¹ on the occasion of the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Red Army and on the successes of the armed forces of the Soviet Union in the struggle against the Hitlerite invaders. I am strongly convinced that the time is near when the successful struggle of the armed forces of the Soviet Union, together with the armies of the United States and Great Britain, on the basis of the agreements reached at Moscow and Tehran, will lead to the final defeat of our common enemy, Hitlerite Germany."

¹ BULLETIN of Feb. 26, 1944, p. 204.

SUSPENSION OF OIL SHIPMENTS TO SPAIN

[Released to the press March 4]

On January 28, 1944 the Department of State issued a press release of which the opening sentence reads as follows: "The loadings of Spanish tankers with petroleum products for Spain have been suspended through action of the State Department, pending a reconsideration of trade and general relations between Spain and the United States in the light of trends in Spanish policy."¹

The foregoing statement related only to Spanish tanker loadings in the Caribbean area. In addition to the suspension of tanker loadings, the Department decided to suspend the granting of export licenses for the shipment of packaged pe-

troleum products, including lubricants, from the United States, so long as the tanker loadings were suspended. In taking this decision, however, the Department did not cancel outstanding licenses for packaged petroleum goods. The packaged goods in question are being shipped under licenses granted before the suspension took effect.

Incidentally, under the petroleum program in effect prior to the suspension of loadings, Spain would ship from United States ports less than 3 percent of her total limited liftings in the Western Hemisphere. The amount of lubricants being shipped on the vessel referred to in the morning press of March 4² represents a very small portion of the petroleum products which Spain could otherwise import were it not for the suspension of loadings.

American Republics

UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE EXISTING ARGENTINE REGIME

Statement by the Acting Secretary of State

[Released to the press March 4]

The foreign policy of the United States since the beginning of the war has been governed primarily by considerations of support to the prosecution of the war. That applies to our relations with any country. That is the single uppermost point in our policy and must remain so.

Prior to February 25, the Argentine Government had been headed by General Ramírez. On January 26, 1944 his Government broke relations with the Axis and indicated that it proposed to go further in cooperating in the defense of the Western Hemisphere and the preservation of hemispheric security.

Suddenly, on February 25, under well-known circumstances, General Ramírez abandoned the active conduct of affairs. This Government has reason to believe that groups not in sympathy with the declared Argentine policy of joining the defense of the hemisphere were active in this turn of affairs.

The Department of State thereupon instructed Ambassador Armour to refrain from entering official relations with the new regime pending developments. This is the present status of our relations with the existing Argentine regime.

In all matters relating to the security and defense of the hemisphere, we must look to the substance rather than the form. We are in a bitter war with a ruthless enemy whose plan has included conquest of the Western Hemisphere. To deal with such grave issues on a purely technical basis would be to close our eyes to the realities of the situation.

The support, by important elements inimical to the United Nations war effort, of movements designed to limit action already taken could only be a matter of grave anxiety.

The United States has at all times had close ties with Argentina and the Argentine people. It has consistently hoped, and continues to hope, that Argentina will take the steps necessary to bring her fully and completely into the realm of hemi-

¹ BULLETIN of Jan. 29, 1944, p. 116.

² Philadelphia *Record*.

spheric solidarity, so that Argentina will play a part worthy of her great traditions in the worldwide struggle on which the lives of all of the American countries, including Argentina, now de-

pend. The policies and types of action, present and future, which would effectuate this full cooperation are fully known in Argentina, as in the rest of the hemisphere.

The Department

APPOINTMENT OF TWO ADDITIONAL ASSISTANT SECRETARIES OF STATE

[Released to the press February 29]

There follows the text of the report to the President of the Acting Secretary of State and the accompanying draft of proposed legislation to provide in the present emergency, and for so long thereafter as may be necessary, for the appointment, with the consent of the Senate, of two additional Assistant Secretaries of State.¹

FEBRUARY 21, 1944.

THE PRESIDENT:

I have the honor to submit, with a view to its transmission to the Congress, if you approve, a bill to provide for the appointment of two additional Assistant Secretaries of State in the present emergency and for so long thereafter as may be necessary.

The purpose of this bill is to facilitate the conduct of the foreign relations of the United States and to assure in these times an instrumentality fully adequate to assist in directing the foreign policy of the Government, and to protect and promote the national interests.

Just as maintenance of good relations and mutual understanding between the United States and other nations makes indispensable an effective Foreign Service, legislation to accomplish which has recently been recommended to the favorable consideration of the Congress, it is indispensable that the Department of State be organized effectively to handle the greater complexity of problems, many of a new, delicate and unprecedented character, which today require solution in the broad domain of foreign relations.

Certain readjustments possible within the framework of existing legislation have already

¹The report and the draft of proposed legislation were transmitted to Congress by the President with a message of Feb. 29, 1944 (see H. Doc. 456, 78th Cong.)

been made to assure an organization equal to the responsibilities given to the Department to discharge. These readjustments are not a complete solution of all the administrative problems of the Department. Studies are constantly being conducted looking to improvement. The adjustments recently undertaken will, however, achieve a substantial broadening and intensification of the work and a higher coordination of political, economic, and other activities, than has heretofore been possible.

Further to implement the machinery of the Department of State, I consider it not only desirable but imperative that authority be given in the present emergency and for so long thereafter as may be necessary to provide additional Assistant Secretaries of State, to whom may be delegated broad authority and ample facilities to participate in the formulation of policy and to direct the carrying forward of those activities in world affairs determined to be in furtherance of national interests and the attainment and maintenance of a stable peace.

The proposed legislation has been referred to the Director or the Bureau of the Budget, who has informed the Department that its transmission to the Congress is not inconsistent with the Government's fiscal program.

Respectfully submitted.

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, Jr.

Acting Secretary of State

[Enclosure]

A BILL To authorize the appointment of two additional Assistant Secretaries of State.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in

Congress assembled, That there shall be in the Department of State an Under Secretary of State and not to exceed six Assistant Secretaries of State, each of whom shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and who shall serve without numerical designation of rank.

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

[Released to the press March 3]

Mr. Frederick William Nichol has been appointed a Special Adviser on Administration to the Secretary of State. He will assist the Department in implementing the reorganization plan announced on January 15, 1944.

The Foreign Service

ADAPTATION OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE TO ITS NEW NEEDS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

There follows the text of a report of the Acting Secretary of State to the President on the need for amending the act of February 23, 1931, as amended, for the grading and classification of clerks in the Foreign Service:¹

FEBRUARY 21, 1944.

THE PRESIDENT:

I have the honor to submit, with a view to its transmission to the Congress, if you approve, a bill to amend the act of February 23, 1931, as amended by the act of April 24, 1939 (22 U.S.C., secs. 3, 5, 7, 11, 12, 15, 23a, b, c, f, and g).

The principal purpose of this bill is to assure a Foreign Service adequately equipped to deal with the complexity of problems and wider scope presented in modern international affairs. Maintenance of good relations and mutual understanding between the United States and other nations makes indispensable an effective Foreign Service; a Foreign Service trained to cope with political, social, and economic problems, as well as adequately to represent this country's interests, to protect its nationals, to foster its trade.

The problems of the present emergency in the field of international relations and the practical certainty that they will continue either permanently or for an indefinite period after the war have impelled the Department to give careful consideration to the adaptation of the Foreign Service to its new needs and responsibilities and particularly to seek legislative authorization to permit

the recruitment of a permanent corps of highly qualified technical and scientific officers. The need for this has been emphasized by the present situation in the other American Republics and elsewhere throughout the world, which has led the Department to provide its missions and certain important consulate posts temporarily with highly specialized personnel not available in sufficient numbers in the ranks of the Foreign Service. This has been made possible through the establishment of the so-called Auxiliary Service, to which appointments have been made for the duration of the war.

It is expected that the volume and importance of regular diplomatic and consular work will continue to increase. The Foreign Service as now constituted is qualified to carry on this work fully and effectively; furthermore, it contains within its ranks some officers who have become specialists in finance, economics, research, public relations, and other technical fields. However, new and unprecedented personnel requirements in the field call for the services of a greater number of specially trained technicians than can be developed within the Foreign Service as presently organized. It is felt, moreover, that a certain number of these should be experts of high standing who have devoted themselves principally or exclusively to important work in their particular fields. Whenever such a specialist is needed, the Department should be in a position to seek the services of the best talent available, and the attached bill provides the necessary legislative authorization for meeting that need.

¹ The report was transmitted to Congress by the President with a message of Feb. 29, 1944 (see H. Doc. 457, 78th Cong.)

Recruitment for the Foreign Service was discontinued immediately after Pearl Harbor. Today its strength is below normal and continuing to decrease, while the Department is faced with increased responsibilities of the greatest importance, now practically all of which are directly related to the war effort. When peace comes there will for a number of years have been no new entry. Officers who have remained at their stations as a matter of duty during the war will retire. To cope with the personnel problem which will confront the Department, and to increase the efficiency of the Service, is the principal purpose of the legislation proposed.

It is not enough that new recruits be obtained, who in time will be enabled to discharge the heavy responsibilities of the post-war period, but immediately hostilities cease and more normal relationships are resumed a corps of technical and scientifically trained personnel will be essential to augment the remaining corps of Foreign Service officers, whose ranks, further depleted by deaths, resignations, and retirements, will be inadequate to the multiple responsibilities of the peace.

Officers of this category will be appointed to the Foreign Service by the Secretary of State, after such examination as he might find suitable. They will be appropriately commissioned with designations appropriate to their duties in the Foreign Service establishments to which they may be assigned. They will be recruited from the existing Foreign Service Auxiliary; the administrative, fiscal, and clerical personnel of the Foreign Service; or from among the personnel of the Department of State or that of other departments of the Government. It is anticipated that in some instances the services of specialists will be required for only a temporary period and provision is made enabling these to be obtained by detail from other departments. However, there will clearly be a continuing need for a permanent group of highly trained technicians.

The accompanying bill would permit the rapid recruitment, as and when needed, of these specialists, and would afford at the same time to qualified and experienced members of the administrative, fiscal, and clerical branch of the Foreign Service a broader field for advancement. Some of the latter employees have responsibilities equaling

those of certain career officers. As a result of long experience, they are experts in one or more fields such as office administration, citizenship and immigration work, shipping, and commercial and economic reporting. They would, under the provisions of this bill, be accorded salary classifications and official status commensurate with the character of their duties. It would also offer them an additional incentive to train themselves to qualify and by examination to become eligible for appointment as Foreign Service officers.

Various Members of the Congress in the course of hearings on appropriation bills have manifested repeatedly a strong interest in this group of employees, and it is believed when the provisions of this bill are enacted the Department will be enabled to attract the best talent available and to retain the valued services of existing personnel who merit recognition.

The bill presented to your consideration carries into the organic Foreign Service law, with minor changes, the provisions of the act approved June 26, 1930 (5 U.S.C. 118a) relating to allowances for living quarters. These allowances are now granted to enable officers of the Foreign Service effectively to represent this country abroad and to enable the making of wide contacts and to permit all American personnel to continue to maintain American standards of living. The allowances, as distinguished from salary, are premised on the varying conditions which obtain at the many duty stations and are essential to meet the extraordinary costs in maintenance of appropriate standards of living and in the performance of the public business. They are essential to the maintenance as well of a mobile, flexible, and fully democratic and efficient service.

Percentage limitations contained in the legislation now proposed for amendment as respects personnel in each class of the Foreign Service are removed as destructive of the initiative and morale of the younger officers, who, by reason of the existing restrictions, are or will be prevented from advancements due to the failure of new recruits to the service and the retention in the higher brackets of officers who but for the war would have applied for and been granted retirement. Removal of the percentage limitations is obviously necessary to prevent the service from becoming completely

frozen and to remove the serious threat to efficiency and morale.

The proposed bill provides for the bonding of Foreign Service officers, as well as other officers or employees of the Department of the Foreign Service, and recognizes in its amended form the pertinent provisions of the act approved December 29, 1941 (55 Stat. 875). The revision suggested has been drafted in collaboration with officers of the Treasury Department, to whom it is agreeable.

Other amendments of a minor character are proposed as matters of administrative convenience without in any way impairing the effectiveness of necessary controls over those now provided and in keeping with changed conditions and the provisions of the present bill.

Section 10 of the draft bill amends, agreeable to Reorganization Plan II of the President, section 31 of the act of February 23, 1931, to provide for representation on the Foreign Service Personnel Board of officers of the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture. It, moreover, removes the penalty attaching to acceptance of the position of Chief of the Division of Foreign Service Personnel in the Department, a penalty attaching today to no other position in the Federal Government, and one which as a matter of simple justice, as well as in the interest of good administration, should be removed. It is axiomatic that if an officer is to be chosen by reference to his special qualifications, character, and integrity to assume the responsibilities of this difficult post, he should be accorded the same right to future advancement that is held out to other Foreign Service officers who, while well qualified in various ways, may not combine the qualities and capacities which the Chief of the Division of Foreign Service Personnel must possess effectively and impartially to handle personnel. This officer is especially selected from among officers who have attained the highest grade in the classified service for a most difficult assignment in the Department, acceptance of which occasions loss of the allowances he would be accorded if he were assigned for field duty, and as the law presently provides, he further is denied the privilege of nomination as a minister or ambassador for a period of 3 years following termination of this assignment, even though he may have meritoriously acquitted his responsibilities. I feel confi-

dent that this amendment will have the unqualified approval of the Congress.

In addition, the amendment proposed will permit the Division of Foreign Service Personnel to be organized on a basis and scale adequate to cope with the personnel problems of the Foreign Service, which have long since outgrown the physical capacity of the Division as it has been possible to organize it under existing law. Provision is also made for the Director of the newly created Office of Foreign Service Administration of the Department.

This legislation would increase the cost of maintaining the Foreign Service but would enable strengthening of that service to serve economically and effectively the expanding needs of all Government departments and agencies in the foreign field. The scale of compensation of the clerical, administrative, and fiscal service will follow, insofar as practicable, the Classification Act of 1923 used by the Civil Service, since this would provide a broad and flexible system under which this personnel could be appropriately classified in accordance with their particular qualifications and experience. The special technical and scientific personnel would be appointed to classified grades within the Foreign Service structure commensurate with the candidate's age, qualifications and experience, and personnel of this category detailed for special duty would be paid as though they continued to serve in their regular civil-service positions. Personnel would, as a matter of equity, receive the allowances provided pursuant to the amended provisions of this bill and similar to those now granted Foreign Service officers under section 19 of the act of February 23, 1931 (22 U.S.C., sec. 12). Suitable retirement privileges would be provided for permanent (but not temporary) appointees through their integration into the Foreign Service retirement and disability system.

In the critical years ahead, the Government of the United States will need, and should have, a Foreign Service second to none. It has such a Foreign Service at the present time, and the proposed authority to provide it with a corps of highly trained experts and technicians, recruited from the best talent procurable, will enable it to discharge successfully all the new demands and responsibilities that will be placed upon it.

Representatives of the Department of State are prepared, at the request of the appropriate committees of the Congress, to supply additional detailed information with respect to the accompanying bill. It has been referred to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, who has informed the Department of State that there is no objection to its submission to the Congress.

Respectfully submitted.

E. R. STETTINIUS, Jr.
Acting Secretary of State

Treaty Information

EXCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS

United States and Iraq

The American Minister to Iraq transmitted to the Secretary of State, with a despatch dated February 17, 1944, an agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Iraq for the partial exchange of official publications, effected by an exchange of notes dated February 16, 1944.

Each of the notes is accompanied by a list of the official publications to be regularly exchanged by one Government with the other Government. Under the agreement new and important publications which may be initiated in the future are to be included in the lists for exchange without the necessity of subsequent negotiations. The official exchange office for the transmission of the publications on the part of the United States is the Smithsonian Institution, and on the part of Iraq the official exchange office is the Translation and Publication Section of the Iraqi Ministry of Education. The publications exchanged will be received by the Library of Congress on behalf of the United States and by the Public Library of Baghdad on behalf of the Iraqi Government. Each party to the agreement agrees to bear the postal, railroad, steamship, and other charges arising in its own territory, and to expedite the shipments as far as possible.

The agreement entered into effect on February 16, 1944.

United States and Afghanistan

The American Minister to Afghanistan informed the Secretary of State, by a telegram dated February 29, 1944, that by an exchange of notes of that date an agreement was concluded between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Afghanistan for the exchange of official publications.

INTER-AMERICAN INDIAN INSTITUTE

Dominican Republic

The Mexican Ambassador at Washington informed the Secretary of State, by a note dated February 15, 1944, that the Dominican Republic has notified the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mexico of its adherence to the Convention Providing for the Creation of an Inter-American Indian Institute, in accordance with the second paragraph of article XVI of that convention. The convention was opened for signature at Mexico City on November 1, 1940.

INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES

El Salvador

By a letter dated February 28, 1944, the Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State that the Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on January 15, 1944, was signed for El Salvador on February 18, 1944.

The convention was signed on January 15, 1944 for the United States of America, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Panama; on January 20, 1944 for Cuba and Ecuador; and on January 28, 1944 for the Dominican Republic and Honduras.

PROVISIONAL FUR SEAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

On February 26, 1944 the President approved an act entitled "An act to give effect to the Provisional Fur Seal Agreement of 1942 between the

United States of America and Canada; to protect the fur seals of the Pribilof Islands; and for other purposes" (Public Law 237, 78th Cong.)

The Provisional Fur Seal Agreement between the United States of America and Canada, referred to in the above-mentioned law, was effected by an exchange of notes signed in Washington on December 8, 1942 and December 19, 1942. Article X of the agreement provides in part as follows: "This Agreement shall enter into force on the day the President of the United States of America approves legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States for its enforcement, and the day the Government of Canada issues an Order in Council applying the provisions of the Agreement, or should the President's approval of the legislation and the issuance of the Order in Council be on different days, on the date of the later in time of such approval by the President or issuance of such Order in Council."

Legislation

A Bill To Amend the Organic Act of Puerto Rico: Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, United States Senate, 78th Cong., 1st sess., on S. 1407. November 16, 17, 18, 24, 25, 26, and December 1, 1943. iv, 605 pp.

To Amend the Communications Act of 1934: Hearings before the Committee on Interstate Commerce, United States Senate, 78th Cong., 1st sess., on S. 814. November 3, 4, 5, 9, 11, 12, 15-19, 22-24, 29-30; December 1-4, 6-10, 14-16, 1943. iv, 1022 pp.

Alaska Fishery Act: Hearing before a subcommittee of the Committee on Commerce, United States Senate, on S. 930, a bill to assure conservation of and to permit the

fullest utilization of the fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes. January 20, 1944. iv, 154 pp.

War and Post-War Adjustment Policy: Report on war and post-war adjustment policy submitted by Bernard M. Baruch and John M. Hancock to James F. Byrnes, Director, Office of War Mobilization, on February 15, 1944. S. Doc. 154, 78th Cong. iv, 108 pp.

Annual Report of the Alien Property Custodian: Message from the President of the United States transmitting the annual report of the Alien Property Custodian on proceedings had under the Trading with the Enemy Act, as amended, for the period beginning March 11, 1942, and ending June 30, 1943. H. Doc. 417, 78th Cong. vi, 166 pp.

Appointment of Two Additional Secretaries of State: Message from the President of the United States transmitting report of the Acting Secretary of State, and the draft of proposed legislation to provide in the present emergency, and for so long thereafter as may be necessary, for the appointment, with the consent of the Senate, of two additional Assistant Secretaries of State. H. Doc. 456, 78th Cong. 2 pp.

Amending Act Grading Clerks in the Foreign Service: Message from the President of the United States transmitting report from the Acting Secretary of State and the draft of proposed legislation to amend the act entitled "An Act for the Grading and Classification of Clerks in the Foreign Service of the United States of America, and Providing Compensation Therefor" approved February 23, 1931, as amended. H. Doc. 457, 78th Cong. 8 pp.

Closer Relationships Between the American Republics: Message from the President of the United States transmitting report from the Acting Secretary of State with an accompanying memorandum. H. Doc. 474, 78th Cong. 6 pp.

An Act To give effect to the Provisional Fur Seal Agreement of 1942 between the United States of America and Canada; to protect the fur seals of the Pribilof Islands; and for other purposes. Approved February 26, 1944. [H.R. 2924] Public Law 237, 78th Cong. 5 pp.

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MARCH 11, 1944

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The War

THE UNITED STATES AND IRELAND

United States Request for the Removal of Axis Diplomatic and Consular Representatives From Ireland

[Released to the press March 10]

The Secretary of State announced on March 10, 1944 that the American Government on February 21 had made a request to the Irish Government for the removal of Axis consular and diplomatic representatives whose presence in Ireland must be regarded as constituting a danger to the lives of American soldiers and to the success of the Allied military operations. The Irish Government has now replied that it is impossible for it to comply with this request. The text of the note delivered to Prime Minister de Valera on February 21, 1944 by the American Minister in Dublin, on instructions from the Department, reads as follows:

“Your Excellency will recall that in your speech at Cork delivered on the fourteenth of December, 1941 you expressed sentiments of special friendship for the American people on the occasion of their entry into the present war and closed by saying, ‘The policy of the state remains unchanged. We can only be a friendly neutral.’ As you will also recall, extracts of this speech were transmitted to the President by your Minister in Washington. The President, while conveying his appreciation for this expression of friendship, stated his confidence that the Irish Government and the Irish people, whose freedom is at stake no less than ours, would know how to meet their responsibilities in this situation.

“It has become increasingly apparent that despite the declared desire of the Irish Government that its neutrality should not operate in favor of either of the belligerents, it has in fact operated and continues to operate in favor of the Axis powers and against the United Nations on whom your security and the maintenance of your na-

tional economy depend. One of the gravest and most inequitable results of this situation is the opportunity for highly organized espionage which the geographical position of Ireland affords the Axis and denies the United Nations. Situated as you are in close proximity to Britain, divided only by an intangible boundary from Northern Ireland, where are situated important American bases, with continuous traffic to and from both countries, Axis agents enjoy almost unrestricted opportunity for bringing military information of vital importance from Great Britain and Northern Ireland into Ireland and from there transmitting it by various routes and methods to Germany. No opportunity corresponding to this is open to the United Nations, for the Axis has no military dispositions which may be observed from Ireland.

