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Publications of the Department, cumulative lists of which are published at the end of each quarter, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

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Severance of Diplomatic Relations With Finland

[Released to the press June 30]

On June 30 the following note was delivered to Mr. Alexander Thesleff, Chargé d'Affaires of Finland:

JUNE 30, 1944.

SIR:

On June 27, 1944, the Finnish Government made the following announcement:

"The German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop has concluded his visit to the Finnish Government.

"During this visit questions of interest to Finland and Germany were discussed, especially Finland's expressed desire with respect to military aid. The German Government has declared itself prepared to comply with this wish of the Finnish Government.

"The discussions which were conducted between the President of the Finnish Republic Ryti and Foreign Minister Ramsay on one side and the German Foreign Minister on the other, are sustained by the spirit which has its roots in the comradeship in arms between the armies and the existing friendship between the two peoples.

"Complete agreement and understanding were reached on all points between the Finnish Government and the German Government."

The Finnish Government has thus formally admitted to the world that it has now entered a hard and fast military partnership with Nazi Germany irrevocable throughout the war, for the purpose of fighting the Allies of the United States, in alliance with the enemies of the United States. This action was taken without recourse to the established democratic procedure of Finland, and responsibility for the consequences must rest solely on the Finnish Government.

The American Government is not unaware of the fact that the infiltration of German troops into Finland, with the consent of the Finnish Government and German infiltration into the councils of the Finnish Government have deprived Finland of

liberty of action and reduced the Government of the Republic of Finland to the condition of a puppet of Nazi Germany.

This necessarily changes the status of the Finnish Government. The United States, up to the present, has taken every opportunity, publicly and through diplomatic representations, to warn the Finnish Government of the inevitable consequences of continuing its association with Nazi Germany. These warnings have been ignored, and the partnership is now complete.

The Government of the United States must take into account the fact that at this decisive stage in the combined operations of the military, naval and air forces of the United States and the other United Nations, the Finnish operations have a direct bearing on the success of the Allied effort. Notwithstanding the esteem in which the American people have held the people of Finland, further relations between the Government of the United States and the Government of Finland are now impossible.

The American Chargé d'Affaires in Helsinki has therefore been instructed to request passports for himself and for the members of his staff and their families.

The American Government is requesting the Swiss Government to assume immediately the representation of American interests in Finland.

Accept [etc.]

CORDELL HULL

[Released to the press June 30]

The Chargé d'Affaires of Finland was handed his passport at 11 a.m. June 30 by Mr. George T. Summerlin, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State.

Arrangements will be made as soon as possible, on a basis of reciprocity, for the repatriation of Mr. Thesleff, his family, and the members of the Legation staff. Meanwhile, they will be treated with all appropriate personal courtesies although necessarily their activities will be restricted.

Presentation of Scrolls to the Cities of Leningrad, Stalingrad and Chungking

[Released to the press by the White House June 27]

Scrolls to the cities of Leningrad and Stalingrad have been presented to Marshal Stalin by Ambassador Harriman. They were signed by President Roosevelt and were accompanied by a letter from the President to Marshal Stalin.

The text of the scroll to the city of Leningrad reads as follows:

"In the name of the people of the United States of America, I present this scroll to the City of Leningrad as a memorial to its gallant soldiers and to its loyal men, women and children who, isolated from the rest of their nation by the invader and despite constant bombardment and untold sufferings from cold, hunger and sickness, successfully defended their beloved city throughout the critical period September 8, 1941 to January 18, 1943, and thus symbolized the undaunted spirit of the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and of all the nations of the world resisting forces of aggression."

The text of the scroll to the city of Stalingrad reads as follows:

"In the name of the people of the United States of America, I present this scroll to the City of Stalingrad to commemorate our admiration for its gallant defenders whose courage, fortitude, and devotion during the siege of September 13, 1942 to January 31, 1943 will inspire forever the hearts of all free people. Their glorious victory stemmed the tide of invasion and marked the turning point in the war of the Allied Nations against the forces of aggression."