“We do not question the good faith of the Irish Government in its efforts to suppress Axis espionage. Whether or to what extent it has succeeded in preventing acts of espionage against American shipping and American forces in Great Britain and Northern Ireland is, of course, impossible to determine with certainty. Nevertheless it is a fact that German and Japanese diplomatic and consular representatives still continue to reside in Dublin and enjoy the special privileges and immunities customarily accorded to such officials. That Axis representatives in neutral countries use these special privileges and immunities as a cloak for espionage activities against the United Nations has been demonstrated over and over again. It would be naïve to assume that Axis agencies have not exploited conditions to the full in Ireland as they have in other countries. It is our understanding that the German Legation in Dublin, until recently

at least, has had in its possession a radio sending set. This is evidence of the intention of the German Government to use this means of communication. Supporting evidence is furnished by the two parachutists equipped with radio sending sets recently dropped on your territory by German planes.

"As you know from common report, United Nations military operations are in preparation in both Britain and Northern Ireland. It is vital that information from which may be deduced their nature and direction should not reach the enemy. Not only the success of the operations but the lives of thousands of United Nations' soldiers are at stake.

"We request therefore, that the Irish Govern-

ment take appropriate steps for the recall of German and Japanese representatives in Ireland. We should be lacking in candor if we did not state our hope that this action will take the form of severance of all diplomatic relations between Ireland and these two countries. You will, of course, readily understand the compelling reasons why we ask as an absolute minimum the removal of these Axis representatives whose presence in Ireland must inevitably be regarded as constituting a danger to the lives of American soldiers and to the success of Allied military operations.

"It is hardly necessary to point out that time is of extreme importance and that we trust Your Excellency will favor us with your reply at your early convenience."

Inability of United States To Sell Additional Merchant Ships to Ireland

[Released to the press March 11]

The text of a note delivered to Prime Minister de Valera on January 6, 1944 by the American Minister in Dublin, the Honorable David Gray, on instruction from the Secretary of State, follows:

"I have the honor to refer to recent efforts of the Irish Government, through its officials in Washington, to obtain additional merchant ships in the United States. Several weeks ago the Irish Shipping Limited, an agency of the Irish Government, entered into negotiations with the States Marine Corporation in New York for the purchase of the SS *Wolverine*, a vessel of approximately eight thousand tons under charter to the United States War Shipping Administration. Application was made to the Maritime Commission for approval of the proposed sale and the Irish Legation in Washington, in a note of December 4, requested the State Department to recommend to the War Shipping Administration that the application be approved.

"I am instructed to inform you that the State Department in consultation with the President has given this matter careful consideration and for the reasons set forth below has been unable to make the recommendation requested by the Irish Government. The United States Maritime Commis-

sion on December 7 denied the application for the proposed sale as not being in the interests of the United States.

"You will recall that in September 1941, in the face of a growing world shortage of shipping, the American Government made available to the Irish Government by charter two American merchant ships. These two ships have now both been destroyed and, in view of all the circumstances, we must assume they were destroyed by Axis submarines. The American Government understands that the *Irish Pine* (formerly the *West Hematite*) sailed from Ireland October 28, 1942 and failed to arrive at its destination and that the *Irish Oak* (formerly *West Neris*) was torpedoed on the morning of May 15, 1943 in open daylight and under conditions of good visibility. Although no definite information seems to be available regarding the precise manner of the sinking of the *Irish Pine*, the torpedoing of the *Irish Oak* appears to have been definitely established, as well as the fact that a German submarine was observed by the crew of the *Irish Oak* some hours prior to the sinking. The sinking of the *Irish Oak*, which you have rightly described as a 'wanton and inexcusable act', and of other Irish ships must be presumed in the absence of evidence to the contrary to be

the work of Axis submarines in their campaign of indiscriminate warfare against all ships whether belligerent or neutral.

"In chartering the *West Hematite (Irish Pine)* and the *West Neris (Irish Oak)* to the Irish Government the American Government was motivated by the most friendly considerations and by the sole purpose of helping the Irish Government and the Irish people to carry to their shores foodstuffs and other supplies of critical necessity. This, of course, constitutes only a part of the efforts of the American Government since the outbreak of the war to assist the Irish people in obtaining needed supplies. The chartering of these ships to the Irish Government represented a real sacrifice on the part of the United States at a time when shipping space was most badly needed. The Irish Government sailed these ships with distinct neutral markings and they carried supplies in no way connected with the war. The action of the Axis submarines in sinking these ships without warning is, therefore, to repeat your own language, a 'wanton and inexcusable act'.

"So far as the American Government is informed, the Irish Government has taken no steps

against the Axis Governments and, thus far, has offered no word of protest to the Axis Governments against these wanton acts. These repeated attacks on Irish ships appear to be conclusive proof, if further proof were needed, that the Axis powers are in fact making war upon Ireland while at the same time using Ireland's friendship to the detriment of the United Nations war effort. The loss of the *West Hematite (Irish Pine)* and the *West Neris (Irish Oak)* has harmed not only Ireland but the United States, to whom those vessels belonged, and the whole United Nations war effort.

"The fact that ships sailing under the Irish flag bear distinct neutral markings and travel fully lighted at night should make them immune from belligerent attack but in reality serves only to make them easy targets for Nazi submarines. Any further ships transferred to the Irish flag would be subjected to these same hazards.

"In view of the foregoing circumstances, it is regretted that the State Department cannot comply with your request that it recommend to the Maritime Commission the approval of the sale now in question."

American Troops in the British Isles

[Released to the press March 11]

The text of a message from the President to Prime Minister de Valera, transmitted to the Irish Minister in Washington on February 26, 1942 by the Acting Secretary of State, follows:

"I have received, through Mr. Brennan, Irish Minister in Washington, the text of your statement on January 27,¹ last, following the arrival of American troops in the British Isles.

"The decision to dispatch troops to the British Isles was reached in close consultation with the British Government as part of our strategic plan to defeat the Axis aggressors. There was not, and is not now, the slightest thought or intention of invading Irish territory or threatening Irish security. Far from constituting a threat to Ireland, the presence of these troops in neighboring

territory can only contribute to the security of Ireland and of the whole British Isles, as well as furthering our total war effort.

"I have noted in your previous statements expressions of gratitude for the long interest of the United States in Irish freedom. The special ties of blood and friendship between our two countries are recognized here no less than in Ireland and have never left us unconcerned with the problems and fate of Ireland.

"At some future date when Axis aggression has been crushed by the military might of free peoples, the nations of the earth must gather about a peace table to plan the future world on foundations of liberty and justice everywhere. I think it only right that I make plain at this time that when that time comes the Irish Government in its own best interest should not stand alone but should be associated with its traditional friends, and, among them, the United States of America."

¹ Not printed.

PETROLEUM QUESTIONS

Preliminary Discussions by the United States and the United Kingdom

[Released to the press March 7]

The Acting Secretary of State on March 7, 1944 made the following announcement, which is being issued simultaneously in Washington and London:

"The Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom are undertaking preliminary and exploratory discussions on petroleum questions. These discussions will be, in the first instance, on an expert technical level, and will take place in Washington."

The Acting Secretary of State stated that it is contemplated that these informal conversations with the British Government on problems of mutual interest relating to oil would lead at an early date to further conversations between the two Governments at a higher level. For this purpose the President has appointed a group, under the chairmanship of the Secretary of State, consisting of Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior; Robert P. Patterson, Under Secretary of War; James V. Forrestal, Under Secretary of the Navy; Charles B. Rayner, Petroleum Adviser of the Department of State; and Charles E. Wilson, Vice Chairman of the War Production Board.

In making the above announcement, the Acting Secretary of State stated that, should these conversations lead to conclusions, no decision affecting producing areas would be taken without consultation with the governments of the countries concerned. He also pointed out that this Government is at all times ready to discuss economic problems with other governments and, accordingly, will welcome discussions with the government of any other friendly country concerning petroleum questions of mutual interest.

EXCHANGE OF AMERICAN AND GERMAN NATIONALS

[Released to the press March 6]

The motorship *Gripsholm*, carrying nationals of the United States and of the other American republics being repatriated as the result of the exchange effected at Lisbon, left that port at 12:30

a.m. on Monday, March 6, 1944. After the departure from Lisbon the vessel had to anchor in the River Tagus on account of fog and did not put out to sea until 8:42 a.m., March 6.

In the absence of bad weather or other unforeseen delays, the *Gripsholm* should reach the United States about March 14 and may be expected to dock at Jersey City on March 14 or March 15, depending on the time of arrival.

A list of American passengers aboard the *Gripsholm* has been issued as Department of State press release 75, of March 11, 1944. There are also on board the *Gripsholm* more than 100 nationals of the other American republics.

THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF LEND-LEASE

[Released to the press March 11]

The Under Secretary of State made the following statement on the third anniversary of the passage of the Lend-Lease Act, March 11, 1941:

"In the great arsenal of fighting-power which the United Nations have created to destroy the forces of Axis tyranny, lend-lease and reverse lend-lease are major weapons. They were forged three years ago today, when the aggressors were winning all the battles and the freedom-loving nations of the world were in mortal peril. The weapons of mutual aid have been well tested in the fire of battle since that day. On the war fronts all over the globe—in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, and in the islands of the Pacific—it is the United Nations that are now winning the battles; it is the Germans and the Japanese that are meeting defeat. Together the United Nations are striking with greater and greater power.

"Lend-lease is more, however, than a piece of machinery for winning a war. It is a vital expression of the most important principle in international relations—the principle that free nations must stand together to preserve their freedom. I like to think of the Lend-Lease Act as a 'Declaration of Interdependence' among the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

"The only way the Axis powers can now escape total defeat is by dividing the strength of the

United Nations. I am confident that our enemies will fail in this last desperate defense. We have learned the bitter lesson of disunity. We shall not turn our backs on the principles of mutual aid and mutual trust which are today bringing us victory."

THE PROCLAIMED LIST: CUMULATIVE SUPPLEMENT 6 TO REVISION VI

[Released to the press March 11]

The Secretary of State, acting in conjunction with the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, the Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration, and the Acting Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, on March 11, 1944 issued Cumulative Supplement 6 to Revision VI of the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals, promulgated October 7, 1943.

Part I of Cumulative Supplement 6 contains 63 additional listings in the other American republics and 75 deletions. Part II contains 33 addi-

tional listings outside the American republics and 40 deletions.

[Released to the press March 11]

In connection with the deletion of Sulzer Brothers of Winterthur, Switzerland, from the Proclaimed List, the Department of State made the following announcement:

"The firm of Sulzer Brothers of Winterthur, Switzerland, was placed on the Proclaimed List by reason of the very substantial increase during the summer of 1943 in certain of its exports, notably marine diesel engines, to Axis countries. It was also included in the British Statutory List for the same reason. Since then, the United States Government and the British Government have received from the Swiss Government certain assurances regarding this firm's future, providing that the extraordinary exports which led to its being listed will not recur. In view of these assurances, the firm has been removed from the Proclaimed List and the Statutory List."

Africa

THE BRAZZAVILLE CONFERENCE OF FRENCH AFRICAN GOVERNORS JANUARY 30-FEBRUARY 8, 1944

"The Conference at Brazzaville is essentially the prologue of a work the chapters of which can only be written in France, but it is our duty to France—at present separated from its colonies and severed from currents of world opinion—to sketch here and now the broad outlines of the work to be done."

This statement regarding the Conference of French African Governors which was soon to be held at Brazzaville, French Equatorial Africa, was made by M. René Pléven, Minister for Colonies of the French Committee of National Liberation, during the course of an address before the Consultative Assembly at Algiers on January 14, 1944. The conference was to undertake preliminary exploratory deliberations with a view to formulating proposals and recommendations re-

garding future colonial policy which would be submitted to the French National Committee at Algiers but which would be acted upon finally only by the central metropolitan government established after the liberation of France.

Representatives of all the French colonies in Africa (including French Equatorial Africa, French Somaliland, French West Africa, Madagascar, and Réunion) participated in the conference, which convened on January 30, 1944. Also present were members of the Algerian, Moroccan, and Tunisian Governments, as well as 10 members of the Consultative Assembly, who acted as observers, and Algerian, Belgian, English, and Spanish journalists.

By February 8, 1944, the day on which the conference closed, the delegates had discussed and

adopted a number of proposals and recommendations for submission to the French National Committee at Algiers. It was suggested that the natives be given a greater part in mining, commercial, and transportation activities in order that they might be able to increase their purchasing-power. In this connection, consideration was given to the possibility of taking the heretofore unprecedented action of adopting restrictive immigration regulations, directed at undesirable Europeans, in order to protect native labor from undue European competition. In addition to discussing specific economic problems of this nature, the delegates also suggested the need for coordinating any planned economy with such international plans as might be formulated in the future.

Consideration was given to the problem of the representation of colonial French territories in the future constitutional organization of France, but no specific recommendation was made. When the related question of colonial administration was considered, however, it was suggested that the School for France Overseas should be reorganized in order to provide for the training therein of capable men from outstanding schools and universities, particularly men who had been members of the armed services.

Social-reform measures were discussed. One important recommendation which was adopted provided for the establishment of an Inter-African Health Bureau, the development of an over-all medical plan for French Africa, and the creation of a native medical corps. The delegates unanimously condemned the prevailing practice of polygamy and, being agreed that efforts should be made to improve the status of native women, suggested that such questions as the dowry system and marriage laws should be reconsidered by the proper authorities. The delegates also proposed that primary schools be established for the instruction of natives of both sexes and that, eventually, natives be trained as teachers.

In the field of justice, the recommendation was made that the present double-code system of French justice and native justice be replaced by a single penal code for all the French territories in Africa.

The delegates appear to have taken an important initial step in the direction of the fulfilment of

the objectives set forth by General de Gaulle in the opening address of the conference—namely, the study of the economic, political, social, and moral measures which could be adopted in each colony and territory in order to integrate more completely the progress and development of the native population with that of the white community and to bring the natives to the point where they would be able to participate in the management of their own affairs. While M. Pléven stated in the final address of the conference that, in connection with the economy envisaged, recourse would be had, if possible, to international agreements, the emphasis during the conference appears to have been on national activities rather than on plans for international cooperation.

The Department

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PERSONNEL UTILIZATION PROGRAM IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Departmental Order 1236 of March 10, 1944¹

PURPOSE OF ORDER

The purpose of this order is to promote within the Department effective personnel administration through the development of a personnel utilization program.

The President has requested the Civil Service Commission to establish within the various Federal Departments and Agencies an aggressive personnel utilization program which will secure better utilization of personnel throughout the Federal Government. The need of such a program has been greatly emphasized by criticisms directed at the Government for its alleged failure to utilize personnel effectively. A good personnel utilization program will—

1. Make better use of present personnel.
2. Improve personnel and administrative practices at all levels.
3. Reduce turnover through investigation, analysis and action on the many personnel and administrative phases of the problem.

¹ Effective Mar. 9, 1944.

The Civil Service Commission must allocate available personnel to those agencies which justify their recruiting requirements by establishing that maximum utilization of personnel is being observed. The primary condition for obtaining priorities for personnel from the Commission is that agencies submit quarterly reports starting March 31, 1944 showing that they are making full utilization of their manpower.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PERSONNEL UTILIZATION SECTION

There is hereby established within the Division of Departmental Personnel a Personnel Utilization Section which will have the responsibility for the development of a personnel utilization program in the Department. In this section will be centralized the responsibility for the continuous surveys in the personnel utilization program requiring careful planning, scheduling, and follow-through. These surveys are to be conducted at the operating levels and will be designed to ascertain employee and supervisory attitudes, to promote maximum use of skills and abilities, and to analyze and evaluate personnel and administrative practices currently employed in the divisions. As a result of these surveys confidential reports with recommendations will be submitted to the Division Chiefs. Analyses of these reports will give direction to the attainment of better supervisory and employee effort, productivity and morale.

Recommendations as a result of the personnel utilization program shall be worked out between the Chief of Departmental Personnel and the Divisions concerned. Matters involving recommended major changes as a result of the surveys shall be dealt with by the Director of the Office of Departmental Administration.

The Department's personnel utilization project has unlimited possibilities for developing effective personnel practices and for improving methods of administration. The success of the program will depend to a great extent upon the continuous cooperation of every member of the Department. Through improved personnel management, the personnel utilization project will assist every person charged with administrative or supervisory re-

sponsibility to perform his or her assigned functions more efficiently, effectively and economically.

I personally endorse this personnel utilization program and shall be interested in periodic reports of its progress. I am sure that all supervisory officers will welcome this assistance and that the Department will benefit from the results achieved.

E. R. STETTINIUS, JR.

Acting Secretary of State

CREATION OF PLANNING STAFF IN THE OFFICE OF FOREIGN SERVICE ADMINISTRATION

Departmental Order 1234 of March 6, 1944¹

In order to strengthen the Office of Foreign Service Administration to carry out effectively its responsibility under Departmental Order 1218, there is hereby created special staff in the Office of Foreign Service Administration for the purpose of rendering staff assistance on programming and planning with a view toward continual adjustment and improvement in the over-all administration of the Foreign Service. This staff shall assist the Director, under the immediate direction of a Deputy Director for planning, in carrying out the following responsibilities of the Office of Foreign Service Administration:

(a) Reviewing and evaluating projects, programs, and surveys originating in the Department or in other departments and agencies and to be undertaken by the Foreign Service;

(b) Making recommendations as to the number and character of Foreign Service personnel required for the execution of such projects, programs, and surveys;

(c) Making recommendations for the maintenance of the efficiency of Foreign Service personnel responsible for implementing the programs originated by other departments and agencies;

(d) Making recommendations, after consultation with other Offices and Divisions of the Department, particularly the Office of Economic Affairs and the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs, for improving the services rendered by the Foreign

¹ Effective Mar. 1, 1944.

Service to American agricultural, commercial, shipping, industrial, and other interests;

(e) Maintaining working liaison with the Office of Departmental Administration to assure effective coordination of Foreign Service and Departmental administrative policies and practices;

(f) Arranging, in collaboration with other Offices and Divisions of the Department, particularly the Office of Public Information, and with other departments and agencies, trade and other conferences and itineraries of returning Foreign Service and auxiliary Foreign Service officers; and

(g) Developing standards for the improvement of reporting from the missions and for the evaluation of Foreign Service reports.

Mr. Monnett B. Davis is hereby designated Deputy Director for planning in the Office of Foreign Service Administration. Mr. Horton Henry is hereby designated Chief of the planning staff in the Office of Foreign Service Administration.

E. R. STETTINIUS, Jr.
Acting Secretary of State

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

By Departmental Order 1235 of March 6, 1944, effective March 1, 1944, the Acting Secretary of State designated Mr. Laurence C. Frank as Chief of the Division of Foreign Service Administration.

American Republics

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

[Released to the press March 6]

There follows an exchange of messages between the President of the United States and His Excellency, Rafael L. Trujillo Molina, President of the Dominican Republic, on the occasion of the anniversary celebrating the centennial of Dominican independence:

FEBRUARY 27, 1944.

It gives me great pleasure on this historic anniversary celebrating the Centennial of Dominican Independence, to express to you and to the people of the Dominican Republic the hearty congratulations and best wishes of the people of the United States, who are privileged, through the official United States Delegation, to participate in the several patriotic and cultural events with which your Government and people are marking this significant and happy date.

The Dominican Republic has advanced far in these past hundred years along the paths of civilization and progress and it is now engaged with the other United Nations in a struggle to maintain open to the freedom-loving peoples of the world the opportunity for further progress along these paths.

Our common enemies will fight to the bitter end to prevent our inevitable victory. Not only on the field of battle do they oppose us. They are also endeavoring to sow disunity among us and thus to weaken our growing will and our mounting strength. Their efforts to divide us, one from another, can and must be destroyed through the unflinching determination of all of us to achieve and maintain that mutual understanding and appreciation which is the fountain of true cooperation.

I extend to Your Excellency my best wishes for your health and well-being.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

[Translation]

FEBRUARY 29, 1944.

I thank Your Excellency very sincerely for the message which you sent me on the occasion of the first centennial of the independence of my country, and I formulate my warmest good wishes for Your Excellency's personal happiness and for the prosperity of your glorious Nation. On such a great occasion I take pleasure in repeating to Your Excellency the unchangeable decision of my Government and of the Dominican people to go on fighting together with the Allied Nations until final victory is won against our common enemies, whose efforts shall never be able to destroy the spirit of firm solidarity existing between our two countries

and which is closer since the tragic hour of Pearl Harbor. Permit me, Excellency, also to express the hope which I cherish that all the nations of this continent may feel themselves more and more

closely bound to the nations which are fighting so heroically to assure to humanity a world based on foundations of justice, liberty, and democracy.

RAFAEL L. TRUJILLO

Treaty Information

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED KINGDOM REGARDING EXTENSION OF TIME FOR COPYRIGHT

[Released to the press March 10]

An agreement between the United States of America and the United Kingdom for an extension of time for fulfilment of the conditions and formalities for securing copyright during the present emergency was effected on March 10, 1944 by an exchange of notes between the British Ambassador and the Secretary of State.

The note from the British Ambassador to the Secretary of State is accompanied by a list of the British territories to which, together with Palestine, the agreement is to apply, and a copy of an Order in Council, published in the *London Gazette* of March 10, 1944, according copyright-extension privileges to authors and copyright proprietors of the United States. The note from the Secretary of State to the British Ambassador is accompanied by a copy of a proclamation issued on March 10, 1944 by the President of the United States pursuant to Public Law 258, 77th Congress (55 Stat. 732), according equivalent copyright-extension privileges to British authors and copyright proprietors in the British territories to which the agreement is to apply and to authors and copyright proprietors who are citizens of Palestine.

The texts of the above-mentioned notes and accompaniments are as follows:

*The British Ambassador in Washington to the
Secretary of State*

No. 144

BRITISH EMBASSY

WASHINGTON, *March 10th, 1944.*

MR. SECRETARY OF STATE,

The attention of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has been invited

to the Act of Congress of the United States of America approved 25th September, 1941, which provides for extending, on a reciprocal basis, the time for the fulfilment of the conditions and formalities prescribed by the copyright laws of the United States in the case of authors or proprietors of works first produced or published abroad who are temporarily unable to comply with those conditions and formalities because of the disruption or suspension of the facilities essential for their compliance.

By direction of Mr. Eden, I write to inform you that, by reason of the existing emergency, British authors and copyright proprietors of certain of His Majesty's dominions, colonies and possessions and citizens of Palestine (excluding Trans-Jordan) do at present lack, and since the outbreak of the war between the United Kingdom and Germany on September 3rd, 1939, have lacked the facilities essential to compliance with and to the fulfilment of the conditions and formalities established by the laws of the United States relating to copyright.

It is the desire of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that, in accordance with the procedure provided in the said Act of September 25th, 1941, the time for fulfilling the conditions and formalities of the copyright laws of the United States be extended for the benefit of (1) British nationals of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of the British territories named in the annexed list, and (2) citizens of Palestine (excluding Trans-Jordan), whose works are eligible to copyright in the United States.

With a view to assuring the Government of the United States of America of reciprocal protection for authors and proprietors of the United States, His Majesty the King has made an Order in Council, the text of which is annexed hereto, which will come into effect from the date on which the President of the United States shall proclaim, in accordance with the said Act of September 25th, 1941 that by reason of the existing emergency, British nationals of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of the British territories named in the annexed list, and citizens of Palestine (excluding Trans-Jordan), who are authors or copyright owners of works first produced or published outside the United States and now subject to copyright, *ad interim* copyright or renewal of copyright under the laws of the United States, are at present and since the outbreak of war between the United Kingdom and Germany on September 3rd, 1939, have been temporarily unable to comply with the conditions and formalities prescribed with respect to such works by the copyright laws of the United States.

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom are prepared if this proposal is acceptable to the Government of the United States of America, to regard the present note and Your Excellency's reply to the same effect as constituting an agreement between the two Governments, which shall take effect this day.

I have [etc.]

HALIFAX

[Enclosure 1]

British India
 British Burma
 Southern Rhodesia
 Aden Colony
 Bahamas
 Barbados
 Basutoland
 Bechuanaland Protectorate
 Bermuda
 British Guiana
 British Honduras
 British Solomon Islands Protectorate
 Ceylon
 Cyprus
 Falkland Islands and Dependencies
 Fiji
 Gambia (Colony and Protectorate)
 Gibraltar

Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony
 Gold Coast
 (a) Colony
 (b) Ashanti
 (c) Northern Territories
 Hong Kong
 Jamaica (including Turks and Caicos Islands and the Cayman Islands)
 Kenya (Colony and Protectorate)
 Leeward Islands
 Antigua
 Montserrat
 St. Christopher and Nevis
 Virgin Islands
 Malta
 Mauritius
 Nigeria
 (a) Colony
 (b) Protectorate
 Northern Rhodesia
 Nyasaland Protectorate
 Palestine (excluding Trans-Jordan)
 St. Helena and Ascension
 Seychelles
 Sierra Leone (Colony and Protectorate)
 Somaliland Protectorate
 Straits Settlements
 Swaziland
 Trans-Jordan
 Trinidad and Tobago
 Uganda Protectorate
 Windward Islands
 Dominica
 Grenada
 St. Lucia
 St. Vincent

[Enclosure 2]

AT THE COURT AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

The 6th day of August, 1942

Present

THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

Lord President Secretary Sir Archibald Sinclair
 Lord Macmillan Mr. Williams

WHEREAS by reason of conditions arising out of the war difficulties have been experienced by citizens of the United States of America in complying with the requirements of the Copyright Act, 1911, as to first publication within the parts of His Majesty's dominions to which the Act extends of their works first published in the United States of America during the war:

AND WHEREAS His Majesty is advised that the Government of the United States of America has undertaken to grant such extension of time as may

be deemed appropriate for the fulfilment of the conditions and formalities prescribed by the laws of the United States with respect to the works of British subjects first produced or published outside the United States and subject to copyright or to renewal of copyright under the laws of the United States including works subject to ad interim copyright:

AND WHEREAS by reason of the said undertaking of the Government of the United States of America His Majesty is satisfied that the said Government has made, or has undertaken to make, such provision as it is expedient to require for the protection of works first made or published during the period commencing on the 3rd day of September, 1939, and ending one year after the termination of the present war within the parts of His Majesty's dominions to which this Order applies and entitled to copyright under Part I of the Copyright Act, 1911:

AND WHEREAS by the Copyright Act, 1911, authority is conferred upon His Majesty to extend, by Order in Council, the protection of the said Act to certain classes of foreign works within any part of His Majesty's dominions, other than the self-governing Dominions, to which the Act extends:

AND WHEREAS by reason of these premises it is desirable to provide protection within the parts of His Majesty's dominions to which this Order applies for literary or artistic works first published in the United States of America during the period commencing on the 3rd day of September, 1939, and ending one year after the termination of the present war which have failed to accomplish the formalities prescribed by the Copyright Act, 1911, by reason of conditions arising out of the war:

NOW, THEREFORE, His Majesty, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, and by virtue of the authority conferred upon Him by the Copyright Act, 1911, and of all other powers enabling Him in that behalf, is pleased to direct and doth hereby direct as follows:

1. The Copyright Act, 1911, shall, subject to the provisions of the said Act and of this Order, apply to works first published in the United States of America during the period commencing on the 3rd day of September, 1939, and ending one year

after the termination of the present war, which have not been republished in the parts of His Majesty's dominions to which this Order applies within fourteen days of the publication in the United States of America, in like manner as if they had been first published within the parts of His Majesty's dominions to which the said Act extends:

Provided that the enjoyment by any such work of the rights conferred by the Copyright Act, 1911, shall be conditional upon publication of the work within the parts of His Majesty's dominions to which this Order relates not later than one year after the termination of the present war, and shall commence from and after such publication, which shall not be colourable only, but shall be intended to satisfy the reasonable requirements of the public.

2. The provisions of Section 15 of the Copyright Act, 1911, as to the delivery of books to libraries, shall apply to works to which this Order relates upon their publication in the United Kingdom.

3. Nothing in this Order shall be construed as depriving any work of any rights which have been lawfully acquired under the provisions of the Copyright Act, 1911, or any Order in Council thereunder.

4. Where any person has, before the commencement of this Order taken any action whereby he has incurred any expenditure or liability in connection with the reproduction or performance of any work which at the time was lawful, or for the purpose of or with a view to the reproduction or performance of a work at a time when such reproduction or performance would, but for the making of this Order, have been lawful, nothing in this Order shall diminish or prejudice any rights or interest arising from or in connexion with such action which were subsisting and valuable at the said date, unless the person who by virtue of this Order becomes entitled to restrain such reproduction or performance agrees to pay such compensation as, failing agreement, may be determined by arbitration.

5. The Interpretation Act, 1889,¹ shall apply to the interpretation of this Order as if it were an Act of Parliament.

¹ 52 & 53 Vict. c. 63. [Footnote in the original.]

6. This Order may be cited as the Copyright (United States of America) Order, 1942.

7. This Order shall come into operation on the date of its publication in the London Gazette, which day is in this Order referred to as the commencement of this Order.

E. C. E. LEADBITTER.

*The Secretary of State to the British Ambassador
in Washington*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, *March 10, 1944.*

EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's note of today's date in which you refer to the Act of Congress approved September 25, 1941 which authorizes the President to extend by proclamation the time for compliance with the conditions and formalities prescribed by the copyright laws of the United States of America with respect to works first produced or published outside the United States of America and subject to copyright under the laws of the United States of America when the authors or proprietors of such works are unable to comply with those conditions and formalities because of the disruption or suspension of the facilities essential to such compliance.

You state that by reason of the existing emergency authors and copyright proprietors who are British nationals and authors and proprietors who are citizens of Palestine (excluding Trans-Jordan) do at present lack, and since the outbreak of the war between the United Kingdom and Germany on September 3, 1939, have lacked the facilities essential to compliance with and fulfilment of the conditions and formalities established by the laws of the United States of America relating to copyright.

You express the desire of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that, in accordance with the procedure provided in the Act of September 25, 1941, the time for fulfilling the conditions and formalities of the copyright laws of the United States of America be extended for the benefit of (1) authors and copyright proprietors who are British nationals of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of the British territories named in the list annexed to

Your Excellency's note and (2) authors and copyright proprietors who are citizens of Palestine (excluding Trans-Jordan), whose works are eligible to copyright in the United States of America. You add that with a view to assuring the Government of the United States of America of reciprocal protection for authors and copyright proprietors of the United States of America, His Majesty the King has made an Order in Council, the text of which accompanies your note under acknowledgment, which will come into effect from the date on which the President of the United States of America shall proclaim, in accordance with the Act of September 25, 1941 that by reason of the existing emergency British nationals of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of the British territories named in the said list and citizens of Palestine (excluding Trans-Jordan) who are authors or copyright proprietors of works first produced or published outside the United States of America and which are subject to copyright, *ad interim* copyright or renewal of copyright under the laws of the United States of America, are at present and since September 3, 1939 have been temporarily unable to comply with the conditions and formalities prescribed with respect to such works by the copyright laws of the United States of America.

You further state that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom are prepared, if this proposal should be accepted by the Government of the United States of America, to regard the note under acknowledgment and this Government's reply thereto to that effect as constituting an agreement between the two Governments which shall take effect this day.

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that, with a view to giving effect to the commitment proposed in the note under acknowledgement, the President has issued today a proclamation, a copy of which is annexed hereto, declaring and proclaiming pursuant to the provisions of the aforesaid Act of September 25, 1941 on the basis of the assurances set forth in Your Excellency's note and the Order in Council annexed thereto, that as regards (1) works subject to copyright under the laws of the United States of America, including works eligible to *ad interim* copyright,

which were first produced or published outside the United States of America on or after September 3, 1939 by British nationals of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of the British territories named in the aforesaid list, and by the citizens of Palestine (excluding Trans-Jordan); and (2) works of the same authors or copyright proprietors which were entitled to renewal of copyright on or after September 3, 1939, there existed and continues to exist such disruption or suspension of facilities essential to compliance with the conditions and formalities prescribed with respect to such works by the copyright laws of the United States of America as to bring such works within the terms of the said Act of September 25, 1941 and that accordingly the time within which compliance with such conditions and formalities may take place is extended in respect of such works until the day on which the President of the United States of America shall, in accordance with the said Act, terminate or suspend the said declaration and proclamation, it being understood that the term of copyright in any case is not and cannot be altered or affected by the President's action and that the extension is subject to the proviso of the said Act of September 25, 1941 that no liability shall attach to persons having made lawful use of any work to which the proclamation relates prior to the effective date of that proclamation.

The Government of the United States of America accordingly considers the agreement in regard to such extension of time to be in effect as of today's date.

Accept [etc.]

CORDELL HULL

[Enclosure]

COPYRIGHT EXTENSION; UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND (INCLUDING CERTAIN BRITISH TERRITORIES) AND PALESTINE

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

WHEREAS by the act of Congress approved September 25, 1941, c. 421, 55 Stat. 732, the President is authorized, on the conditions prescribed in that act, to grant an extension of time for the fulfilment of the conditions and formalities prescribed by the copyright laws of the United States of America

with respect to works first produced or published outside of the United States of America and subject to copyright or to renewal of copyright under the laws of the United States of America, including works subject to *ad interim* copyright, by nationals of countries which accord substantially equal treatment to citizens of the United States of America; and

WHEREAS His Britannic Majesty has issued an Order in Council, effective from this day, by the terms of which treatment substantially equal to that authorized by the aforesaid act of September 25, 1941, is accorded, within the British dominions, colonies, protectorates, and mandated territories to which that order applies, to literary and artistic works first produced or published in the United States of America; and

WHEREAS the aforesaid Order in Council applies to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, British India, British Burma, Southern Rhodesia, Aden Colony, Bahamas, Barbados, Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, Bermuda, British Guiana, British Honduras, British Solomon Islands Protectorate, Ceylon, Cyprus, Falkland Islands and Dependencies, Fiji, Gambia (Colony and Protectorate), Gibraltar, Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, Gold Coast ((a) Colony, (b) Ashanti, (c) Northern Territories), Hong Kong, Jamaica (including Turks and Caicos Islands and the Cayman Islands), Kenya (Colony and Protectorate), Leeward Islands (Antigua, Montserrat, St. Christopher and Nevis, Virgin Islands), Malta, Mauritius, Nigeria ((a) Colony, (b) Protectorate), Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland Protectorate, Palestine (excluding Trans-Jordan), St. Helena and Ascension, Seychelles, Sierra Leone (Colony and Protectorate), Somaliland Protectorate, Straits Settlements, Swaziland, Trans-Jordan, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda Protectorate, and Windward Islands (Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, St. Lucia); and

WHEREAS the aforesaid Order in Council is annexed to and is part of an agreement embodied in notes exchanged this day between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; and

WHEREAS by virtue of a proclamation by the President of the United States of America dated April 9, 1910 (33 Stat. 2685), subjects of Great Britain and her possessions are, and since July 1, 1909, have been, entitled to the benefits of the act of Congress approved March 4, 1909, 35 Stat. 1075, relating to copyright, other than the benefits of section 1 (e) of that act; and

WHEREAS by virtue of a proclamation by the President of the United States of America dated January 1, 1915 (28 Stat. 2044), the subjects of Great Britain and the British dominions, colonies, and possessions, with the exception of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland, are, and since January 1, 1915, have been, entitled to all the benefits of section 1 (e) of the aforesaid act of March 4, 1909; and

WHEREAS by virtue of a proclamation by the President of the United States of America dated September 29, 1933 (48 Stat. 1713), citizens of Palestine (excluding Trans-Jordan) are, and since October 1, 1933, have been, entitled to all the benefits of the aforesaid act of March 4, 1909:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, President of the United States of America, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the aforesaid act of September 25, 1941, do declare and proclaim:

That with respect to (1) works subject to copyright under the laws of the United States of America, including works eligible to *ad interim* copyright, which were first produced or published outside of the United States of America on or after September 3, 1939, by British nationals of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of the British territories to which the aforesaid Order in Council applies, or by citizens of Palestine (excluding Trans-Jordan); and (2) works of the same authors or copyright proprietors which were entitled to renewal of copyright under the laws of the United States of America on or after September 3, 1939, there existed and continues to exist such disruption or suspension of facilities essential to compliance with the conditions and formalities prescribed with respect to such works by the copyright laws of the United States of America as to bring such

works within the terms of the aforesaid act of September 25, 1941; and that accordingly the time within which compliance with such conditions and formalities may take place is hereby extended with respect to such works until the day on which the President of the United States of America shall, in accordance with that act, terminate or suspend the present declaration and proclamation.

It shall be understood that the term of copyright in any case is not and cannot be altered or affected by this proclamation, and that, as provided by the aforesaid act of September 25, 1941, no liability shall attach under the Copyright Act for lawful uses made or acts done prior to the effective date of this proclamation in connection with the above-described works, or in respect to the continuance for one year subsequent to such date of any business undertaking or enterprise lawfully undertaken prior to such date involving expenditure or contractual obligation in connection with the exploitation, production, reproduction, circulation, or performance of any such work.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this tenth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred forty-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and sixty-eighth.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

GENERAL INTER-AMERICAN CONVENTION FOR TRADE MARK AND COMMERCIAL PROTECTION

Paraguay

By a letter dated March 3, 1944, the Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State that on March 1, 1944 His Excellency the Ambassador of Paraguay in the United States, Señor Doctor Don Celso R. Velázquez, deposited with the Pan American Union the instrument of ratification by the Government of Paraguay of the General Inter-American Convention for Trade Mark and Commercial Protection,

which was signed on February 20, 1929 at the Pan American Trade Mark Conference held at Washington from February 11 to 20, 1929.¹ The Paraguayan instrument of ratification is dated August 30, 1943.

The countries in respect of which the convention is now in force as the result of the deposit of their respective instruments of ratification are the United States of America, Colombia, Cuba, Haiti, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, and Peru.

Legislation

Amending the Nationality Act of 1940 to Preserve the Nationality of Citizens Residing Abroad. H. Rept. 1230, 78th Cong., on H.R. 4271. [Favorable report.] 3 pp.

Amending Section 334 (C) of the Nationality Act of 1940, Approved October 14, 1940 (54 Stat. 1156-1157; 8 U.S.C. § 734.) H. Rept. 1231, 78th Cong., on H.R. 4140. [Favorable report.] 2 pp.

Relating to Benefits to Merchant Seamen. H. Rept. 1232, 78th Cong., on H.R. 4163. [Favorable report.] 6 pp.

First Deficiency Appropriation Bill, 1944 (78th Cong., 2d sess.):

Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives. [Department of State, pp. 505-550.] ii, 822 pp.

H. Rept. 1239, on H.R. 4346. [Department of State, pp. 2, 16-18, 33-34, and 36.] 37 pp.

Assuring Conservation of and to Permit the Fullest Utilization of the Fisheries of Alaska and for Other Purposes. S. Rept. 733, 78th Cong., on S. 930. [Favorable report.] 18 pp.

Wages of Interned Seamen, Disability and Other Benefits to Merchant Seamen: Hearings before the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 2d sess., on H.R. 3262 and H.R. 2652. December 9, 1943 and February 10, 1944. iv, 63 pp.

¹Treaty Series 833.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Detail of Military Adviser to Remount Service of Peruvian Army: Agreement Between the United States of America and Peru Renewing the Agreement of April 15, 1941—Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Washington November 23 and December 20, 1943; effective April 15, 1944. Executive Agreement Series 363. Publication 2067. 2 pp. 5¢.

Waiver of Claims Arising as a Result of Collisions Between Vessels of War: Agreement Between the United States of America and Canada Concerning Application of the Agreement of May 25 and 26, 1943—Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Washington September 3 and November 11, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 366. Publication 2065. 2 pp. 5¢.

Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and El Salvador—Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at San Salvador May 4 and 5, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 367. Publication 2069. 5 pp. 5¢.

Temporary Migration of Mexican Agricultural Workers: Agreement Between the United States of America and Mexico Revising the Agreement of August 4, 1942—Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Mexico City April 26, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 351. Publication 2066. 13 pp. 5¢.

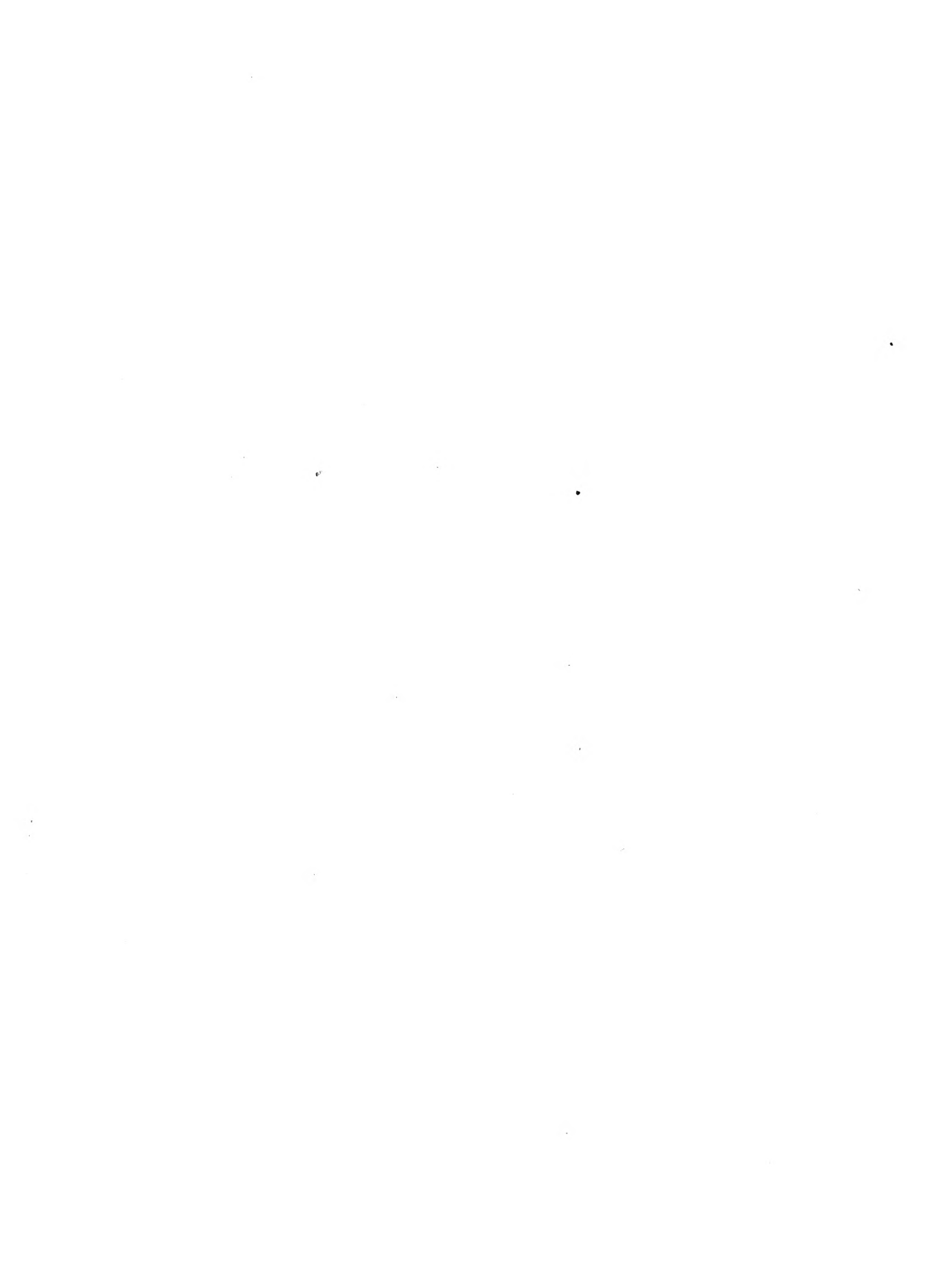
OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

"Finland Still Goes to the Movies", an article by Mr. Robert M. McClintock, Second Secretary and Vice Consul of the American Legation at Stockholm, Sweden, is to be published in the March 18, 1944 issue of *Foreign Commerce Weekly*. Copies of this periodical, which is issued by the Department of Commerce, may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, for the price of 10 cents each.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1944

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

MARCH 18, 1944

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The War

FINNISH POSITION IN THE WAR

Statement by the President

[Released to the press by the White House March 16]

It has always seemed odd to me and to the people of the United States to find Finland a partner of Nazi Germany, fighting side by side with the sworn enemies of our civilization.