The text of the President's letter to Marshal Stalin follows:

"I am sending to you two scrolls for Stalingrad and Leningrad, which cities have won the whole-hearted admiration of the American people. The heroism of the citizens of these two cities and the soldiers who so ably defended them has not only been an inspiration to the people of the United States, but has served to bind even more closely the friendship of our two nations. Stalingrad and Leningrad have become synonyms for the forti-

tude and endurance which has enabled us to resist and will finally enable us to overcome the aggression of our enemies.

"I hope that in presenting these scrolls to the two cities you will see fit to convey to their citizens my own personal expressions of friendship and admiration and my hope that our people will continue to develop that close understanding which has marked our common effort."

The reply by Marshal Stalin follows:

"I accept the scrolls of honor from the President as a symbol of the fruitful collaboration between our Governments which is being effected in the name of the freedom of our peoples and the progress of humanity. The scrolls of honor will be presented to representatives of Leningrad and Stalingrad."

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

On May 25 the President sent a scroll to the city of Chungking, accompanied by a letter to His Excellency Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, President of the National Government of the Republic of China.

This scroll was presented to the Generalissimo by Vice President Wallace on June 23.

The text of the scroll reads as follows:

"In the name of the people of the United States of America, I present this scroll to the City of Chungking as a symbol of our admiration for its brave men, women and children.

"Under blasts of terror from the air, even in the days before the world at large had known this horror, Chungking and its people held out firm and unconquered. They proved gloriously that terrorism cannot destroy the spirit of a people determined to be free. Their fidelity to the cause of freedom will inspire the hearts of all future generations."

The text of the President's letter follows:

"Among the greatest inspirations of this war to the American fighting spirit has been the vivid memory of the great courage which the men, women, and children of the City of Chungking

have displayed during the long period of siege and repeated attacks. By their fortitude and endurance the citizens of Chungking have won a place in the heart of every American.

"In recognition of the great contribution which the Chinese people, and particularly the citizens of Chungking, have made to the war efforts of the United Nations, I now send to you the enclosed scroll. The stand which your people have made against the forces of aggression has set an example for all the friends of China, and I hope that you may see fit, in presenting this scroll to the citizens of Chungking, to convey my expressions of the very real friendship which I feel exists between our two nations and which will contribute in no small measure to an earlier victory."

On receiving the scroll from Vice President Wallace the Generalissimo stated:

"Representing the people of Chungking I accept this Scroll as a priceless symbol which they will hold forever in gratitude and reverence."

Death of Norman Davis

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press by the White House July 2]

A career of great and varied usefulness closed with the death of Norman Davis.

As business executive and man of affairs he had gained wide experience when, as Special Ambassador of three Presidents, he carried out successfully many important diplomatic missions. He worked indefatigably at Geneva and in the various European capitals to maintain peace. The reports, in which he recorded the results of his observations, show how clearly he foresaw the inevitable trend toward the unhappy conflict which now rends the world.

In a critical time he assumed the burdensome duties of the chairmanship of the American Red Cross. He guided the destinies of that organization through the troubled years which saw the beginning of the war and as the conflict spread he was called upon to extend aid on an ever-increasing scale. He will be long remembered for his services in aid of suffering mankind, and he will be deeply mourned by a multitude of friends of whom I was one.

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press July 2]

A great American has gone to his reward. Norman Davis was an outstanding world statesman. He was an intense patriot. His humanitarianism was known wherever the great American Red Cross carried its mission of succor and mercy. Few persons have had the privilege of rendering to their country and to other countries such a full measure of useful service. This country in particular will honor and cherish his memory.

He was a lifelong friend. His passing leaves an unfillable void.

The Proclaimed List: Cumulative Supplement 4 to Revision VII

[Released to the press July 1]

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 the Foreign Economic Administration, and the Acting Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, on July 1, 1944, issued Cumulative Supplement 4 to Revision VII of the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals, promulgated March 23, 1944.