The Finnish people now have a chance to with-

draw from this hateful partnership. The longer they stay at Germany's side, the more sorrow and suffering is bound to come to them. I think I can speak for all Americans when I say that we sincerely hope Finland will now take the opportunity to disassociate herself from Germany.

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN ITALY

Statement by the President

[Released to the press by the White House March 14]

Everyone knows the Nazi record on religion. Both at home and abroad, Hitler and his followers have waged a ruthless war against the churches of all faiths.

Now the German army has used the Holy City of Rome as a military center. No one could have been surprised by this—it is only the latest of

Hitler's many affronts to religion. It is a logical step in the Nazi policy of total war—a policy which treats nothing as sacred.

We on our side have made freedom of religion one of the principles for which we are fighting this war. We have tried scrupulously—often at considerable sacrifice—to spare religious and cultural monuments, and we shall continue to do so.

Statement by the Secretary of State

[Released to the press March 13]

In answer to inquiries at his press conference on March 13, 1944 concerning the remarks of His Holiness Pope Pius XII reported in the morning press, Secretary of State Cordell Hull said:

“I think we all understand that the Allied military authorities in Italy are dealing primarily with considerations of military necessity forced on them by the activities and attitude of the German military forces. Naturally we are as much interested as any government or any individual in the pres-

ervation of religious shrines, historic structures, and human lives. I am sure that our military people have that same view. It is my understanding that the Allied military authorities are pursuing a policy of avoiding damage to such shrines and monuments to the extent humanly possible in modern warfare and in the circumstances which face them. If the Germans were not entrenched in these places or were they as interested as we are in protecting religious shrines and monuments and in preserving the lives of innocent civilians and refugees, no question would arise.”

A REALISTIC VIEW OF OUR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC OPERATIONS

Address by Charles P. Taft¹

[Released to the press March 17]

It is an honor in any company to respond to the toast "the United States of America." Before this ancient society of Americans, it is a privilege.

It is also a responsibility for a newcomer in the Department of State to speak for the government to which are entrusted all the traditions of service and strength of a young nation. In this field of foreign relations to an amazing degree there are no partisan lines. For I propose tonight to speak to you about the United States of America as it faces a world of turmoil and deadly danger. We are united and we must remain united in any such world, even after the shooting stops.

For 135 million people to be united is a unique phenomenon, especially when it is a melting-pot and a continent and a complex of industry, government, and agriculture. Complete unity never lasts long even after such a shock as Pearl Harbor. But we do unite at the water's edge and continue together, most of us—Republicans and Democrats alike, rich and poor, smart and dumb.

We are a generous people who take the golden rule seriously and attempt to deny the cynicism of Machiavelli and of power politics. Our private charity pours out to every corner of the globe exuberantly, occasionally with a little foolishness, but all in all in a thrilling way.

Yet we are terribly afraid of being suckers. Every day, almost, in your newspapers you read about the con man who works some kind of shell game on a smart man, and we think it is extremely funny. It is not so funny when we get caught by one of the old tricks. Some people are constantly charging that foreign countries are defrauding us. It is not true. They are desperately afraid of their future in a dangerous world. We must represent our own interests intelligently, but that is not inconsistent with generosity and

fair dealings. A sense of justice is no evidence of weakness.

So it was that in the booming twenties we loaned money abroad, in Germany and in South America and elsewhere, and now we have swallowed without much thought the charge that we were suckers in those days and got no return out of all we spent.

So, too, the generous impulses that burst out of us when we became partners in the first world war, and in the upsurge of fellowship in the second world war after the bombing of Britain and the destruction at Pearl Harbor, are gradually dulled by the cry of "sucker", and we end up with a defensive, "Well, they hired the money, didn't they?" As if our cash could be the equivalent of the millions of lives our allies threw into the effort to stop the Boche from 1914 to 1918. As if our advances to help reconstruct Europe were lost even if we never got a penny back! The money did the job it was supposed to do, to our eternal benefit. We got back full value received in jobs and pay for workers and good customers, until we refused to let them pay in their only coin.

We want a United States that is smart and tough. But for heaven's sake let's be smart and not dumb. Part of my responsibility is to see that the Army and the civilian agencies and UNRRA plan the ways and means to get the reoccupied areas back on their feet again. Get out of your head that any of us are talking about an international dole. When the Germans get through with a place that used to be reasonably modern and civilized, it is right back in the Middle Ages. Not only are the factories leveled and the railroads gone, but the roads are barely recognizable, and every bridge—I mean *every* bridge—destroyed. You often can't transport food 20 miles into the country, especially after the army has moved on; the only trucks have had no spare parts for 4 years, and the work animals just *ain't*.

Do you think that we in our own interest can sit and do nothing about that? You remember the stories about the packs of wild children after the

¹Delivered at a dinner celebrating the two-hundred-seventh anniversary of the Charitable Irish Society, in Boston, Mass., Mar. 17, 1944. Mr. Taft is the Director of the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs of the Department of State.

last war? Perhaps they *were* exaggerated, but it can happen. People will live, and the ways they find to do it are not nice. The ideas they develop in doing it don't stop on one side of a pond, even if it is 2,500 miles wide. Obviously you can't permit that kind of situation behind the fighting-front, but even when the fighting stops we can't let it happen, or the soul-destruction will get to us, too.

This is not a question just of feeding people. We are better off and so are they, even in the short run, if we give them less food and more seeds and fertilizer and agricultural machinery. In other words, the same shipping-space can be used to better advantage, if that is the best we can do, to start these people on the way back, not just to feed them and no more.

We have to help get them started setting up their own commercial institutions and normal ways of supporting themselves, and we have to find ways of helping to finance their real reconstruction.

Is this another case of money down the rat hole? Is this a scheme of the international bankers to fleece our investors again? And to make the United States of America, which we toast with pride, either an Uncle Shylock if he gets tough, or an old fool soon parted from his money?

No! Foreign investment is an essential part of our foreign trade, and we can't live without foreign trade in the long run. It is part of the essential life of any great nation on the globe, especially ours.

Foreign trade can be good, and it is very necessary. To say that in Boston is a little like taking coals to Newcastle, for you are one of the great centers of our foreign trade to Europe and Latin America, and a focal point of the war effort across the seas. But those of you directly concerned talk too much to each other and not enough to the nation.

Our natural resources are going fast, and we shall have to buy more and more of our raw materials abroad in the next 50 years. When we buy abroad we have to pay with our exports, as England has had to do for many years. That makes our foreign relations respectable and not a stepchild.

Which leads me back to the prospect this nation faces as we liberate the stricken countries and look to the day when we can start back to the ways of peace. We have to rebuild if only to restore our own markets, and the restoration of those markets will pay us many times over for the money we put in for the rebuilding. We aren't suckers—we are smart; and the smart fellow always has to have the guts to protect his long view against ridicule. Whether it is helping to rebuild Europe or assisting in the industrialization of China or Latin America, we can afford to loan money at low, even insignificant, interest rates for long periods, with gradual repayment of the principal. We will get our principal back, but not 8 percent interest. And we are smart because for one thing the borrower spends the money here for things he needs, and that means jobs for our people. For another thing, you gradually create a higher standard of living in those countries, so that automobiles go there and are sold by the half million each year instead of by the thousand. We are rebuilding customers.

But don't ever forget that they have to pay with their goods and raw materials. They can't pay with anything else. This is all a business proposition, not a hand-out.

I began, however, by referring to the generosity that is so large a characteristic of the U. S. of A. I'm proud of that altruism. There is only too little of it in the world, and it derives in no small part from the Irish in us. We are one of the big frogs in this earthly puddle, and we don't propose, I'm sure, to set out to be hogs, or misers.

This foreign business of ours has three aspects. We buy goods abroad. We buy services abroad—shipping, or hotels and meals and transportation for our travelers. We invest abroad. These are all demands we make on foreign countries with our dollars for goods to be sent to us, for services rendered to our citizens, and for shares in their domestic businesses and industries. In 1929 the total of those demands backed by dollars was 7½ billion dollars. Then came our depression, and by 1932 those demands upon foreign nations had gone down to 2½ billion dollars.

How could any nation or group of nations stand up against the impact of that withdrawal? Is it any wonder they went to all kinds of restrictive devices to limit the impact of any future fluctuations? And that reacted on us. Not only good business but common decency should lead us to join in every sensible effort to keep our dollar-demands on foreign nations on an even keel. We must have foreign trade and a stable economy. We must stand for justice and honor as well as for enlightened self-interest in these economic relations with the world abroad.

We celebrate tonight a great Christian saint and the people he led and organized. The faith he claimed and we inherit is not something for women and children alone. It is the iron that can fortify our backbone, the power that can make the world go right. With a foreign policy that is smart and tough like a Yankee trader, but friendly and generous as he was, we can pull through this fiery furnace and stand proudly four-square to all the winds that blow on the United States of America.

DISTRIBUTION OF LEND-LEASE MATERIAL

[Released to the press March 18]

Secretary of State Cordell Hull and Foreign Economic Administrator Leo T. Crowley issued the following joint statement on March 18:

"Our attention has been called to recent newspaper reports to the effect that the British White Paper of September 10, 1941,¹ was being scrapped to give British exporters freedom in the commercial export of articles and materials received under lend-lease, or similar goods. These reports are entirely untrue.

"The White Paper was a unilateral declaration of policy by the British Government that it would not permit the re-export of lend-lease goods or similar goods in short supply in the United States except under certain specified circumstances where war-supply considerations made it necessary. That policy has been successfully administered for

more than two years, and valuable experience has been gained in its administration.

"With the expansion of reverse-lend-lease aid from Britain to the United States to include raw materials, discussions have been undertaken between representatives of the British and American Governments looking toward the formulation of an agreed set of principles on a bilateral basis governing the re-export of lend-lease and mutual-aid goods and similar goods. The discussions have proceeded on the lines of the same basic policy followed under the original White Paper. It has also been attempted to work out improved administrative procedures for the effectuation of these policies, based on the experience acquired in this field in the last two years.

"Discussions with the British representatives have not yet been concluded and may continue for some time. As soon as it is possible to do so, the appropriate committees of Congress will be consulted. Whatever arrangement is finally adopted will protect the interests of American industry and trade to the fullest extent consistent with the requirements of war and will be made public as soon as an agreement is reached."

VISIT OF THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE TO LONDON

Statement by the Secretary of State

[Released to the press March 17]

At my request the Under Secretary will go to London soon with a small group for discussions with members of the British Government. Foreign Secretary Eden and other high officials of the British Government have made several trips to this country for a general exchange of views during the past two years, and it has not been possible for me to return them. Mr. Stettinius is going to London to repay these visits. The talks which he and those who are accompanying him will have will be entirely informal and exploratory. The conversations will cover any current matters that are of interest to the two Governments at this time. However, the purpose of the visit is not to negotiate or conclude agreements.

¹ BULLETIN of Sept. 13, 1941, p. 204.

International Conferences, Commissions, Etc.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

By *Otis E. Mulliken*¹

A unique international organization will meet at Philadelphia on April 20. The International Labor Organization is unique in that, founded at the conclusion of the first World War, it has grown through the years to an international stature that even the present war has not seriously diminished. The needs it has met and the effectiveness with which it has met those needs have established it on a basis of demonstrated value which has rendered it largely impervious to the vicissitudes of the pre-war and war years. It is also unusual in that it alone among important international organizations affords direct representation not only to governments but also to the functional groups in the populations which are directly concerned with the problems with which it deals—the employers and workers. In fact it is so uniquely designed to meet certain of the social objectives and problems of the post-war period that Mr. Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, speaking at the closing session of the December 1943 meeting of the Governing Body stated:

“If—and this is a big ‘if’—the International Labor Organization had not existed, we should find it necessary to create it now because it is the only tri-partite organization like this, which represents governments, employers, and workers, which can help us to give effect to this social objective which I have described.”

He was referring to the fifth point of the Atlantic Charter—“improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security” as summing up the social objective of the United Nations.

The International Labor Organization, which has now completed 25 years of constructive work in the field of social and labor problems since its establishment in 1919, did not spring *de novo* from the minds of the men gathered at the Peace Con-

ference in 1919. Rather, it represented the successful culmination of the proposals and activities of far-sighted men for over 100 years.

In 1818 Robert Owen, the British cotton manufacturer and philanthropist, appeared at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle with two memorials in which he directed attention “to the new and extraordinary effects produced by the introduction of improved scientific power to the manufactures of Europe and America . . . which materially affected the value of manual labor and the health, comfort, and happiness of the working classes”. The French economist Blanqui in 1838 wrote: “Treaties have been concluded between one country and another by which they have bound themselves to kill men; why should they not be concluded today for the purpose of preserving men’s lives and making them happier?” In 1847 Daniel Legrand, an Alsatian silk manufacturer, memorialized the French, British, and Prussian Governments to enact “an international law to protect the working-classes against premature and excessive labor, which is the prime and principal cause of their physical deterioration, their moral degradation, and their being deprived of the blessings of family life.”

By this time the idea of international action in the protection of the working-people had definitely been established. Individual economists and philanthropists and international congresses increasingly put forward pleas for international labor legislation. A labor conference called by Emperor William II convened at Berlin in March 1890. Although this conference was a failure, it did pave the way for the International Association for Labor Legislation, which was founded following a meeting at Brussels in 1897. At its meeting in Paris in 1900 provision was made for an International Labor Office, which was established in Basel the next year. Official conferences met at Bern in 1905 and 1906 and drew up the first inter-

¹ The author of this article is Acting Chief of the Division of Labor Relations, Department of State.

national labor conventions prohibiting the night work of women and the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. A sufficient number of ratifications were obtained to demonstrate that international action was practicable. Encouraged by its success, the International Association for Labor Legislation continued its efforts, and a meeting of experts in 1913 drew up the bases for two new conventions; the World War intervened, however, before any action had been taken.

The workers' organizations had held aloof from the International Association for Labor Legislation, but during the course of the war they developed an increasing interest in international problems and a determination to participate actively in a new systematic effort to improve social conditions through international action. At a conference held at Leeds in 1916 by the General Federation of Trade Unions, the proposal was advanced that an international commission be set up to supervise the labor clauses of the treaty and to prepare for subsequent conferences of governments for the development of labor legislation. It also asked that the Labor Office created by the International Association for Labor Legislation should be made into an official International Labor Office. Similar resolutions were adopted at successive workers' congresses in 1917 and 1918, both in the Allied and neutral countries and in those of the Central Powers.

Against this background of 100 years of thought, discussion, and action, and at the pressing insistence of labor organizations that the welfare of working-peoples be given consideration in the peace treaty, the attention of the Peace Conference of 1919 was promptly directed to the labor question. At the first plenary session of this Conference, Premier Clemenceau announced that the first steps toward the organization of the Conference would be the creation of three commissions, including one to consider international labor legislation. There is no need here to trace the history of the negotiations at the Peace Conference. The outcome was the inclusion of part XIII in the Treaty of Versailles. This provided for the establishment of an International Labor Organization, the first general conference of which was held at Washington from October 29 to November 29, 1919. This

historic conference, the first to be held under the new international machinery established at the Peace Conference, launched the International Labor Organization upon its distinguished career.

The name *International Labor Organization* has led to many misconceptions as to its nature and activities. This is especially true in the United States where, because of the relatively short period of our membership, the I.L.O. is less well-known than in other parts of the world. The name suggests a labor-union organization of international dimensions concerned with the problems we ordinarily associate with trade unions. This is quite misleading, for although the Organization does concern itself with problems common to working-people everywhere, it is not a trade-union organization. Trade unions are represented in it but so are employers' organizations and governments. Furthermore, it is an official organization whose funds are provided by governments and in which governments exercise preponderant influence.

The Constitution of the I.L.O. (part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles) provided that the original members of the League of Nations should be the original members of the I.L.O. and that membership in the League of Nations should carry with it membership in the I.L.O. Some nations, notably the United States, have, however, joined the I.L.O. without joining the League, and others, in withdrawing from the League, have maintained their I.L.O. membership.

At the beginning of the war, in 1939, 55 states were members of the Organization. The I.L.O. points out, however, that in view of the present political situation a number of delicate and even insoluble questions arise in connection with the membership of the Organization, and therefore it is practically impossible to give any official list of member states which would be both legally correct and accurate.¹

¹The member states as of September 1939 were as follows: Afghanistan, Albania, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Great Britain, Greece, Haiti, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Spain,

Despite the fact that representatives of the United States took an active part in the creation of the I.L.O. and that the first meeting was held in Washington, the United States did not become a member until 1934. In the meantime it did cooperate, however, in exchanging information and, beginning with the thirties, sent unofficial observers to attend the I.L.O. conferences. Finally, in June 1934, Congress passed a joint resolution authorizing the President on behalf of the United States to accept an invitation for membership in the I.L.O. The International Labor Conference of that year extended an invitation to join, and membership became effective August 20, 1934. Since that time the United States has played a prominent part in the activities of the Organization and, as a member, has contributed annually to its support. It has furnished one director, Mr. John G. Winant. At the present time the chairman of the Governing Body, Mr. Carter Goodrich, and one of the two assistant directors, Mr. Lindsay Rogers, are United States citizens.

The International Labor Organization is a world-wide association of nations which functions through three agencies: The International Labor Conference, the Governing Body, and the International Labor Office.

The International Labor Conference is the parliamentary body composed of delegates from each of the member countries. It is this parliamentary assembly which is to meet in Philadelphia. Under normal circumstances it meets once a year. The meetings have customarily been held in Geneva, where, until 1940, its headquarters were located.

Each member country is entitled to send four delegates to the Conference. Two of these represent the government and hence are in effect public representatives. In addition, the government

Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

The Soviet Union has not participated in the work of the Organization since 1939. Germany, Italy, and Japan withdrew prior to 1939, and Spain and Rumania have withdrawn since then. Only Paraguay among the South American countries is not a member, and of the Central American republics Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador are not members. The principal other non-members are Iceland and Saudi Arabia.

nominates two non-governmental delegates in agreement with the industrial organizations which are most representative of employers and workers in the country. Thus there is one delegate representing employers and one representing workers. Each delegate has one vote so that in effect the Conference is a tri-partite body in which labor and management are equally represented with the balance of power resting with the government or public delegates. In addition to the delegates, the Conference is composed of non-voting advisers, each of the delegates being allowed a certain equal number of advisers depending on the number of items on the agenda.

The Conference discusses and takes action upon many social and labor matters. This action, when it is formulated as an international treaty, is called a "draft convention". The Conference also adopts recommendations which are suggestions for national action. The conventions have no binding effect until they are ratified or approved by the appropriate governmental authority of the member country. Then they become, in effect, international treaties. Each country is free to decide its course of action. The only obligation to take action on the draft conventions which a country assumes by membership is to submit the draft convention to the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies for the enactment of legislation or other action within a period of 1 year or, at an outside limit, 18 months from the adoption of the draft convention.

As with all large representative bodies, an executive board is required to carry on between meetings of the parliamentary group and to perform functions which may not be appropriate for the larger group. The Governing Body fulfils this function for the International Labor Organization. It is composed of 32 persons—16 represent governments, 8 represent employers, and the remaining 8, employees. Of the 16 government representatives, 8 are appointed by the states of chief industrial importance. These nations are the so-called "permanent members". At present they are the United States, Great Britain, Canada, India, France, the Netherlands, and Belgium. There is one vacancy which has not yet been filled, occasioned by the withdrawal of Japan. The other 8 persons representing governments are

elected at the Conference by the remaining government delegates. Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, and China hold places on the Governing Body at the present time. There is also a vacancy in this group. The worker and employer members are likewise elected at the Conference by the worker and employer delegates respectively. The employer members at the present time come from the United States, Great Britain, India, the Union of South Africa, Denmark, Argentina, Canada, and Switzerland; the worker members, from the United States, Great Britain, Australia, Norway, Canada, Switzerland, India, and Sweden. An interesting section of the I.L.O. constitution provides that of the 16 government representatives 6 shall be from non-European states, as shall 2 of the employer and 2 of the worker representatives. The period of office of the Governing Body is 3 years.

The Governing Body elects its own chairman, at present Mr. Carter Goodrich, the representative of the United States Government on the Governing Body. It regulates its own procedure and fixes its own times of meeting. Prior to the war it was customary to meet four times a year. Among its functions are the appointment of a director of the International Labor Office, the decision as to the items to be placed on the agenda of the Conference, and the preparation of the budget. It was at the meeting of the Governing Body in London in December 1943 that the agenda for the Philadelphia Conference was determined.

The International Labor Office is the permanent secretariat of the Governing Body and the International Labor Conference. Until 1940, when because of war conditions it transferred to Montreal, Canada, it had been located at Geneva. The director of the International Labor Office is responsible for the efficient conduct of the Office and for such other duties as may be assigned to him. During the 25 years since the Organization was founded there have been 3 directors in addition to the present acting director, Mr. Edward J. Phelan. The first director was Mr. Albert Thomas, who had been a French cabinet member and for many years a member of the Chamber of Deputies. Guiding the Organization through its formative years, he served until his death in 1932. He was succeeded by Mr. Harold Butler, now

Minister in the British Embassy at Washington. Mr. Butler had been a member of the British delegation to the Peace Conference and played an important part in drafting the constitution of the I.L.O. In 1938 he was succeeded by Mr. John G. Winant, who is now Ambassador to the United Kingdom. When, in 1941, Mr. Winant resigned to become Ambassador, Mr. Phelan was appointed acting director. He had been a member of the British delegation at the Peace Conference, had assisted in drafting the I.L.O.'s Constitution, and has been associated with the I.L.O. since its inception. He has the unique record of being the only person who has attended all meetings of the Governing Body and all 25 sessions of the International Labor Conference. The present assistant directors are Mr. Lindsay Rogers, professor of public law at Columbia University, and Mr. Pierre Waelbroeck, of Belgium, who has been associated with the I.L.O. since 1919.

In 1939, before the Office moved from Geneva to Montreal, it had a personnel of approximately four hundred persons, who constituted a multilingual body of international civil servants. Forty-three nationalities were represented on the staff. The Office prepares material for the use of the Governing Body, its committees, and the International Labor Conference. It collects and disseminates, on an international scale, current information on labor subjects and conducts research in the field of economic and industrial problems, studying such subjects as regulation of hours, methods of wage payment, technological causes of unemployment, problems of migratory labor, industrial technology and industrial safety, social-insurance systems, and problems of agricultural labor. The Office has published a large number of scholarly studies in these fields.

In addition to the publication of these special reports, the Office publishes a number of economic and technical periodicals, possibly the best known of which is the monthly *International Labor Review*. The conditions of war have necessarily curtailed the issuance of some of these periodicals, but the Office still issues in addition to the *Review* a quarterly *Industrial Safety Survey* and a *Legislative Series*. The latter are reprints and translations of important labor legislation and regula-

tions. It also publishes annually its *Year Book of Labor Statistics*.

The Office also furnishes to the member nations, upon request, the services of its experts in the fields of labor legislation and administration, social insurance, and industrial statistics. It has rendered invaluable assistance to many countries whose own experience in these fields has been limited.

Although no attempt will be made here to describe the organization of the Office, the many special committees which assist in its work, or the special regional and technical conferences held by the Organization, it should be mentioned that branch offices are at present maintained in Washington, Chungking, London, and New Delhi. In addition, the Office has correspondents located throughout the world who report to it on developments in their countries.

Although the general purposes of the I.L.O. have been indicated indirectly in the description of its structure and general functions, no account of the I.L.O. would be complete without mention of what is referred to as its "social mandate". The I.L.O. is founded upon the conviction that universal peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice. The preamble of its Constitution states that "conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required". It is to be remembered that this was written in 1919, and we have seen the fulfilment of this prophecy. The preamble also points out that "the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labor is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries".

Accordingly, the contracting parties in 1919 established the I.L.O. in recognition of the fact that "the well being—physical, moral and intellectual—of industrial wage earners is of supreme international importance". Article 41 of the Constitution set forth the matters which were then regarded as being of special and urgent importance. These included the guiding principle that labor should not be regarded as a commodity or article of commerce, the right of association for lawful purposes for employees as well as employ-

ers, the payment of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life, the adoption of an 8-hour day or a 48-hour week, the adoption of a weekly rest of at least 24 hours, the abolition of child labor, the principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value, the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident in a country, and the provision of a system of inspection in order to insure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

During the intervening years some of these objectives have in large measure been achieved and other problems have risen to the forefront. The I.L.O. recognizes this, and at its Philadelphia Conference it proposes to reexamine this statement of basic aims and to adopt a restatement more consonant with current world problems. The objectives of 1919, however, afford a background against which to judge the success of the Organization's achievements of the past 25 years.

During this period 67 conventions or international labor treaties have been adopted and have received 887 ratifications by member nations. Thus there has been woven a network of mutual obligations between nations to maintain certain labor standards. These conventions comprise an international labor code so broad in scope and so careful in detail that it is impossible to describe it adequately in these pages. The conventions have had to do with conditions of employment for women and children and for workers in special occupations and industries, including agriculture. They have been concerned with hours of work, night work, and vacations. Most forms of social insurance—workmen's compensation, sickness and invalidity, unemployment and old age—have been included. Conditions have been specified for seamen, miners, agricultural workers, bakers, and many other groups. The problems of highly industrialized countries, agricultural countries, and colonial areas have received attention.

As might be expected, there has been a great diversity in the number and character of the conventions ratified by the member countries. Liberia and Turkey have each ratified only 1 convention. On the other hand Belgium, Bulgaria, Chile, Cuba, France, Spain, Great Britain, Ireland, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, Nicaragua,

Sweden, and Uruguay have each ratified 25 or more. The United States has ratified 5 conventions, all related to conditions of work at sea.

The deliberations of the Conferences, the draft conventions and recommendations adopted, the research and services of the Office, the encouragement given to the national improvement of the conditions of labor and to international collaboration constitute an impressive record of achieve-

ment. But what of the future? What is the future of the I.L.O.?

These questions will find an answer at Philadelphia in April. The agenda of the Conference and the proposals which have been made by the Office for consideration give promise of greater I.L.O. activity and heightened influence in the future. This agenda and the proposals of the Office will be examined in another article.

FIRST WEST INDIAN CONFERENCE ¹

[Released to the press March 12]

A far-reaching cooperative program to rebuild economic, social, and health conditions in American and British possessions in the Caribbean area will be discussed, and recommendations for appropriate action made, by the first West Indian Conference, to be held from March 21 through 31 at Bridgetown, Barbados, B.W.I., the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission announced through the Department of State.

Two delegates from each British and American area—Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, British Guiana, British Honduras, the Windward Islands, the Leeward Islands, and the Bahamas—will take part in the sessions, to be presided over by Sir Frank A. Stockdale, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the British West Indies, who is British co-chairman of the Commission.

Charles W. Taussig, American co-chairman and head of the United States Section of the Commission, will be accompanied by Rexford G. Tugwell, Governor of Puerto Rico, and Coert duBois, of the Department of State, U.S.A. Sir Frank Stockdale, head of the British Section of the Commission, will be accompanied by J. S. Macpherson, C.M.G., British Resident Member of the Commission in Washington and head of the British Colonies Supply Mission, and A. J. Wakefield, C.M.G., Agricultural Adviser to the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the British West Indies.

Indicative of the scope and long-range viewpoint of the Conference are the subjects on its formal agenda: means for raising the nutritional

level; re-absorption in civil life of persons engaged in war employment; planning of public works for the improvement of agriculture, education, housing, and public health; health protection and quarantine procedure; industrial development; and the Caribbean Research Council—possibilities for expansion.

In addition, the Conference will hear reports and recommendations from the Caribbean Research Council, an advisory body made up of British, American, and Netherlands West Indies technical experts. The Council has been making intensive studies of crop diversification; promotion of animal husbandry and fisheries; soil and forest conservation; conditions of land tenure; food-preservation and marketing possibilities; health, sanitation, and quarantine measures; and other matters vital to improvement of the economic and general welfare of the peoples of the Caribbean area.

The Anglo-American Caribbean Commission was set up on March 9, 1942 and has a two-year record of dealing with wartime emergencies that threatened the West Indian population with starvation and the United Nations with the loss of supplies of sugar, metals, oils, and other Caribbean products vital to the war effort. During 1942, when German submarines infested the Caribbean, the Commission, working closely with the local administrations, initiated steps that led to establishment of the "Emergency Land-Water Highway", an 800-mile chain of railroad, trucking, and small-boat facilities running from Florida via Cuba to Puerto Rico and Jamaica, over which 1,500,000 tons of Cuban sugar were shipped to the United States and Canada, and critically needed food stocks transported to the islands, avoiding

¹ BULLETIN of Jan. 8, 1944, p. 37.

the need for long and perilous runs by large steamers. In the outer West Indies it organized a West Indies Schooner Pool, by which food and other essential supplies were moved to the islands and British Guiana by these small craft under centralized control and with financial protection to boat-owners against submarine losses. Stockpiling of food reserves was instituted on several islands, and local food production commenced or stepped up; Puerto Rico, for example, in 1942 increased its production 23 percent over pre-war years. Fishermen were aided by new equipment and technical assistance; and the huge island populations dependent on the sugar industry were protected from a disastrous reduction in income, due to reduced shipping facilities, by production control and purchase and storage of unexportable crops by the United States and British government agencies.

Calling of the West Indian Conference represents the first attempt to carry out an international cooperative program on a regional scale, integrating the differing interests and economic situations of all sections and their home and local governments into an efficient whole.

While the Commission was originated by Great Britain and the United States and is concerned primarily with areas under their two flags, the problems with which it deals involve many areas both independent and colonial, in or touching on the Caribbean Sea. The joint communiqué of March 9, 1942, announcing the formation of the Commission, stipulated: "In its studies and in the formulation of its recommendations the Commission will necessarily bear in mind the desirability of close cooperation in social and economic matters between all regions adjacent to the Caribbean."

The Commission and the West Indian Conferences, of which the Barbados meeting on March 21 will be the first, have a purely advisory status. However, the British Section of the Commission is affiliated with the Colonial Office in London and with the Development and Welfare Organization in the West Indies with headquarters in Barbados. The United States Section reports directly to the President and is an integral part of the United States Department of State. It works in close cooperation with the Department of the Interior, which has jurisdiction over United States

territories and island possessions, and with the President's Caribbean Advisory Committee, made up of Mr. Taussig; Governor Tugwell; the Honorable Martin Travieso, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico; Judge William Hastie, Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War; and Carl Robbins, former President of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Delegates from Puerto Rico and from the Virgin Islands to the Conference will be as follows: Jaime Benitez, Chancellor, University of Puerto Rico; Rafael Pico, Chairman of the Planning, Urbanizing, and Zoning Board, San Juan, Puerto Rico; Valdemar A. Hill, Chairman of the Municipal Council of St. Thomas-St. John; and Joseph Alexander, Chairman of the Municipal Council of St. Croix.

The agenda announced for the Conference's Barbados meeting are:

1. Means for raising the nutritional level
 - (a) Local food production: Discussion of methods which have been adopted and discussions on improvements which can be effected in order to raise the nutritional level in the Caribbean area
 - (b) Expansion of fisheries: British Director of Fisheries Investigations and the Director of Fishery Research Laboratory in Puerto Rico will explain work which has already been undertaken in regard to fisheries in the Caribbean
2. Re-absorption in civil life of persons engaged in war employment
 - (a) Immediate needs, e.g. in respect of local labor, mainly unskilled, whose work on military bases in the West Indies has already or is about to come to an end
 - (b) Future needs, e.g. in respect of soldiers who may be demobilized after the war and in respect to artisans and service men who will have received skilled training and a high degree of technical knowledge while working or serving outside the Caribbean.
3. Planning of public works for the improvement of agriculture, education, housing, and public health

The public works contemplated in the British colonies with development and welfare

schemes and the work undertaken or under consideration in the United States territories will be described and discussed.

4. Health protection and quarantine procedure

Reports will be made on the action which has already been taken in regard to matters of health protection, including the improvement of quarantine procedure. The Conference will be invited to comment on the recommendations of the 1943 Trinidad Quarantine Conference.

5. Industrial development

Discussion of this item will be mainly exploratory. Delegates will be asked to give information regarding industries, in existence or projected, in their territories.

6. The Caribbean Research Council—possibilities for expansion

Reports will be made on the work of the provisional committee of the Council and the proposed permanent Agricultural Committee of the Council. Attention will be given to the possibility of committees to deal with subjects other than agriculture.

Canada

DISSOLUTION OF JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEES, UNITED STATES AND CANADA

[Released to the press March 14]

It was announced on March 14 that the Governments of Canada and the United States have agreed to dissolve the Joint Economic Committees which were established in June 1941¹ to assist in the collaboration of the two countries in the utilization of their combined resources for the requirements of war. The Committees have been of great assistance, not only in the coordination of wartime measures and controls but also in surveying and advising on economic problems of common concern. It has been agreed, however, by the two Governments that the development of other agencies for coordination and exchange of views and the establishment during the past three years of meth-

¹ BULLETIN of June 21, 1941, p. 747.

ods of cooperation in production and the use of resources have rendered unnecessary the continued operation of the Committees.

The Department

RESIGNATION OF HUNTER MILLER AS EDITOR OF THE TREATIES

[Released to the press March 13]

The Secretary of State has sent the following letter to Dr. Hunter Miller, the Editor of the *Treaties*. Dr. Miller had planned to resign some months ago but at the Secretary's request he deferred submitting his resignation until this time.

DEAR DR. MILLER:

It is with genuine regret that I accept your resignation, tendered in your letter of February 10, 1944, as Editor of the *Treaties*. I shall lose a valued colleague and the Department a distinguished scholar and able international lawyer.

A career which has included membership on Colonel House's Inquiry in 1917-19, service as legal adviser to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace in 1918 and 1919, seven years as the Department's Historical Adviser, and other achievements in the field of law and scholarship, is indeed a notable one. Your monumental edition of *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America* is the finest of its kind and one in which the Department of State takes great pride.

In these ways and in many others you have contributed generously and effectively to the public service. The Department of State will be much the poorer for your resignation.

With warm personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

CORDELL HULL

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

By Departmental Order 1239 of March 14, 1944, effective March 13, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Henry R. Labonisse, Jr., a Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of European Affairs.

The Foreign Service

REPRESENTATION OF INTERESTS AS OF JANUARY 1, 1944

Representation by the United States of Foreign Interests Arranged According to United States Foreign Service Offices¹

AFGHANISTAN

Kabul (legation)

Good offices for Switzerland (Swiss nationals may, if they so desire, apply to American Legation, Kabul, for protection)

BRAZIL

Corumbá (vice consulate)

Consular services for Peru

CHINA

Chungking (embassy)

Good offices for Iceland (occasional services for Icelandic nationals when requested by Icelandic Government through Department)

COLOMBIA

Bogotá (embassy)

Good offices for China

Barranquilla (consulate)

Good offices for China

Bucaramanga (consulate)

Good offices for China

Buenaventura (vice consulate)

Good offices for China

Cali (consulate)

Good offices for China

Cartagena (consulate)

Good offices for China

Good offices for the Netherlands (issuance of bills of health to ships proceeding to certain Netherlands ports)

Medellín (consulate)

Good offices for China

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Ciudad Trujillo (embassy)

Good offices for China

ECUADOR

Quito (embassy)

Good offices for China

Guayaquil (consulate general)

Good offices for China

Manta (vice consulate)

Good offices for China

EGYPT

Alexandria (consulate)

Consular services for Panama

Port Said (consulate)

Consular services for Panama

Suez (consulate)

Consular services for Panama

FINLAND

Helsinki (legation)

Representation of Australian interests

Representation of Belgian interests

Representation of British interests

Representation of Canadian interests

Representation of Haitian interests

Representation of New Zealand interests

Representation of South African interests

Representation of Yugoslav interests

¹The representation by one country of the interests of another does not necessarily signify a rupture of relations between the represented country and the country where the protecting power undertakes such representation. For example, the United States represents Haitian interests in Great Britain although there has been no severance of relations between Haiti and Great Britain, both of which are included among the United Nations. The United States also represents Costa Rican interests in Sweden and has for many years represented Panamanian and Cuban interests in certain areas. In none of these instances has there been a rupture of relations.

Those interested in the general principles involved in the representation of foreign interests will find further information in the following and other publications: Foreign Service Regulations of the United States of America, section XII-3; Moore, *Digest of International Law*, vol. IV, p. 584 *et seq.*; and Hackworth, *Digest of International Law*, vol. IV, pp. 485-506.

FRANCE

- Algiers, Algeria (mission)
 Consular services for Cuba
 Good offices for Iceland (occasional services for Icelandic nationals when requested by Icelandic Government through Department)
- Consular services for Panama
- Cayenne, French Guiana (consulate)
 Representation of Australian interests
 Representation of Belgian interests
 Representation of British interests
 Representation of Canadian interests
 Good offices for the Netherlands
 Representation of New Zealand interests
 Representation of Yugoslav interests
- Martinique, French West Indies (consulate)
 Representation of Australian interests
 Representation of Belgian interests
 Representation of British interests
 Representation of Canadian interests
 Representation of New Zealand interests
 Representation of Yugoslav interests
- Tahiti, Society Islands, Oceania (consulate)
 Good offices for Switzerland (occasional services for Swiss nationals when requested by Swiss Legation, Washington, through Department)
- GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND, AND INDIA
- London (embassy)
 Representation of Haitian interests
- Belfast, Northern Ireland (consulate general)
 Representation of Haitian interests
 Consular services for Panama
- Birmingham (consulate)
 Representation of Haitian interests
- Bradford (consulate)
 Representation of Haitian interests
- Bristol (consulate)
 Representation of Haitian interests
- Cardiff (consulate)
 Representation of Haitian interests
- Edinburgh (consulate)
 Representation of Haitian interests
- Glasgow (consulate)
 Representation of Haitian interests

- Liverpool (consulate)
 Representation of Haitian interests
- Manchester (consulate)
 Representation of Haitian interests
- Newcastle-on-Tyne (consulate)
 Representation of Haitian interests
- Plymouth (consulate)
 Representation of Haitian interests

India

- Bombay (consulate)
 Consular services for Panama
- Caleutta (consulate general)
 Consular services for Panama
- Karachi (consulate)
 Consular services for Panama

Other Asia

- Aden, Arabia (consulate)
 Representation of Yugoslav interests
- Colombo, Ceylon (consulate)
 Consular services for Panama

Other America

- Barbados, British West Indies (consulate)
 Representation of Swiss interests
- Belize, British Honduras (consulate)
 Consular services for Panama
- Hamilton, Bermuda (consulate general)
 Representation of Swiss interests
- Kingston, Jamaica (consulate)
 Consular services for Haiti
- Nassau, New Providence, Bahamas (consulate)
 Representation of Swiss interests

HAITI

- Port-au-Prince (embassy)
 Good offices for China

HONDURAS

- Tegucigalpa (embassy)
 Good offices for China
- La Ceiba (consulate)
 Good offices for China
- Puerto Cortes (consulate)
 Good offices for China

IRAN

Tehran (legation)

Consular services for Cuba

Good offices for Iceland (occasional services for Icelandic nationals when requested by Icelandic Government through Department)

Consular services for Panama

IRAQ

Baghdad (legation)

Consular services for Cuba

IRELAND

Dublin (legation)

Representation of Haitian interests

Cork (consulate)

Representation of Haitian interests

Foynes (consulate)

Representation of Haitian interests

LIBERIA

Monrovia (legation)

Consular services for Cuba

MOROCCO

Tangier (legation)

Representation of Brazilian interests

Representation of Cuban interests

NEW ZEALAND

Wellington (legation)

Consular services for Cuba

PALESTINE

Jerusalem (consulate general)

Consular services for Panama

PORTUGAL

Lisbon (legation)

Representation of Haitian interests

Funchal, Madeira (consulate)

Representation of Haitian interests

Horta, Azores (office of maritime delegate)

Representation of Haitian interests

Oporto (consulate)

Representation of Haitian interests

Ponta Delgada, Azores (office of maritime delegate)

Representation of Haitian interests

Portuguese Possessions

Beira, Mozambique, Africa (consulate)

Representation of Haitian interests

Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, Africa (consulate general)

Representation of Haitian interests

Luanda, Angola, Africa (consulate)

Representation of Haitian interests

SPAIN

Madrid (embassy)

Representation of Haitian interests

Barcelona (consulate general)

Representation of Haitian interests

Bilbao (consulate)

Representation of Haitian interests

Centa (consulate)

Representation of Haitian interests

Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Canary Islands (consulate)

Representation of Haitian interests

Málaga (consulate)

Representation of Haitian interests

Melilla (consulate)

Representation of Haitian interests

Seville (consulate)

Representation of Haitian interests

Tenerife, Canary Islands (consulate)

Representation of Haitian interests

Valencia (consulate)

Representation of Haitian interests

Vigo (consulate)

Representation of Haitian interests

SWEDEN

Stockholm (legation)

Representation of Costa Rican interests (consular services not performed in connection with such representation since Costa Rica maintains consular offices in Sweden)

Representation of Haitian interests

Göteborg (consulate)

Representation of Haitian interests

Malmö (consulate)

Representation of Haitian interests

SWITZERLAND

- Bern (legation)
 Channel of communication with Swiss Government in connection with representation by Switzerland of the interests in enemy territory of—
 Costa Rica
 El Salvador
 Guatemala
 Honduras
 Nicaragua

TURKEY

- Ankara (embassy)
 Representation of Haitian interests (not yet definitive)
 Istanbul (consulate general)
 Good offices for Colombia (occasional services in behalf of Colombian nationals when requested by Colombian Government through Department)
 Representation of Haitian interests (not yet definitive)
 Consular services for Panama

- Iskenderun (consulate)
 Representation of Haitian interests (not yet definitive)
 Izmir (consulate)
 Representation of Haitian interests (not yet definitive)

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

- Johannesburg (consulate general)
 Consular services for Panama

VENEZUELA

- Caracas (embassy)
 Good offices for China
 Caripito (vice consulate)
 Good offices for China
 Ciudad Bolívar (vice consulate)
 Good offices for China
 La Guaira (vice consulate)
 Good offices for China
 Maracaibo (consulate)
 Good offices for China
 Puerto de la Cruz (vice consulate)
 Good offices for China

**Representation by the United States of Foreign Interests Arranged
 According to Countries Represented**

REPRESENTATION

- Of Australian interests in—*
 Finland
 French Guiana
 Martinique and Guadeloupe
Of Belgian interests in—
 Finland
 French Guiana
 Martinique and Guadeloupe
Of Brazilian interests in—
 International zone of Tangier
Of British interests in—
 Finland
 French Guiana
 Martinique and Guadeloupe
Of Canadian interests in—
 Finland
 French Guiana
 Martinique and Guadeloupe
Of Costa Rican interests in—
 Sweden (consular services not performed in connection with such representation

- since Costa Rica maintains consular offices in Sweden)
Of Cuban interests in—
 International zone of Tangier
Of Haitian interests in—
 Finland
 Great Britain
 Ireland
 Portugal
 Spain
 Sweden
 Turkey (not yet definitive)
Of New Zealand interests in—
 Finland
 French Guiana
 Martinique and Guadeloupe
Of South African interests in—
 Finland
Of Swiss interests at—
 Barbados, West Indies
 Hamilton, Bermuda
 Nassau, Bahamas

Of Yugoslav interests in—
 Aden, Arabia (consular district of)
 Finland
 French Guiana
 Martinique and Guadeloupe

PERFORMANCE OF CONSULAR SERVICES

For Cuba at—
 Algiers, Algeria
 Tehran, Iran
 Baghdad, Iraq
 Monrovia, Liberia
 Wellington, New Zealand
For Haiti in—
 Kingston, Jamaica (consular district of)

For Panama at—
 Algiers, Algeria
 Belize, British Honduras
 Colombo, Ceylon
 Alexandria, Egypt
 Port Said, Egypt
 Suez, Egypt
 Bombay, India
 Calcutta, India
 Karachi, India
 Tehran, Iran
 Belfast, Northern Ireland
 Jerusalem, Palestine
 Istanbul, Turkey
 Johannesburg, Union of South Africa

For Peru at—
 Corumbá, Brazil

EXTENSION OF GOOD OFFICES

For China in—
 Colombia
 Dominican Republic
 Ecuador

Haiti
 Honduras
 Venezuela

For Colombia at—
 Istanbul, Turkey (occasional services for Colombian nationals when requested by Colombian Government through Department)

For Iceland at—
 Algiers, Algeria
 Chungking, China
 Tehran, Iran

{ occasional services for Icelandic nationals when requested by Icelandic Government through Department

For the Netherlands at—
 Cartagena, Colombia (issuance of bills of health to ships proceeding to certain Netherlands ports)
 Cayenne, French Guiana

For Switzerland in—
 Tahiti (occasional services for Swiss nationals when requested by Swiss Legation, Washington, through Department)
 Afghanistan (Swiss nationals may, if they so desire, apply to American Legation, Kabul, for protection)

CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION WITH SWISS GOVERNMENT IN CONNECTION WITH REPRESENTATION BY SWITZERLAND OF THE INTERESTS IN ENEMY TERRITORY OF—

Costa Rica
 El Salvador
 Guatemala
 Honduras
 Nicaragua

Areas Where Switzerland Represents the Interests of the United States ¹

Albania
 Belgium (in Europe)

¹ The inclusion of an area in this list does not necessarily signify that there are Swiss diplomatic or consular representatives in that area. For example, Japan required the departure of all Swiss representatives from Singapore and Hong Kong, but Switzerland still represents the interests of the United States in the Straits Settlements and at Hong Kong, through the Swiss Legation at Tokyo.