Part I of Cumulative Supplement 4 contains 82 additional listings in the other American republics and 85 deletions. Part II contains 137 additional listings outside the American republics and 24 deletions.

Liberation of Cherbourg

[Released to the press by the White House June 30]

The President has received the following message from Marshal Stalin:

"My warm congratulations go to you on the liberation of Cherbourg from the German usurpers. The valiant American and British troops are greeted by me on the occasion of their brilliant success."

Special War Problems Division

By GRAHAM H. STUART¹

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In 1914, as a result of the first World War, the historical forerunner of the Special War Problems Division was established in the Consular Bureau of the Department of State as the Welfare and Whereabouts Section. Upon the outbreak of the war the Department and the American Foreign Service officers were confronted suddenly with the enormous task of replying to inquiries concerning the whereabouts of thousands of Americans and their families and friends in Europe and of providing the means for them to obtain funds for their necessities and for their return to the United States.

During the first three days following the outbreak of the war it was estimated that the Department of State accepted approximately \$300,000 in small remittances for transmission to private individuals abroad.

In a report of the work of the Welfare and Whereabouts Section made in 1920 it was established that in more than 60,000 to 80,000 instances American citizens had succeeded in reestablishing, after the outbreak of the war, communication with relatives and friends in foreign countries from whom no word was obtainable through the ordinary channels. The Section was most helpful in transmitting about \$15,000,000 from individuals in this country to relatives and friends abroad. It had jurisdiction also over the distribution of relief funds for the maintenance of American citizens detained in enemy territory. It procured from representatives abroad and transmitted to the War Department lists of American prisoners of war in enemy territory. At its peak the Section employed 90 persons working on day and night shifts, but after the end of the war its activities gradually diminished. There was, however, sufficient work to prevent its dissolution.

Mr. Nathaniel P. Davis, who is at present Chief of the Division of Foreign Service Personnel, kept a record of all cases that he handled in the period from June 4 to 19, 1920, which shows both the

types of cases and the principal areas where they arose. He reported that 64 percent of the work of this Section was devoted to welfare and whereabouts inquiries and transmission of funds; the other 36 percent of the Section's time was devoted to reports from consuls on inquiries and payments, certification of documents, prisoners of war, whereabouts of persons in the United States, and travel conditions. Of the 147 cases handled concerning areas, 77 arose in Poland and the Baltic States and only 70 in the rest of the world.

Such events as the burning of Smyrna in 1922 and the Japanese earthquake in 1923 increased materially the work of the Section. Americans who are domiciled or are traveling abroad, even in normal times, get into trouble or out of touch with their relatives and friends in the United States and require the assistance of the Department of State and of the Foreign Service officers abroad.

When the Consular Bureau was reorganized in 1924 the Welfare and Whereabouts Section was made a part of the Division of Foreign Service Administration.

With the advent of the Nazi regime in Germany the problems of protection, particularly of American citizens identified with oppressed minorities, increased both in volume and in scope. The revolution in Spain in 1936 and the undeclared war in the Far East increased also the amount of protection, welfare and whereabouts work. In the Division files there were some 12,000 cards on cases in Spain for the revolutionary period and about double that number in the Far East during the long period of undeclared warfare.

Preliminaries to establishment of the Special Division

On September 13, 1938 Mr. Davis wrote a memorandum pointing out the necessity for an expanded organization to handle, in the event of a major war, whereabouts and relief cases and similar problems. He declared that the experience of the Department in the recent crises had shown that for rapid handling of welfare and whereabouts cases in large volume the organization must be built around a card index. The index was not only the central point in such an organization but it

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was also an essential control feature to avoid confusion and duplication of effort.

In order to prevent a bottleneck in times when an emergency arose in some particular part of the world it was possible to segregate all cards pertaining to that region. This was done in the China relief cases and in the Spanish revolution.

Preparations for welfare work in missions abroad

It was not enough to prepare a program for handling the vast increase of inquiries regarding Americans abroad which would pour into the Department of State upon the outbreak of war unless similar arrangements were made in our missions and consulates abroad. Therefore, Assistant Secretary of State George S. Messersmith and Mr. Nathaniel P. Davis worked out a tentative program, which was sent to certain diplomatic officers on September 19, 1938 under the title of "Instructions in Case of Hostilities".

This confidential instruction indicated the intention of setting up a division in the Department to handle special problems arising from the war, such as welfare, relief, and repatriation of Americans. It suggested that similar sections be established in our missions abroad and that they be provided with a central card index on which all relevant data pertaining to citizens assisted should be recorded. Instructions were also given regarding the taking over of the interests of foreign governments.

The missions and consulates, as a last resort, in order to finance repatriation, were authorized to make loans against promissory notes for the relief and evacuation of American citizens.

Organization and work of the Special Division

When the Special Division was set up by Departmental Order 810 on September 1, 1939 to handle the special problems arising out of disturbed conditions abroad, the Welfare and Whereabouts Section of the Division of Foreign Service Administration, consisting of only four people, was transferred intact. Adequate and competent personnel was essential to successful results. The Department was fortunate in having maintained a competent staff headed by various Foreign Service officers from the field to handle welfare cases in the years between the two world wars so that when the new Division was established a corps of experienced workers was immediately available.

At the head of this Section was Mrs. Madge M. Blessing, who had been handling welfare and whereabouts work for over twenty years. The large card index of cases was transferred and became the basis of operations of the new agency. The Welfare Section of the new division continued its function of arranging for the transmission of funds to needy Americans and of dealing with the evacuation and repatriation of such citizens as well as of replying to inquiries regarding the welfare and whereabouts of American citizens abroad.

Another important function which was added to the new Division was the representation of the interests of various belligerent governments that requested this service of the United States. Representation of this sort requires the taking charge of the represented government's diplomatic and consular property and archives, the handling of whereabouts and welfare inquiries in respect to its citizens, the receipt and payment of funds to them, and the providing for their repatriation when possible. The protecting government is also required, under the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention of 1929, to inspect prisoners-of-war camps and to report the condition of the camps and inmates to the proper officials of the represented government.

A closely related function of the new Division was the maintenance of liaison with the Red Cross and other American organizations that conducted war-relief operations, received and furnished information, consulted on matters of mutual interest, and transmitted messages on relief operations to and from the organization's representatives in Europe.

The Special Division, as originally established, began operations with 12 Foreign Service officers, most of whom were called in from home leave for temporary duty in the Division. Nineteen clerks and stenographers assisted them, making a total of 31 persons on the staff. Mr. Breckinridge Long, former United States Ambassador to Italy, was made Special Assistant to the Secretary of State in charge of the new Division, and he was assisted by Mr. Hugh R. Wilson, former Ambassador to Germany. Mr. George L. Brandt, a Foreign Service officer who had served as technical adviser at the meeting in 1938 of the Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees at Évian, France, was made Administrative Officer of the Division. A very close liaison was to be main-

tained with the Division of Foreign Service Administration under Mr. Davis.

At the time of its establishment as a new division of the Department none could foresee to what extent the Special Division would be forced to grow to meet the demands of a global war. From a relatively small nucleus of experienced Departmental personnel it has had to recruit and develop an office staff of half a hundred trained specialists supported by an equally numerous force of clerks to handle daily an ever-increasing volume of special war problems for most of which no precedent has ever existed. Its work is a combination of policy initiation and administration. Its activity is confined to no specific geographic area but embraces every section of the globe. Its officers visit regularly over a hundred prisoners-of-war and civilian-internees camps in continental United States; its operations extend into enemy territories as well as liberated areas. From its studies transblockade relief will eventually bring sustenance to the famished millions enslaved by the Axis; and thousands of American civilians and seriously wounded and ill American prisoners of war will in no small measure owe their release by the enemy and return to their homes to the work of this Division.