Bulgaria
 Burma (occupied areas)
 China (occupied areas)
 Czechoslovakia
 Denmark (in Europe)
 Estonia
 France (occupied areas)
 French Indochina
 Germany

Greece
 Hong Kong
 Hungary
 Italy (areas not yet liberated)
 Japan
 Latvia
 Lithuania
 Luxembourg
 Netherlands (in Europe)
 Netherlands Indies
 Norway
 Poland
 Rumania
 Straits Settlements
 Thailand
 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (occupied areas)
 Yugoslavia

Treaty Information

UPPER COLUMBIA RIVER BASIN

The following notes were exchanged by the American Ambassador to Canada and the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs:

No. 101 OTTAWA, CANADA,
February 25, 1944.

SIR:

I have the honor to refer to your note No. 157 of December 10, 1943,¹ concerning the desirability of having a study made by the International Joint Commission with respect to the Upper Columbia River Basin from the points of view of navigation, power development, irrigation, flood control, and other beneficial public uses and purposes.

As the result of informal exchanges of views on this subject I have been directed to bring the following suggested reference to the Commission to your attention with the request that I be informed whether it is acceptable to the Government of Canada:

"1. In order to determine whether a greater use than is now being made of the waters of the Columbia River system would be feasible and advantageous, the Governments of the United States and Canada have agreed to refer the matter to the International Joint Commission for investigation and report pursuant to Article IX of the Convention concerning Boundary Waters between the United States and Canada, signed January 11th, 1909.²

"2. It is desired that the Commission shall determine whether in its judgment further development of the water resources of the river basin would be practicable and in the public interest from the points of view of the two Governments, having in mind (A) domestic water supply and sanitation, (B) navigation, (C) efficient development of water power, (D) the control of floods, (E) the needs of irrigation, (F) reclamation of wet lands, (G) conservation of fish and wildlife, and (H) other beneficial public purposes.

"3. In the event that the Commission should find that further works or projects would be feasible and desirable for one or more of the purposes indicated above, it should indicate how the interests on either side of the boundary would be benefited or adversely affected thereby, and should estimate the costs of such works or projects, including indemnification for damage to public and private property and the costs of any remedial works that may be found to be necessary, and should indicate how the costs of any projects and the amounts of any resulting damage should be apportioned between the two Governments.

"4. The Commission should also investigate and report on existing dams, hydro-electric plants, navigation works, and other works or projects located within the Columbia River system in so far as such investigation and report may be germane to the subject under consideration.

"5. In the conduct of its investigation and otherwise in the performance of its duties under this reference, the Commission may utilize the services of engineers and other specially qualified personnel of the technical agencies of Canada and the United

¹ Not printed.

² Treaty Series 548.

States and will so far as possible make use of information and technical data heretofore acquired by such technical agencies or which may become available during the course of the investigation, thus avoiding duplication of effort and unnecessary expense."

If the proposed reference is acceptable to your Government I should appreciate being informed, and this note together with your reply would be regarded as an agreement between our two Governments on the terms of reference.

Accept [etc.]

RAY ATHERTON

No. 18

OTTAWA, *March 3, 1944.*

EXCELLENCY -

I have the honour to refer to your note No. 101 dated February 25, 1944, in which you brought to the attention of the Canadian Government the terms of a reference to the International Joint Commission with respect to the Upper Columbia River Basin.

The proposed reference is acceptable to the Canadian Government and your note, together with this reply, may be regarded as an agreement between our two Governments on the terms of reference.

Accept [etc.]

N. A. ROBERTSON

for Secretary of State
for External Affairs.

PROTOCOL ON PELAGIC WHALING

The American Embassy in London transmitted to the Department of State with a despatch dated February 28, 1944 certified copies of a protocol relating to pelagic whaling operations which was signed at London on February 7, 1944 by the accredited representatives of the Governments of the United States of America, the Union of South Africa, the Commonwealth of Australia, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Canada, New Zealand, and Norway.

The protocol signed at London on February 7, 1944 amends in certain particulars the International Agreement for the Regulation of Whaling

signed at London on June 8, 1937 and the protocol signed at London on June 24, 1938, introducing certain amendments into the agreement of 1937.

The provisions of the new protocol were agreed upon at the International Whaling Conference held in London in January 1944. The American delegates to that conference were Dr. Remington Kellogg of the United States National Museum and Mr. Loyd V. Steere, Agricultural Attaché at the American Embassy in London. These delegates were assisted by Mr. John M. Allison, Second Secretary, American Embassy, London, and Capt. Alfred C. Richmond, United States Coast Guard, as technical advisers.

RUBBER DEVELOPMENT IN BRAZIL

The American Embassy in Rio de Janeiro has transmitted to the Department of State with a despatch dated February 14, 1944 an agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Brazil regarding the rubber-development program in Brazil, effected by an exchange of notes signed at Rio de Janeiro on February 8, 1944.

Legislation

Supplemental Estimates—Department of State: Communication from the President of the United States transmitting supplemental estimates for the Department of State, fiscal year 1945, amounting to \$2,869,000, in the form of amendments to the budget for said fiscal year. S. Doc. 163, 78th Cong. 3 pp.

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BULLETIN

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The War

BASES OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

[Released to the press March 21]

On March 21, 1944, Secretary of State Cordell Hull informed press and radio correspondents that after returning from his recent trip to Florida he had noted a growing interest in the foreign policy of the United States and an increasing number of requests for information about various points in our foreign policy. He said that he was glad of this increased interest. The Secretary said that, in addition to many statements and declarations by the President, he had himself made a number of basic statements on foreign policy during the past two years. He thought it would be a convenience and help to the public generally if there could be compiled a brief memorandum of a number of them. Accordingly, the following has been prepared:

OUR FUNDAMENTAL NATIONAL INTERESTS

In determining our foreign policy we must first see clearly what our true national interests are.

At the present time, the paramount aim of our foreign policy is to defeat our enemies as quickly as possible.

Beyond final victory, our fundamental national interests are the assuring of our national security and the fostering of the economic and social well-being of our people.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Cooperation between nations in the spirit of good neighbors, founded on the principles of liberty, equality, justice, morality, and law, is the most effective method of safeguarding and promoting the political, the economic, the social, and the cultural well-being of our nation and of all nations.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION BACKED BY FORCE

Some international agency must be created

which can—by force, if necessary—keep the peace among nations in the future.

A system of organized international cooperation for the maintenance of peace must be based upon the willingness of the cooperating nations to use force, if necessary, to keep the peace. There must be certainty that adequate and appropriate means are available and will be used for this purpose.

POLITICAL DIFFERENCES

Political differences which present a threat to the peace of the world should be submitted to agencies which would use the remedies of discussion, negotiation, conciliation, and good offices.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

Disputes of a legal character which present a threat to the peace of the world should be adjudicated by an international court of justice whose decisions would be based upon application of principles of law.

REDUCTION OF ARMS

International cooperative action must include eventual adjustment of national armaments in such a manner that the rule of law cannot be successfully challenged and that the burden of armaments may be reduced to a minimum.

MOSCOW FOUR-NATION DECLARATION

Through this declaration the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States, and China have laid the foundation for cooperative effort in the post-war world toward enabling all peace-loving nations, large and small, to live in peace and security, to preserve the liberties and rights of civilized existence, and to enjoy expanded opportunities and facilities for economic, social, and spiritual progress.

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE AND ALLIANCES

As the provisions of the four-nation declaration are carried into effect, there will no longer be need for spheres of influence, for alliances, for balance of power, or any other of the special arrangements through which, in the unhappy past, the nations strove to safeguard their security or to promote their interests.

SURVEILLANCE OVER AGGRESSOR NATIONS

In the process of re-establishing international order, the United Nations must exercise surveillance over aggressor nations until such time as the latter demonstrate their willingness and ability to live at peace with other nations. How long such surveillance will need to continue must depend upon the rapidity with which the peoples of Germany, Japan, Italy, and their satellites give convincing proof that they have repudiated and abandoned the monstrous philosophy of superior race and conquest by force and have embraced loyally the basic principles of peaceful processes.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE BARRIERS

Excessive trade barriers of the many different kinds must be reduced, and practices which impose injuries on others and divert trade from its natural economic course must be avoided.

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE

Equally plain is the need for making national currencies once more freely exchangeable for each other at stable rates of exchange; for a system of financial relations so devised that materials can be produced and ways may be found of moving them where there are markets created by human need; for machinery through which capital may—for the development of the world's resources and for the stabilization of economic activity—move on equitable terms from financially stronger to financially weaker countries.

ATLANTIC CHARTER: RECIPROCAL OBLIGATIONS

The pledge of the Atlantic Charter is of a system which will give every nation, large or small, a greater assurance of stable peace, greater opportunity for the realization of its aspirations to freedom, and greater facilities for material advancement. But that pledge implies an obligation for each nation to demonstrate its capacity for stable and progressive government, to fulfil

scrupulously its established duties to other nations, to settle its international differences and disputes by none but peaceful methods, and to make its full contribution to the maintenance of enduring peace.

SOVEREIGN EQUALITY OF NATIONS

Each sovereign nation, large or small, is in law and under law the equal of every other nation.

The principle of sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, irrespective of size and strength, as partners in a future system of general security, will be the foundation-stone upon which the future international organization will be constructed.

FORM OF GOVERNMENT

Each nation should be free to decide for itself the forms and details of its governmental organization—so long as it conducts its affairs in such a way as not to menace the peace and security of other nations.

NON-INTERVENTION

All nations, large and small, which respect the rights of others are entitled to freedom from outside interference in their internal affairs.

LIBERTY

There is no surer way for men and for nations to show themselves worthy of liberty than to fight for its preservation, in any way that is open to them, against those who would destroy it for all. Never did a plainer duty to fight against its foes devolve upon all peoples who prize liberty and all who aspire to it.

All peoples who, with "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind", have qualified themselves to assume and to discharge the responsibilities of liberty are entitled to its enjoyment.

DEPENDENT PEOPLES

There rests upon the independent nations a responsibility in relation to dependent peoples who aspire to liberty. It should be the duty of nations having political ties with such peoples, of mandates, of trustees, or of other agencies, as the case may be, to help the aspiring peoples to develop materially and educationally, to prepare themselves for the duties and responsibilities of self-government, and to attain liberty. An excellent example of what can be achieved is afforded in the record of our relationship with the Philippines.

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

Statement by the President

[Released to the press by the White House March 24]

On this, the tenth anniversary of the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie act, I take the opportunity of conveying again a message of friendship and good-will to the people of the Philippines. American-Filipino friendship has had a long history. The bill for Philippine independence which I signed just 10 years ago was a manifestation of

that friendship. It is a source of deep gratification to me to be able to say to the brave people, who are now bearing the yoke of Japanese domination, that the return of freedom to their Islands draws closer with each Allied victory. The Philippine government temporarily residing here possesses all the attributes of an independent nation. America will fulfil its pledge.

WAR REFUGEES

Statement by the President

[Released to the press by the White House March 24]

The United Nations are fighting to make a world in which tyranny and aggression cannot exist; a world based upon freedom, equality, and justice; a world in which all persons regardless of race, color, or creed may live in peace, honor, and dignity.

In the meantime in most of Europe and in parts of Asia the systematic torture and murder of civilians—men, women, and children—by the Nazis and the Japanese continue unabated. In areas subjugated by the aggressors innocent Poles, Czechs, Norwegians, Dutch, Danes, French, Greeks, Russians, Chinese, Filipinos—and many others—are being starved or frozen to death or murdered in cold blood in a campaign of savagery.

The slaughters of Warsaw, Lidice, Kharkov, and Nanking—the brutal torture and murder by the Japanese, not only of civilians but of our own gallant American soldiers and fliers—these are startling examples of what goes on day by day, year in and year out, wherever the Nazis and the Japs are in military control, free to follow their barbaric purpose.

In one of the blackest crimes of all history—begun by the Nazis in the day of peace and multiplied by them a hundred times in time of war—the wholesale systematic murder of the Jews of Europe goes on unabated every hour. As a result of the events of the last few days, hundreds of thousands of Jews, who while living under persecution have at least found a haven from death in Hungary and the Balkans, are now threatened with annihilation as Hitler's forces descend more heavily upon these lands. That these innocent people, who have already survived a decade of Hitler's

fury, should perish on the very eve of triumph over the barbarism which their persecution symbolizes, would be a major tragedy.

It is therefore fitting that we should again proclaim our determination that none who participate in these acts of savagery shall go unpunished. The United Nations have made it clear that they will pursue the guilty and deliver them up in order that Justice be done. That warning applies not only to the leaders but also to their functionaries and subordinates in Germany and in the satellite countries. All who knowingly take part in the deportation of Jews to their death in Poland, or Norwegians and French to their death in Germany, are equally guilty with the executioner. All who share the guilt shall share the punishment.

Hitler is committing these crimes against humanity in the name of the German people. I ask every German and every man everywhere under Nazi domination to show the world by his action that in his heart he does not share these insane criminal desires. Let him hide these pursued victims, help them to get over their borders, and do what he can to save them from the Nazi hangman. I ask him also to keep watch and to record the evidence that will one day be used to convict the guilty.

In the meantime, and until the victory that is now assured is won, the United States will persevere in its efforts to rescue the victims of brutality of the Nazis and the Japs. In so far as the necessity of military operations permits, this Government will use all means at its command to aid the escape of all intended victims of the Nazi and Jap executioner—regardless of race or religion or color. We call upon the free peoples of Europe and Asia

temporarily to open their frontiers to all victims of oppression. We shall find havens of refuge for them, and we shall find the means for their maintenance and support until the tyrant is driven from their homelands and they may return.

In the name of justice and humanity let all freedom-loving people rally to this righteous undertaking.

GERMAN INVASION OF HUNGARY

Statement by the Secretary of State

[Released to the press March 24]

The rapid decline of Nazi tyranny has never been so apparent as today, when Hitler, in growing awareness that he cannot withstand the united efforts of the freedom-loving peoples of the world, has shown his desperation by turning with his accustomed treachery upon a former ally.

Only by firm resistance to the hated invader can Hungary, the first of the Axis satellites to feel the Nazi whip, hope to regain the respect and friendship of free nations and demonstrate its right to independence.

FALSE RUMORS OF POSSIBLE FUTURE COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE VICHY REGIME

[Released to the press March 21]

The following statement by the Department of State was issued in response to a request for com-

ment on reports emanating from Algiers to the effect that concern had been expressed there that the United States Government might in the future collaborate with officials of the Vichy regime:

The absurd reports and rumors periodically occurring, which are evidently inspired, endeavoring to create the impression that this Government upon the liberation of France intends to deal with the Vichy regime or with certain individuals directly or indirectly supporting the policy of collaboration with Germany, are false on their face. The fact that this Government kept representatives at Vichy for some time for such vital purposes as combating Nazi designs, the preservation of the French fleet from German hands, and the prevention of Nazi occupation of French Africa or the establishment of military bases there, has been most amazingly and falsely represented as founded upon a sympathetic relationship between the American Government and pro-Axis supporters at Vichy. Every person at all informed knew that throughout the entire period just the opposite was the truth.

No loyal supporter of the Allied cause would make the ridiculous charge that the United States Government, while sending its military forces and vast military supplies to the most distant battlefields to prosecute the war against the Axis powers, would at the same time have any dealings or relations with the Vichy regime except for the purpose of abolishing it.

THE DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Address by Assistant Secretary Berle¹

[Released to the press March 22]

FELLOW TEACHERS: We are gathered to take counsel together tonight on a part which may fall to the United States as the war comes to a close and the post-war era begins. Your counseling is of unlimited importance, for you have under your guidance the boys and girls who will sustain that part and the high privileges and great burdens which go with it. No greater responsibility exists anywhere.

The world crisis through which we are passing came from causes deeper than the mere villainy of certain groups of men. It is true beyond doubt

that in the Axis countries, and to some extent elsewhere, small groups of evil people banded together to seize power with force and violence, to share that power with others who would likewise deny any moral basis for society, and so to make themselves dictators of their own country, slave-drivers to their own peoples, and attempted to make themselves conquerors of the rest of the world. It is undeniable that this effort is now doomed to certain defeat. Yet it came closer to success than we like to think.

¹ Delivered at Schoolmen's Week Convention, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Mar. 22, 1944.

After the fall of France, a Nazi cabinet minister visited Prague and there collected his trusted lieutenants—the hangmen of the secret police, the systematic plunderers of the economic administration, the dark men who profaned the name of education by endeavoring to train the Czech nation into a population of illiterate slaves. With certainty of success he proclaimed that the Nazi Government already had plans in preparation, backed by adequate force, sufficient to conquer Britain in 1940, Soviet Russia thereafter, and, in good time, to deal with the United States. Indeed, nothing but the thin ribbon of the English Channel stood between the greatest army in the world and the only western nation then seriously resisting. So sure were these dark men of victory that they had built the arches and prepared the festoons for the celebration of triumph in Berlin in that fateful fall of 1940.

We in the United States had greater good fortune than has befallen any nation. Stout English hearts manned the Royal Air Force; the beginning of the trickle of lend-lease from the United States assisted in supplying them with coast defense; and the German arms were turned back in the autumn air from their onslaught on the British Isles. By that narrow margin, time and understanding were vouchsafed us to use our energy in producing weapons, equipping an army, putting an air force into action. But it is not too much to say that from the summer of 1940 to the summer of 1941 only the bravery of one nation, aided, it is true, by colossal strategic mistakes on the Nazi side, saved the Western world from disaster.

Clearly, although the situation was saved, something was vastly wrong or else it would not have arisen at all. The Nazis had no hesitation about pointing this out. They said that the democracies were fat and foolish, that they had forgotten how to believe passionately or to sacrifice for their beliefs. They said that anyone on the democratic side would consider his comfort and his profit ahead of the welfare of his country and his kind. Particularly they said that any country could be bought off for a time by promise of profit or by hope of temporary immunity from attack, and that by this simple device they could attack nations one by one, defeat them individ-

ually, enslave them and their resources as they went along, and so emerge dominant throughout the world. They were wrong, as it proved; but they were closer to being right than we like to remember. For that reason it is plainly our task to convince the generation which now struggles, and the generation which you are training, that citizenship in general, and American citizenship in particular, is not merely a privilege and a benefit. It is also a collection of obligations and duties, many of them difficult, some dangerous and tragic. On the fulfilment of these duties today and tomorrow depends the place of our country, or any country, in the world to come.