II. WELFARE SECTION

Welfare and whereabouts work

Two days after the Special Division was established, war broke out in Europe. The welfare and whereabouts inquiry work immediately skyrocketed. For a time the Division dispatched daily more than 300 telegrams relating to the status of Americans abroad about whom relatives and friends in the United States were anxiously concerned. In the first year of its existence the Special Division handled approximately 26,000 inquiries from Americans in the United States desiring information regarding the welfare and whereabouts of relatives and friends in the war-stricken areas of Europe. With the aid of our Foreign Service officers abroad, the Division was successful in obtaining the desired information in about 95 percent of these inquiries.

The following example typifies the work entailed by sudden emergency: On the night of September 3, 1939 word was received of the sinking of the S. S. *Athenia* with more than 300

Americans aboard. Inquiries poured into the Department, and the Division went on a 24-hour schedule. With prompt and frequent telegraphic reports from the Foreign Service officers in the British Isles giving the names of those who sailed with this ship and of the survivors and their condition, the Division was able to meet all the demands placed upon it.

As evidence of the number of inquiries that the new Division received, even after the peak load of the early period of the war was over, the records for three months in 1941 were as follows: August, 1,867; September, 1,386; and October, 1,221, making a total of 4,474. For the corresponding three months in 1942 the figures were: August, 1,524; September, 1,675; October, 1,974, making a total of 5,173. The total inquiries for the year 1942 were 20,192.

The Department over a long period of years has not instructed American diplomatic and consular officials abroad to make whereabouts inquiries regarding aliens. However, in times of emergency, Americans were naturally eager to learn about their relatives and friends, even though aliens. Consequently, the Department decided in April 1939 that, although it would not instruct its officers abroad to make such inquiries, it would inform the appropriate Foreign Service officers of the inquiries and request them to report to the Department such information as might become available.

However, the Department later was obliged to decline to make inquiries in regard to non-Americans in Germany and German-occupied territory, the Soviet Union, and Soviet-occupied territory, since the German and Soviet authorities refused to facilitate such inquiries. Inquirers desiring information regarding persons in German-occupied areas were referred to the Red Cross and those desiring information in regard to persons in territory under Soviet control were referred to the nearest Soviet consular office or to the Soviet Embassy at Washington.

Repatriation of Americans

A very important duty facing the Government as a result of the outbreak of the war in Europe was the repatriation of American citizens. More than 100,000 Americans were in Europe at the outbreak of hostilities. The task of repatriating them would be a serious one. Since foreign ship-

ping was largely withdrawn from service, American vessels had to carry the burden. The regular carrying facilities had to be augmented materially. The Special Division arranged for the Government of the United States to dispatch six ships promptly. The *Orizaba*, *Shawnee*, *Iroquois*, *St. John*, *Acadia*, and *Siboney* made the trip to European ports. These vessels, that had a combined emergency passenger capacity of 3,500, returned to the United States with some vacant berths. Arrangements were made also for increased passenger-carrying capacity in the regular trans-Atlantic steamers and for their quicker turn around. It was estimated that in September 1939 some 50,000 passengers arrived at Atlantic seaports of the United States on American vessels. By the spring of 1940 more than 80,000 Americans were safely returned to the United States.

In the spring and summer of 1940, when hostilities had spread and since many Americans had delayed their departure, the Government dispatched additional vessels to British and continental ports. The *President Roosevelt*, the *Washington*, and the *Manhattan* made special trips, and the United States Army transport *American Legion* was sent to Petsamo to repatriate Americans from northern Europe. This latter route included a 300-mile bus trip through the Arctic wilderness from the rail head at Rovaniemi to Petsamo.

It should be noted that the United States Government, although it warns our citizens abroad when dangerous situations develop and suggests their speedy return, may not compel them to depart. Each citizen has the right to decide for himself whether he will take the risk of remaining in the danger area. The duty of the Government toward its citizens has been fulfilled when it has advised them of the dangers of the situation, has invited them to leave, and has afforded those wishing to leave every possible assistance in obtaining transportation.

Quite often Americans absolutely refuse every effort to hasten their return and finally find themselves in a position where return is impossible. An excellent illustration was afforded by the case of an American student who was studying ceramics in Prague. In December 1939, with the outbreak of war, his father asked the Department to ascertain his situation and offered to transmit funds. The United States consul at Prague, in

March 1940, reported that the student was well and in no need of financial assistance and wished to continue his studies. In December 1940 the father telegraphed funds for his son's return but before they could be utilized normal travel facilities had been suspended. Early in 1941 the father requested, through a congressman, that his son be warned of the seriousness of the situation and that he be urged to return. However, the young man refused to come home, and with the outbreak of the war with Germany he was interned at Tittmoning where he remained until repatriated in the spring of 1944 on the *Gripsholm*.

One of the very interesting cases of Americans involved in the European war situation was that of an elderly American woman who was living as an expatriate in Paris with an Englishwoman friend. When the war broke they attempted to drive to southern France but were engulfed in the vast horde of similar travelers and finally forced to return to Paris. On their return they saved an English pilot from being seized by the Germans by concealing him in the back of their car. They then sheltered him in their apartment in Paris and aided in his escape. This started them in establishing a regular underground engaged in transporting English soldiers across the border.

The American Embassy first learned of the American woman's disappearance when the *concierge* of the apartment where she lived telephoned that she had gone away several days before with two men who looked like secret police and that she had not returned. Mr. Edwin A. Plitt, Secretary of the Embassy, immediately investigated and after some difficulty discovered that she was in the Cherche Midi Prison. He secured her release and advised her to take a room at the Hotel Bristol and to keep away from her apartment. She did not follow his advice and was again arrested. Mr. Plitt got her a lawyer and followed the trial closely. She was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, and her property was confiscated.

Meanwhile the Special Division, at the request of the woman's brother, had authorized her bank to forward funds to the amount of \$1,500 before her arrest. The American Embassy made arrangements for weekly parcels of food to be sent to her through the Friends' organization. After she had served part of her sentence the German Government agreed that she be exchanged for a notorious German internee in the United States.

She returned to the United States on the *Drottningholm*.

Transmission of funds

Since the United States Government normally does not provide funds to repatriate Americans and since in times of emergency many Americans are either without the necessary funds to pay their way home or their funds may not be in a form immediately negotiable, the financial problem is often a serious one. According to the "Instructions in Case of Hostilities", dated March 21, 1939, Foreign Service officers were authorized, in case of need, to assist Americans to get in touch with relatives or friends in the United States to obtain funds for their passage back. Such telegrams could be sent to the Department at Government expense. The Special Division handled such appeals and made every effort to see that contact was made with the interested parties. Such funds as were obtained were telegraphed to the American beneficiary abroad through the appropriate mission or consulate.

In the cases where the emergency was very great and no funds were available, the Department made allotments of public funds to its officers in disturbed areas abroad and authorized them to advance funds for relief and evacuation of American citizens. Such loans were to be covered by promissory notes signed by the beneficiary.

During the 12-month period from September 1, 1939 to August 31, 1940 the Special Division transmitted approximately \$550,000 from Americans in the United States who wished to remit funds to their American relatives and friends abroad for their transportation expenses in returning to the United States. This service was undertaken because of the disruption of the normal commercial facilities for the transmission of such funds. During the same period the Special Division arranged for the granting of a total sum of over \$240,000 in loans against promissory notes to *bona-fide* American citizens in the war areas needing funds for transportation expenses to the United States. In 1941 the Special Division supervised the lending of about \$300,000, which included \$30,000 allotted for emergency evacuation or repatriation from Singapore, \$50,000 to repatriate the *Zamzam* survivors, and \$175,000 for the joint Red Cross-Departmental scheme to repatriate needy Americans from France.

The total amount that the Government of the United States advanced for the repatriation of its nationals from all parts of the world between 1938 and 1944 was \$693,409.86. Of this sum \$240,032.81 had been repaid by July 1, 1943. There has recently been some agitation on the part of some repatriates to have the Congress pass legislation relieving them of the cost of their evacuation and repatriation. Since the United States Government had warned these nationals to leave foreign areas when danger threatened and since it has already absorbed all incidental costs of their repatriation which would run into several millions of dollars, such action might be deemed inequitable by persons who heeded the warnings and left in due time at their own expense.