Consider for a moment the burden which the United States must shoulder as the necessary price of her continued safety and her continued proud position. She has the greatest developed land mass in the world. This was originally a protection in itself, as the greater land mass of the Soviet Union still is, in a sense, the greatest defense of that country. In addition she has an ocean east and west. Yet the oceans no longer guarantee immunity; planes can cross them in a few hours. In the not-distant future it will be possible to do from the other side of the Atlantic to the United States what Allied air forces are today doing to Germany across the English Channel. And our highly developed mechanical progress carries with it a certain weakness: destruction of key plants and resources can derange the entire mechanism of defense. A bridgehead anywhere on the Western Hemisphere could mean, all too easily, a struggle of extreme danger. Should the post-war world break up into states devoted to power politics, this country would have its work cut out for it. Unless we were to know war in our own borders as Europe is learning it today, we should have to maintain a defense system capable of dealing with a threat from the far side of the Pacific and the far side of the Atlantic alike. This sounds fantastic. Yet it is not so long ago that a Japanese attack based on the Marshall Islands crippled the American defense at Pearl Harbor, two thousand miles away; and the art of destruction has developed vastly since then.

If we were to put our only trust in our isolated national force, the tasks of Americans would be heavy indeed. We shall not wholly escape those tasks in any event.

But it should be clear that another and perhaps a greater duty is placed on us—forced on us, if you will. We must endeavor to create a condition of affairs in which war shall become improbable and in which peace can be compelled. This is the combined task of endeavoring to create a world of friendly states, of good neighbors, and of being prepared to prevent war, by force if need be, when it once more threatens. We have twice learned that a war anywhere, remote from our shores and from our minds, nevertheless can force us to stand to arms. It should not be necessary to learn that lesson a third time.

And yet, because memory is short, we have to teach this year in and year out. Who does not remember the systematic teaching that war could accomplish nothing; the pathetic assertion that a nation which behaved itself need not fear any wrong-doer; that foreign disputes were of no interest to us? And one remembers, grimly, the French traitor, Marcel Déat, urging his country not to keep its alliance with Britain and resist Germany, by trying to make out that the Nazi plan of world conquest was a local row between Germany and Poland. "Why die for Danzig?" he asked, while the German fifth columnists (his friends) were undermining the very defenses of Paris. Yet there are people even now who favor in their innocence what Déat said in his treason, who ask why Americans should be concerned with North Africa or with Italy, with a second front, or with the Solomon Islands. The answer is the same: the enemy which seized Danzig was thundering into the north of France a few months later. The enemy which seized the islands of the Pacific boasted—and actually hoped—that it would dictate surrender in Washington. The savage truth of Litvinov's remark that peace is indivisible, proved in blood and sorrow, must not and cannot be forgotten.

It follows, therefore, that the United States, if she is to retain her place as a land of peace and progress and self-fulfilment, must do her utmost to create a condition of affairs and to organize world relations so that the peace can be kept.

To do this we must face a number of tasks to which we are not accustomed and which we shall find extremely hard. Let us look at a few of them.

First is the necessity of making, keeping, and holding an American point of view. This is essential. The time has long since passed when formation of American opinion in foreign relations could safely follow lines laid down abroad. Most countries are interested in promoting their own national interests. Many of them have relied on shifting policies and on changing alliances, and some have been opportunist in their policies, doing what seemed and perhaps was necessary to them for their own safety. We need not claim moral superiority. It happens that through good fortune and geography we are relatively more secure than most countries and therefore can exercise the high privilege of endeavoring to deal in foreign affairs on a basis of fairness and justice. We have resources enough so that we can respect the needs of other, more crowded populations who must export in order to feed their people. We have learned that neighbors who are highly developed and widely industrialized do not threaten us by their competition but are actually better customers. Accordingly, we find it both advantageous as well as neighborly to assist the less developed countries in their technical education and advance. We have learned that the cooperation of a friend is far more useful to us and to the world than the reluctant help dragged from a dominated country. In the language of diplomacy, we have learned to recognize that good-neighborship, accompanied by recognition of the sovereign equality of our neighbors, is not only honesty but also good policy.

The position of the nation does not depend alone on its armed force or war potential. Even more than arms, the ideals and policies for which a country stands determine its influence. The policy and practice of the good-neighbor doctrine is responsible, in large measure, for the influence which the United States has beyond its fighting lines. More than that, the hope of making the good-neighbor policy general throughout the world is perhaps the most solid basis for believing that we can arrive at a successful world organization capable of making and maintaining permanent peace. The maintenance of the good-neighbor policy, which means also patience and understanding, becomes one of the great duties of the United States.

Hand in hand with this goes another duty—the duty to assure that American business interests acting abroad actively contribute to building up

the welfare of the countries in which they operate. This is essential. We have and will hold a powerful commercial position outside our borders. Exercising wise judgment, the American merchants and miners and manufacturers, the men who operate airlines and refineries, factories, and communications, can contribute to the countries in which they work as much or more than they take out for American profit. If their work is to be permanent, they must do this; and the process becomes an essential part of American foreign relations. The day of the exploiter is gone, and exploitation can be no part of American policy. The success of an American enterprise outside the United States will be measured even more by the working-conditions it creates, by the health and homes of its employees, and by the growing capacity of the people with which it works, than by the mere size of its profit-account piling up in banks in New York or Chicago. This is a task for industrial statesmanship—an idea which is steadily growing among American businessmen. But if the task is to be done, the generation coming of age must be taught that foreign business and foreign trade is the art of contributing to the foreign country rather than the art of seizing an exploiter's profit.

In this respect we have learned much and can learn more from our American neighbors. We are learning from men like Guani of Uruguay; from Padilla, the Foreign Minister of Mexico; from Aranha, the Foreign Minister of Brazil; from men like the great Venezuelan, Lopez Contreras; and I hope we are also learning from the writers and thinkers, in government and out, throughout Central and South America.

Peace, when it comes, will not last long if it is merely a grab-bag in which each nation or groups within each nation seek to take reckless advantage of their associates and their neighbors. It was just this condition of affairs which so weakened Europe that Hitler and a group of Nazi criminals could attempt the conquest of a continent as a preface to the plunder of the planet.

America's position in the post-war world will be strong. It will rest in great measure on the bravery and devotion of many millions of young men and many hundred thousands of young women serving in our armed forces. But its continued existence will rest upon the strength, the ideals,

and the faith of these young men and women and others coming into maturity in the democratic way of life.

We have heard a great deal about the difficulties of America. It has become fashionable, indeed, in some circles to emphasize them. Surely we have many weaknesses and many faults. Yet, man for man and woman for woman, America has done better by her children than any other country. Her faith has been in individual effort, individual responsibility, and individual achievement.

This is the great heritage of the West. We are co-heirs of European civilization, of the great revolutions which were Greek and then Roman; which were Christian and Catholic; which were the Renaissance and the Reformation; which destroyed feudalism in the time of the French Revolution. This has been a continuous revolution toward greater achievement and opportunity for the individual, and we have steadily maintained that faith against people who would unduly exalt the state and against people who would enthrone the cartel. We have believed in freedom, inspired by kindness, and have accepted restraint so that freedom should be greater.

We shall pass some years in a world of strident voices. It cannot be otherwise, for catastrophe is steadily forcing a great readjustment which will end by being world-wide. In this readjustment America has much to say, for she is the greatest champion of the kindly revolution which has been the dominant note in our national history.

The Foreign Service

CONFIRMATIONS

On March 20, 1944 the Senate confirmed the nomination of Avra M. Warren to be American Ambassador to Panama, Leland B. Morris to be American Ambassador to Iran, Orme Wilson to be American Ambassador to Haiti, Willard L. Beaulac to be American Ambassador to Paraguay, Ellis O. Briggs to be American Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, Louis G. Dreyfus, Jr., to be American Minister to Iceland, Gen. Thomas Holcomb to be American Minister to the Union of South Africa, and Kenneth S. Patton to be American Minister to New Zealand.

American Republics

WATER TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO

By *Charles A. Timm*¹

The signature on February 3, 1944 of the treaty relating to the conservation, control, distribution, and use of the available water supply of the Rio Grande below Fort Quitman, Texas, and of the Colorado and Tijuana Rivers marked the culmination of nearly a century of diplomacy relating to these streams. When it is considered that the people, communities, industries, and agriculture along the two thousand miles of this boundary are dependent to a very large degree upon the water supply of the Colorado River and the Rio Grande, it will be readily understood that this treaty is one of tremendous importance.

A few basic facts regarding the boundary region and the basins of the Colorado River and the Rio Grande (see maps, pp. 283, 286, and 289) may be useful in understanding the scope of the provisions of this treaty. Along the boundary are found, on the United States side, the States of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas; and on the Mexican side, the Territory of Baja California and the States of Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas. The basin of the Colorado River covers an area of 244,000 square miles and includes parts of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming in the United States and a small part of Baja California and Sonora in Mexico. The seven States of the Colorado River Basin in the United States are divided for practical purposes into the upper basin (Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming) and the lower basin (Arizona, California, Nevada). The basin of the Rio Grande covers approximately 180,000 square miles in Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas on the United States side and Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas on the Mexican side. Both of these rivers rise in the high mountains of Colorado, and most of their water supply is derived from precipitation in the form of rain or snow in the mountainous regions of the headwaters of the main streams and their tributaries. There is very little rainfall in the lower

basin of the Colorado River, and even in the case of the Rio Grande the relatively heavy rainfall at the mouth adds little water to the river, which must depend for the most part on the run-off from its main tributaries—the Conchos and San Juan Rivers in Mexico and the Pecos and Devils Rivers in the United States. It is the basins of these two rivers, together with the basin of the diminutive Tijuana and the territory in the region of the nearly 700 miles of strictly land boundary that will be affected in many ways by the terms of the treaty in question and that require, for their greatest possible development, the cooperative endeavors of the United States and Mexico. The basis for this cooperation is carefully laid in the provisions of this treaty.

The treaty itself is but the latest of a long series of United States–Mexican conventions relating to the Rio Grande and the Colorado. The treaties of February 2, 1848 (9 Stat. 922) and December 3, 1853 (10 Stat. 1031) defined certain parts of these rivers with reference to the boundary and regulated the use of their waters for purposes of navigation. Aside from some conventions between 1880 and 1890 which related to the land boundary, the next treaty concerning the boundary was that of November 12, 1884 (24 Stat. 1011), which resulted from the difficulties caused by accretive and avulsive changes in the Rio Grande and the Colorado. This treaty defined the general laws of accretion and avulsion to be applied to the boundary rivers and prescribed the rules to regulate or control artificial changes in their channels, monuments on bridges across them, and property rights on cut-offs caused by avulsive changes in the river channels. The need of an international body to execute the provisions of the treaty of 1884 led to the signing of the treaty of March 1, 1889 (26 Stat. 1512), which provided for the organization, jurisdiction, and authority of the present International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico.

¹The author of this article is a Divisional Assistant in the Division of Mexican Affairs, Department of State.

Since 1889 three treaties of considerable importance relating to these boundary rivers have been negotiated. The treaty of March 20, 1905 (35 Stat. 1863) provided for the elimination from the effects of the treaty of November 12, 1884 of certain categories of *bancos* or cut-offs. The following year there was signed, on May 21 (34 Stat. 2953), a treaty by the terms of which the United States allocated to Mexico 60 thousand acre-feet of water from the Rio Grande at Ciudad Juárez.¹ After an additional quarter of a century of difficulties occasioned by the meanders and floods of the Rio Grande in the El Paso-Juárez Valley, the two countries signed, on February 1, 1933 (48 Stat. 1621), a treaty by the terms of which the river channel between El Paso-Juárez and Box Canyon was rectified and controlled by means of levees. One other treaty, the arbitral convention of June 24, 1910 (36 Stat. 2481), related to the boundary rivers only to the extent that it provided for the settlement by arbitration of the so-called "Chamizal dispute" involving a small tract of land built up by accretion on the El Paso side of the Rio Grande. This effort proved futile, and the problem of the Chamizal still remains to be settled.

It will be noted that, with the exception of the treaties of 1848 and 1853, the practical importance of most of these treaties is restricted chiefly to the Rio Grande. This is understandable when it is considered that the boundary runs along the Rio Grande for more than 1,200 miles, whereas the Colorado River divides the two countries for only 18 or 20 miles. Had navigation on the Colorado become important, the diplomatic history of this stream might have taken another turn, but it remained for the development of irrigation in both countries to bring this river to the forefront in both interstate and international relations.

As a matter of fact, with the exception of the treaty of 1906, none of these conventions relates directly to the use of the boundary streams for irrigation. This indicates that agricultural development in the boundary region was not significant at the time the treaties were negotiated, although it is true that for centuries before the Spanish occupation of the Southwest the Indians had prac-

ticed some irrigation in the Upper Rio Grande Valley and in the Gila basin, and that a considerable increase in irrigated acreage accompanied the establishment of Spanish villages along the Rio Grande. Soon after the United States acquired the Southwest, agriculture, based very largely upon irrigation, began to develop in the upper basin of the Colorado River. Beginning in the 1880's the use of water for irrigation in the basins of both the Rio Grande and the Colorado increased so rapidly that the Rio Grande system now irrigates about 1,500,000 acres in the States of Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas, and 100,000 to 200,000 acres in Mexico, and the waters of the Colorado River system are now irrigating about 2,500,000 acres in the seven States of the Colorado basin and an additional 300,000 acres in Mexico. The result has been that the natural flow of each of these streams no longer suffices to insure enough water for the present irrigated areas, not to mention projects calling for a great expansion of acreage. It became necessary, therefore, not only to consider means to conserve and control the available water supply of these rivers but also to reach agreements for the equitable apportionment of the supply, both among the States of the United States and between the United States and Mexico.

As between the United States and Mexico the first critical situation developed in the El Paso-Juárez Valley, in which irrigation has been carried on for more than 300 years. Here the rapid upstream development in New Mexico and Colorado endangered the irrigation project in the Mexican part of the valley, with the result that after years of diplomatic exchanges and technical investigations the two countries concluded the treaty of 1906, which solved the problem by allocating to Mexico 60,000 acre-feet each year from the Upper Rio Grande.

Shortly thereafter, irrigation development began in the delta of the Lower Rio Grande Valley and proceeded so rapidly that by 1940 several hundred thousand acres were under irrigation in that area, which now supports a population of over 200,000 and has a capital valuation of approximately \$300,000,000. So long as there were no large developments on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande, there was no serious danger of a prolonged water shortage in the Lower Valley of

¹An acre-foot of water is the quantity required to cover one acre to the depth of one foot.

Texas. Beginning, however, in the early 1930's the Government of Mexico made plans for the ultimate irrigation of nearly 500,000 acres along the main stream and the tributaries of this river. These projects have already reached the point where the natural flow of the Rio Grande is insufficient in years of low run-off.

During the first two decades of this century, this problem of the lower Rio Grande received the attention of the two Governments on several occasions and was the object of study by joint commissions. No material results came from these early efforts, and beginning in 1924 another serious attempt was made to reach an agreement between the two countries regarding the distribution of the waters of the Rio Grande. In that year the Congress of the United States passed an act (43 Stat. 118) approving the establishment of an International Water Commission, United States and Mexico, to make a study regarding the equitable use of the waters of this river below Fort Quitman, Texas. The refusal of the Government of Mexico to consider the Rio Grande without also considering the Colorado led to the passage by the Congress of the joint resolution of March 3, 1927 (44 Stat. 1043), amending the act of 1924 to make it cover not only the Rio Grande but also the Colorado and Tijuana Rivers. This Commission made an investigation of these rivers but was unable to reach an agreement regarding the distribution of their waters. So far as the Rio Grande was concerned, the chief difficulty lay in the fact that, whereas 70 percent of the water supply below Fort Quitman, Texas, had its origin in Mexico, most of the irrigated acreage was in Texas, and Mexico was unwilling to guarantee the perpetuation of the Texas developments, insisting instead that the water of the main stream should be divided equally, with each country retaining the right to develop its tributaries to the fullest extent.

Following the failure of the International Water Commission to reach an agreement on the Rio Grande, the situation facing the water-users grew steadily worse. In the effort to discover a rational solution for the problem, a thorough investigation was made by a panel of engineers associated with the United States Section of the International Boundary Commission, on the basis of which there was developed what is known as the Valley Gravity and Storage Project (Federal

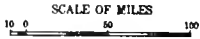
Project 5). Under this project, an initial appropriation for which was made in 1941 (55 Stat. 303), the lower valley of Texas would be protected by means of off-river storage, a gravity diversion canal to tap the Rio Grande near the town of Zapata, Texas, and a system of feeder and distribution canals, the total to cost in the neighborhood of \$55,000,000. Ultimately it was planned to build storage reservoirs on the Pecos and Devils Rivers, both tributaries of the Rio Grande. This project, while technically feasible, must be regarded as a second choice, the first choice being always a workable treaty with Mexico to provide for international storage dams and other works on the main stream. Even with a treaty of this kind, those features of this project located below Roma or Rio Grande City, Texas, would still be needed to complement the treaty works.

Turning now to the Colorado River, it will be noted that the problems of this river system were approached also from both the interstate and the international angle. Mexico became involved when the Imperial Valley Project was first begun, for this development was based upon a gravity canal that headed in the Colorado River immediately above the international boundary, crossed the boundary into Mexico, and then turned west and northwest back across the boundary to the Imperial Valley of Southern California. The construction of this canal required a concession from Mexico, under the terms of which Mexico could use half the capacity of the canal.

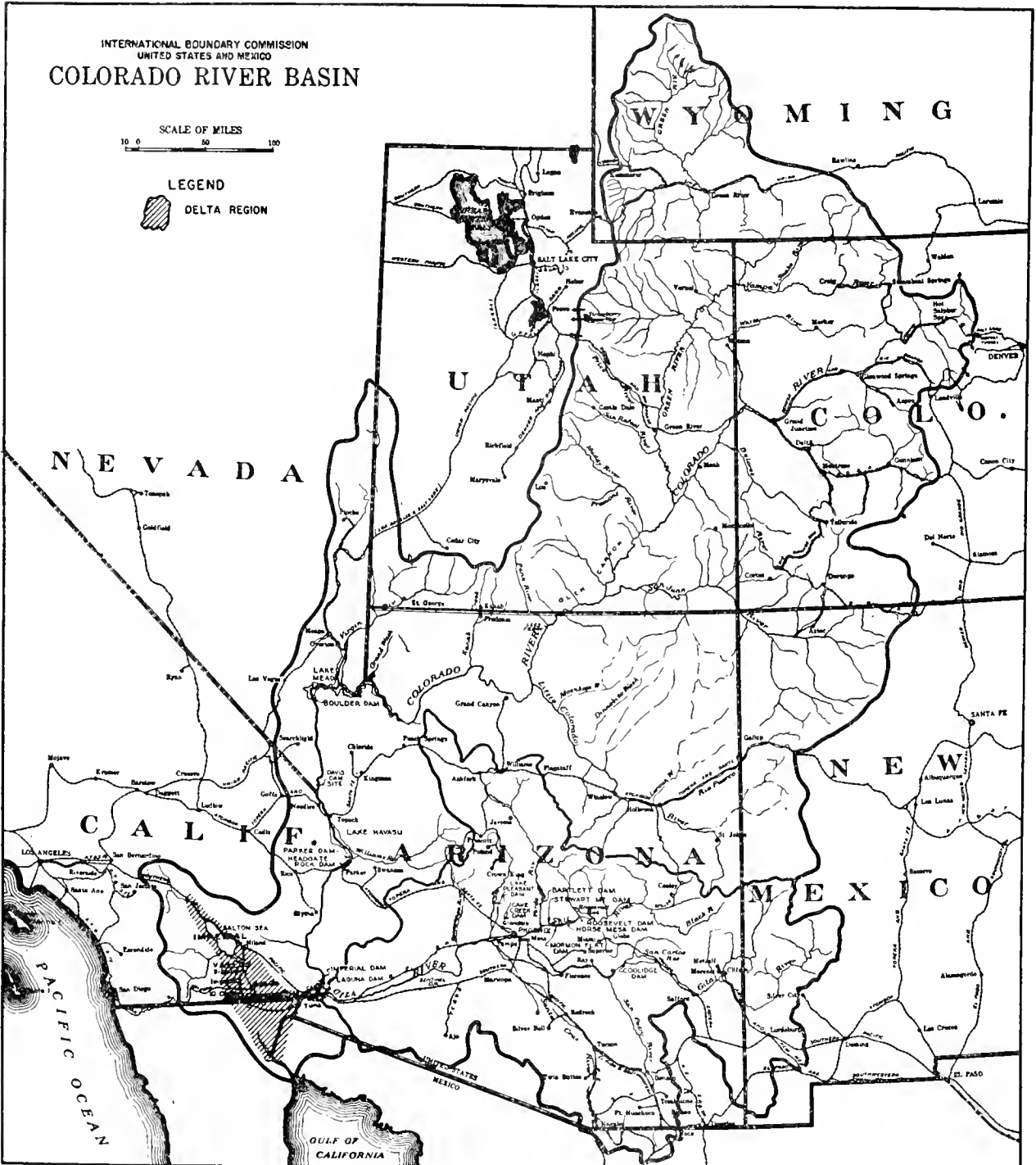
At the same time that the two Governments were making efforts early in this century to reach an agreement on the distribution of the waters of the Rio Grande, they were seeking agreement also on the Colorado. These early diplomatic efforts failed and were not renewed until the International Water Commission, mentioned above, undertook its studies in 1928.

Meanwhile, the great increase in irrigation in the seven basin States, coupled with the gravity of the flood menace, led to efforts to reach an interstate agreement for the apportionment among these States of the water supply of the Colorado River system. In view of plans to construct a storage reservoir in the Boulder Canyon region for the better regulation of irrigation supply, for flood control, and for power production, it became important for the basin States to know in advance

INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY COMMISSION
UNITED STATES AND MEXICO
COLORADO RIVER BASIN



LEGEND
 DELTA REGION



the extent of their rights in respect of the water supply. The result was the establishment of a Colorado River Commission composed of members from each of the seven States. This Commission finally agreed in 1922 upon the terms of a compact to govern the allocation of the waters of the Colorado River system (H. Doc. 605, 67th Cong., 4th sess., serial 8215). This compact apportions to the upper basin and lower basin respectively 7,500,000 acre-feet of water each year for beneficial consumptive use, with the lower basin having the right to increase its use by 1,000,000 acre-feet each year. The compact provides, in addition, that should the United States allocate by treaty any Colorado River water to Mexico such allocation shall be supplied first from the waters that are surplus above the 16,000,000 acre-feet apportioned to the two basins, and if this surplus is insufficient the deficiency is to be borne equally by the two basins. By still another provision the States of the upper basin guarantee to deliver during each period of 10 years not less than 75,000,000 acre-feet at Lee Ferry, which is above Boulder Dam. This compact, approved by the Congress in 1928 (45 Stat. 1057), was ratified promptly by all of the basin States except Arizona, which delayed its ratification until February 1944.

The next step was the passing of the Boulder Canyon Project Act, approved December 21, 1928 (45 Stat. 1057), by the terms of which Boulder Dam and appurtenant works were built at a total cost of approximately \$150,000,000. This cost was to be repaid for the most part out of revenues from the power contracts made between the Department of the Interior and certain power interests.

In pursuance of the Colorado River Compact and Boulder Canyon Project Act, the Department of the Interior entered into certain other contracts, these being for the supply of water to California projects as follows: the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California (Los Angeles and certain nearby communities), the Imperial Irrigation District (including Coachella Valley), the Palo Verde Irrigation District, and the city of San Diego. These water contracts are for permanent service and call for the delivery of water from storage created by Boulder Dam. They recite the order of priorities set up by the State of California, but the actual delivery of water under them is

made subject to the availability thereof, for use in California, under the Colorado River Compact and Boulder Canyon Project Act. Following the execution of these water contracts, the Metropolitan Water District built an aqueduct from Parker Dam to the Los Angeles area, and the Department of the Interior built Imperial Dam on the Colorado above Yuma, Arizona, and the All-American Canal running from this dam to the Imperial Valley, which thus no longer depends upon the Mexican Canal. By the terms of the All-American Canal contract the Imperial Irrigation District is obligated ultimately to repay the Government of the United States for the actual cost of the dam and the All-American Canal.

Since the California contracts were entered into, the Department of the Interior has made a contract with the State of Nevada to supply a maximum of 300,000 acre-feet each year, and the legislature of Arizona has recently approved a contract calling for the annual delivery of a maximum of 2,800,000 acre-feet, plus one half of the surplus, to that State. Both of these contracts are subject to limitations and reservations which are the same as, or similar to, those which are contained in the California contracts.

While the States of the Colorado basin and the Congress of the United States were making efforts to solve the interstate problems of this river, the International Water Commission, United States and Mexico, was endeavoring to reach an agreement on the quantity of water that the United States should guarantee to Mexico. Just as in the case of the Rio Grande, the Commission failed to reach a decision. The Mexicans demanded up to 3,600,000 acre-feet each year, but the United States representatives were willing to grant only the maximum amount that had been used in Mexico up to that time—that is, approximately 750,000 acre-feet—plus main canal losses and other waters not definitely set forth.

The 10 years following the collapse of the efforts of the International Water Commission were marked by a steady increase in the amount of land placed under irrigation in the Colorado River basin, both in the United States and in Mexico. It became apparent to most of the States of the basin that a treaty with Mexico was advisable, not only because of general international relations but

also because it seemed desirable to establish known limits for future development on both sides of the border. Not to make a treaty would, in their view, mean the gradual worsening of a difficult situation.

In this same period the Department of State renewed its study of the whole matter, this time in cooperation with the Committee of Fourteen and Sixteen representing the interstate water and power interests of the Colorado River Basin States. Several conferences have been held during the past two or three years between this Committee and representatives of the Department. At one of these conferences held in Santa Fe, New Mexico, in April 1943, a resolution defining suggested limits for a treaty with Mexico was approved by a large majority of the members. On the basis of this resolution, the Department reopened the negotiations with the Government of Mexico that resulted in the treaty which was signed on February 3, 1944.

For an analysis of the treaty it is sufficient to quote the letter of transmittal from the Secretary of State to the President:

"The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President, with a view to its transmission to the Senate to receive the advice and consent of that body to ratification, if his judgment approve thereof, a treaty between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, signed at Washington on February 3, 1944, relating to the utilization of the waters of the Colorado and Tijuana Rivers, and of the Rio Grande (Rio Bravo) from Fort Quitman, Tex., to the Gulf of Mexico.

"The treaty consists of a preamble and 7 parts, and contains 28 articles.

"Part I, with three articles, contains preliminary provisions. Article I defines certain important terms used in the treaty. Article 2 prescribes the general powers and functions of the International Boundary and Water Commission. By the provisions of article 2 the general administration of the treaty is entrusted to the International Boundary Commission organized under the convention of March 1, 1889, between the United States of America and Mexico, the name of the Commission being changed to International Boundary and Water Commission. The Commission is given the status of an international body,

consisting of a United States section and a Mexican section, and it is provided that each Government shall accord diplomatic status to the Commissioner and certain of the other officers of the section of the other Government. Article 2 specifies the Department of State of the United States of America and the Ministry of Foreign Relations of Mexico as the agencies to represent the two Governments in every case wherein action by the Governments is required. Article 3 prescribes an order of preferences for the joint use of international waters.

"Part II, consisting of five articles, has particular relation to the Rio Grande (Rio Bravo). Of the waters of this river below Fort Quitman, the United States, by article 4, is allotted—

"1. All of the waters contributed to the main stream by the measured United States tributaries, chiefly by the Pecos and Devils Rivers.

"2. One-half of the flow in the Rio Grande below the lowest major international reservoir so far as this flow is not otherwise specifically allotted by the treaty.

"3. One-third of the flow reaching this river from the measured Mexican tributaries above the Alamo River, provided that this one-third shall never be less than 350,000 acre-feet each year as an average in 5-year cycles.

"4. One-half of all other flows occurring in the main channel of the Rio Grande.

The quantity thus allotted will not only supply existing uses but also will permit, by an efficient use of the water, considerable expansion of irrigated areas in Texas.

"The remaining articles in part II make provision for the construction and operation of international works on the Rio Grande. Of chief importance is the provision, in article 5, for construction, by the two sections of the Commission, of three major international storage dams between the Big Bend and the head of the Lower Valley of Texas to provide capacity for water storage, for flood control and for the retention of silt. This article also makes provision for the construction of international auxiliary works in the Rio Grande. The cost of storage dams is to be divided in proportion to the conservation capacity allotted to each country, and the cost of other works is to be prorated in proportion to the benefits each country

is to receive from each of these works. Articles 6 and 7 authorize the Commission to study, investigate, and prepare plans for flood-control works and for international hydroelectric plants on the Rio Grande. Articles 8 and 9 charge the Commission, subject to the approval of the Governments, with the preparation of rules and regulations for the storage, conveyance, and delivery of the waters of the Rio Grande, including the assignment to each country of capacities in the reservoirs. The Commission also is entrusted with the keeping of records of the waters belonging to each country and of all uses, diversions, and losses of these waters.

"Part III, which is divided into six articles, prescribes the rules that are to govern the allocation and delivery to Mexico of a portion of the waters of the Colorado River. By article 10 the United States guarantees to Mexico a minimum quantity of 1,500,000 acre-feet of water each year, this water to be delivered in accordance with schedules to be furnished in advance by the Mexican section of the Commission. Beyond this minimum quantity the United States will allocate to Mexico, whenever the United States section decides there is a surplus of water, an additional quantity up to a total, including the 1,500,000 acre-feet, of not more than 1,700,000 acre-feet per year. Mexico may use any other waters that arrive at her points of diversion but can acquire no right to any quantity beyond the 1,500,000 acre-feet. These quantities, which may be made up of any waters of the Colorado River from any and all sources, whether direct river flows, return flow, or seepage, will be delivered by the United States in the boundary portion of the Colorado River, except that until 1980 Mexico may receive 500,000 acre-feet annually, and after that year 375,000 acre-feet annually through the All-American Canal as part of the guaranteed quantity. By another provision the United States will undertake, if the Mexican diversion dam is located entirely in Mexico, to deliver up to 25,000 acre-feet, out of the total allocation, at the Sonora land boundary near San Luis.

"In order to facilitate the delivery and diversion of Mexico's allocation, Mexico, as provided in article 12, is to build at its expense, within 5 years from the date the treaty enters into force, a main diversion structure in the Colorado River below the upper boundary line. If this dam is built in the

limitrophe section of the river, its plans and construction must be approved by the Commission. Wherever it is built, there shall be constructed at the same time, at Mexico's expense, the works which, in the opinion of the Commission, may be necessary to protect lands in the United States against damage from floods and seepage which might result from the construction, operation, and maintenance of this dam. The United States, as provided in article 12, is to build a regulating dam, known as Davis Dam, at a point between Boulder Dam and Parker Dam, and is to use a portion of the capacity of this dam and reservoir to make possible the regulation, at the boundary, of water allotted to Mexico. Furthermore, the Commission is to make all necessary measurements of water flows, and the data obtained as to deliveries and flows are to be periodically compiled and exchanged between the two sections. Article 12 provides also that the United States, through its section of the Commission, is to acquire or construct and permanently own, operate, and maintain the works required for the delivery of Colorado River waters to Mexican diversion points on the land boundary. Article 13 provides that the Commission shall study, investigate, and prepare plans for flood control on the Lower Colorado. Article 14 provides that Mexico is to pay an equitable part of the construction, maintenance, and operating costs of Imperial Dam and the Imperial Dam-Pilot Knob section of the All-American Canal, and is to pay all of such costs of works used entirely by Mexico. Article 15, relating to the annual schedules of deliveries to Mexico of Colorado River waters, provides that Mexico, in advance of each calendar year, is to supply two schedules, one to deal with the water to be delivered in the Colorado River and the other to deal with the water to be delivered through the All-American Canal. These schedules are subject to certain limitations, especially in regard to rates of flow at different times of the year, in order to provide assurance that the United States, in the period of ultimate development, will obtain credit for practically all of the flows that will be expected in the river as the result of United States uses and operations.

"Part IV, consisting solely of article 16, places upon the Commission the duty of making investi-

gations and reports regarding the most feasible projects for the conservation and use of the waters of the Tijuana River system and of submitting a recommendation for the allocation of these waters between the two countries.

"The nine articles of part V contain provisions of a general nature relating to certain uses of the river channels and of the surfaces of artificial international lakes, to the international works, and to the Commission. By article 20 the two Governments, through their respective sections of the Commission, agree to carry out the construction of works allotted to them. By article 23 the two Governments undertake to acquire all private property necessary for the construction, maintenance, and operation of the works and to retain, through their respective sections, ownership and jurisdiction, each in its own territory, of all works, appurtenances, and other property required for the carrying out of the treaty provisions regarding the three rivers. However, the jurisdiction of each section of the Commission is definitely restricted to the territory of its own country.

"Article 24 entrusts to the Commission certain powers and duties in addition to those specifically provided in the treaty. These powers and duties include the making of investigations and preparation of plans for works and the control thereof; the exercise of jurisdiction by the respective sections over all works; the discharge of the specific powers and duties entrusted to the Commission by this and other treaties; the prevention of any violation of the terms of the treaty; the settlement of all differences that may arise regarding the treaty; the preparation of reports and the making of recommendations to the respective Governments; and the construction, operation, and maintenance of all necessary gaging stations.

"It is provided in article 25 that the Commission shall conduct its proceedings in accordance with the rules laid down by articles III and VII of the convention of March 1, 1889. In general, the Commission is to retain all duties, powers, and obligations assigned to it by previous treaties and agreements, so that the present treaty merely augments the Commission's powers, duties, and obligations.

"Part VI, having two articles, contains transitory provisions. By article 26 Mexico undertakes, during a period of 8 years from the effective date

of the treaty or until the beginning of operation of the lowest major international reservoir on the Rio Grande, to cooperate with the United States to relieve, in times of drought, water shortages in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas. To this end, Mexico, if requested, will release up to a total of 160,000 acre-feet of water during these 8 years from El Azúcar Reservoir on the San Juan River for the use of such lands in Texas, provided that Mexico shall be under no obligation to release for this purpose more than 40,000 acre-feet in any one year. By article 27, during the 5 years before Davis Dam and the Mexican diversion dam are built, the United States will permit Mexico, at its own expense, to build, under proper safeguards, a temporary diversion structure in the Colorado River for the purpose of diverting water into the present Alamo Canal. Furthermore, the United States undertakes to cooperate with Mexico to the end that the Mexican irrigation requirements during this temporary period may be set for the lands under irrigation during 1943, provided that the water needed therefor is not currently required in the United States.

"Part VII, consisting solely of article 28, contains the final provisions relating to ratification, entry into force, and termination. It is provided that the treaty shall enter into force on the day of the exchange of ratifications, and that it shall continue in force until terminated by another treaty concluded for that purpose between the two Governments.

"Finally, it should be noted that the treaty provides that, in case of drought or serious accident to the hydraulic works in the United States, deliveries of Colorado River water to Mexico will be curtailed in the same proportion as uses in the United States are reduced, and that, if for similar reasons Mexico cannot provide the minimum 350,000 acre-feet from its measured tributaries of the Rio Grande, the deficiency is to be made up from these tributaries during the following 5-year cycle."

Considered in the light of previous treaties relating to the use of water from international streams for various purposes, it is not improbable that the treaty of February 3, 1944, now awaiting action in the Senate, may come to be regarded as the most important of its kind in the history of the world, both in the range and scope of its pro-

visions and in its social and economic significance. It is more than a mere division of water between two countries: it provides the administrative machinery and the principles for international cooperation in the development of these water resources. As such, it may well be taken as a model for future treaties governing international streams.

The treaty is comprehensive in its terms. However, it is in line with precedents already established. Attention has already been drawn to the treaty of 1906 providing for the equitable distribution of the waters of the Rio Grande in the El Paso-Juárez Valley, in which existing uses in Mexico as of the date of the treaty were protected. There is also the treaty of 1929 between Egypt and Great Britain, the latter acting for the Sudan (93 League of Nations Treaty Series 43, 86-88), governing the use for irrigation of the waters of the Nile. By its terms, the taking of water in the Sudan was limited in a manner to protect developments in Egypt. The proposed treaty with Mexico not only assures water for lands now under irrigation in both countries but also provides measures for the better utilization of the available supply, both for the present developments and for the greatest possible number of feasible future projects. Furthermore, it does not overlook the possibility of power development.

It is fortunate for both the United States and Mexico that they have ready at hand a competent and experienced Boundary Commission to administer the treaty. Organized under the convention of 1889, this Commission has been especially active since 1927 in the administration of boundary matters, which include the elimination of bancos under the convention of 1905, the marking of the boundary by means of monuments, and the construction, by its two national sections, of flood-control and sanitation projects. Probably the greatest joint undertaking thus far has been the rectification project in the El Paso-Juárez Valley under the treaty of 1933, by which the entire channel of the river was rectified and controlled from El Paso to Box Canyon, effecting a shortening of the river from 155 miles to 85 miles in that reach. Furthermore, the United States Section has canalized the Rio Grande for most of the 125 miles from El Paso to Elephant Butte Dam, and in the Lower Valley of Texas it has under construction a vast flood-control program. It is this Commis-

sion which now stands ready to execute the provisions of the present treaty.

INTERRUPTION OF OPERATIONS IN ARGENTINA OF ALL AMERICA CABLES, INC.

[Released to the press March 25]

The Department has received information from Buenos Aires to the effect that the Argentine authorities have ordered All America Cables, Inc., to suspend all operations during the 24-hour period which expires March 25 at midnight. A fine of 1,000 pesos has been imposed upon the company. These penalties are the result of an alleged violation of censorship regulations.

It is charged that on March 8 three cables from Lima, Peru, were mistakenly forwarded by the local office of All America Cables, Inc., in Buenos Aires to the censorship official in the office of the United Press, to which the messages were addressed, instead of having received the prior approval of the censorship official in the office of All America Cables, Inc.

Thus an essential inter-American communications link serving a number of the American republics, including the United States, has been interrupted on the ground of an apparently trivial violation of the Argentine censorship regulations. This action would appear to indicate a complete failure to appreciate the importance to the citizens of the republics concerned, including Argentina, as well as to their governments of the services performed by these communication facilities.

The Department

DIVISION OF PROTOCOL

On March 21, 1944 the Secretary of State issued Departmental Order 1243, effective March 20, 1944, which reads as follows:

"The functions and responsibilities of the Protocol Division (page 37, Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944)¹ shall henceforth be exercised under the direction of the Special Assistant to the Secretary and Chief of Protocol, Mr. George T. Summerlin.

¹ BULLETIN of Jan, 15, 1944, p. 45.

"These functions and responsibilities shall be subject to the fiscal control of the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Shaw, who shall also be consulted fully by Mr. Summerlin and his staff concerning other administrative aspects of protocol matters.

"Mr. Stanley Woodward will continue as Chief of the Division of Protocol which shall report to the Secretary through the Special Assistant, Mr. Summerlin.

"Mr. Raymond D. Muir is hereby designated Ceremonial Officer of the Department.

"The routing symbol of Mr. Summerlin's Office shall be SA/S and the routing symbol of the Division of Protocol shall be PR."

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

By Departmental Order 1241 of March 20, 1944, effective March 18, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Donald Hiss as Deputy Director of the Office of Economic Affairs.

By Departmental Order 1242 of March 20, 1944, effective March 18, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. C. Easton Rothwell as Executive Secretary on Political Affairs and Mr. John H. Fuqua as Executive Secretary on Economic Affairs of the Committee on Post-War Programs.

International Conferences, Commissions, Etc.

CONFERENCE OF ALLIED MINISTERS OF EDUCATION IN LONDON

[Released to the press March 25]

The Secretary of State announced on March 25, 1944 that this Government proposes to send a delegation in the near future to collaborate with the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education in London.

The delegation will consist of:

The Honorable J. William Fulbright, *Chairman*
Archibald MacLeish
John W. Studebaker
Grayson N. Kefauver
Ralph E. Turner

The Conference of Allied Ministers of Education in London is concerned with the many press-

ing problems connected with the restoration of the intellectual and educational resources destroyed by the Axis. Interest in these problems and in the work of the Conference has been widely expressed in educational and other circles in the United States. This work and its development along sound and practical lines are of the highest importance.

Mr. Fulbright, a member of Congress from Arkansas, is a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Mr. MacLeish, who has been Librarian of Congress since 1939, is a member of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in Europe. Dr. Studebaker has served as United States Commissioner of Education since 1934. Dr. Kefauver, who has been professor of education and dean of the School of Education at Stanford University since 1933, has served since December 1943 as Consultant to the Department of State. Dr. Turner is Assistant Chief of the Division of Science, Education, and Art of the Department of State.

Treaty Information

HALIBUT FISHERY REGULATIONS OF 1944

By a note dated March 18, 1944 the Canadian Ambassador in Washington transmitted to the Secretary of State Order in Council No. 1486 dated March 7, 1944 issued by the Governor General of Canada approving the 1944 Halibut Fishery Regulations, which were prepared by the International Fisheries Commission pursuant to articles I and III of the Convention between the United States and Canada for the Preservation of the Halibut Fishery of the Northern Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea, signed at Washington on January 29, 1937 (Treaty Series 917).

The President of the United States approved the regulations on March 20, 1944.

The above-mentioned regulations, which will be printed in the *Federal Register*, supersede the 1943 regulations approved by the President on February 15, 1943, which were published in the *Federal Register* of March 2, 1943, pages 2608-2610.

INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES

Guatemala

By a letter dated March 21, 1944 the Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State that the Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, which was opened for signature at the Pan Amer-

ican Union on January 15, 1944, was signed for Guatemala on March 16, 1944.

The convention was signed on January 15, 1944 for the United States of America, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Panama; on January 20, 1944 for Cuba and Ecuador; on January 28, 1944 for the Dominican Republic and Honduras; and on February 18, 1944 for El Salvador.

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

During the quarter beginning January 1, 1944, the following publications have been released by the Department:¹

2032. Health and Sanitation Program: Agreement Between the United States of America and the Dominican Republic—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Ciudad Trujillo June 19 and July 7, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 346. 6 pp. 5¢.
2033. Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1929, vol. II. cxxxix, 1132 pp. (buckram).
2036. Foreign Service List, September 30, 1943. iv, 132 pp. Subscription, 50¢ a year (65¢ foreign); single copy, 20¢.
2037. Military Service: Agreement Between the United States of America and Czechoslovakia—Effected by exchanges of notes signed at Washington April 3, 1942 and September 29 and October 21, 1943; effective September 29, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 341. 6 pp. 5¢.
2038. Military Aviation Mission: Agreement Between the United States of America and Paraguay—Signed at Washington October 27, 1943; effective October 27, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 343. 10 pp. 5¢.
2040. First Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration: Selected Documents—Atlantic City, New Jersey, November 10—December 1, 1943. Conference Series 53. vi, 215 pp. 35¢.
2041. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. IX, no. 235, December 25, 1943. 14 pp. 10¢.²
2042. Reciprocal Trade: Agreement Between the United States of America and Iceland—Signed at Reykjavik August 27, 1943; effective November 19, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 342. 28 pp. 10¢.
2043. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. X, no. 236, January 1, 1944. 24 pp. 10¢.
2044. Diplomatic List, January 1944. ii, 122 pp. Subscription, \$1 a year; single copy, 10¢.

¹ Serial numbers which do not appear in this list have appeared previously or will appear in subsequent lists.

² Subscription, \$2.75 a year.

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Legislation

Expatriation of Certain Nationals of the United States:
Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, 78. h Cong., 2d sess., on H.R. 2701, H.R. 3012, H.R. 3489, H.R. 3446, and H.R. 4103. January, 20, 25, 26, and February 2, 1944. [Statement by R. W. Flournoy, Jr., Assistant to the Legal Adviser of the Department of State, pp. 58-59.] iv, 64 pp.