Although the Government of the United States makes no distinction between native-born and naturalized citizens in the protection which it affords them, those citizens who have domiciled themselves permanently abroad, particularly those naturalized citizens who have had no intention of returning to the United States, could hardly expect the United States Government to provide funds for their maintenance. This problem required the careful attention of Foreign Service officers who were instructed not to lend funds to any Americans where the presumption of expatriation had arisen.

As the expansion of the war area increased greatly the demand for financial assistance, the Department had to limit this discretion more specifically. In an instruction of August 12, 1941 that the Department issued, the following persons were enjoined from receiving loans from diplomatic and consular officials for repatriation purposes: (a) persons possessing merely a circumstantial claim to American citizenship; (b) persons resting under unrebutted presumption of expatriation; (c) persons engaged in activities considered as inimical to the interests of the United States; and (d) persons suspected of deserting their spouses and children remaining abroad.

Effect of United States belligerency upon Welfare Section

The entrance of the United States into the second World War reduced in no way the work of the Welfare Section. It still received innumerable inquiries concerning the welfare and whereabouts of Americans in war areas, but the diffi-

culties of obtaining the information desired were immeasurably greater. Fortunately many thousands of Americans had been repatriated so that the volume of inquiries was somewhat less. When diplomatic relations were severed between the United States on the one hand and Germany, Italy, Japan, and the satellite Axis powers on the other, the problem of communications became much more complicated and each inquiry required much more time to handle. Americans at home were even more eager to learn about the situation of their loved ones in enemy and enemy-occupied territory and to get messages through to them. We have already indicated that inquiries for the calendar year 1942 totaled more than 20,000. For the year 1943 they amounted to 11,162. When one considers that such inquiries have to be made either through the Red Cross or through the Swiss Government by our diplomatic representatives in Bern, he can understand the complications. The number of inquiries are decreasing, but for the month of January 1944 there were still 756 inquiries which, if the rate is maintained, would indicate over 9,000 for the year of 1944.

While the work of the Welfare Section diminished slightly in its whereabouts and welfare inquiries and investigations, its work increased materially in the matter of financial assistance rendered to Americans in occupied and belligerent areas. The Swiss Government which, in December 1941, had kindly consented to take over the representation of American interests in Axis-controlled countries, was given detailed rules to follow in an instruction dated February 14, 1942¹ sent to our Legation at Bern.

Under this instruction the amounts to be paid monthly to American citizens qualified to receive loans were rigidly prescribed in accordance with cost-of-living criteria. Americans were not allowed larger amounts even though their own resources permitted it. All moneys lent were to be repaid without interest to the Treasury of the United States. Interested persons in the United States were permitted to make deposits either to reimburse the Government for sums advanced or to be used as a reserve against such advances. Although all sums advanced were in the form of

loans to be repaid eventually, the ability to repay was not an indispensable condition to receiving financial assistance.

Territories where the interests of the United States were represented by Switzerland were divided into 10 classes, and the basic maximum monthly payment for an adult varied from \$60 to \$130. The basis of the classification was the estimated cost of living. Hong Kong and the Netherlands Indies were placed in the lowest, or \$60 class, whereas Italy was in the sixth, or \$90 class, and France, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary, in the eighth, or \$110 class, the highest so far allocated. Only one adult in the family may receive the maximum monthly payments, other adults being limited to 75 percent of the basic maximum, and minors to 25 percent. A single family may not receive more than 325 percent of the basic maximum.

Only *bona-fide* loyal American citizens who had been unable to return to the United States through lack of transportation facilities or through illness were eligible for financial assistance. Filipinos were eligible to the same treatment as American citizens in regard to loans. Prisoners of war and interned civilians are supported by the detaining power, hence, in general, not more than 10 percent of the maximum allowed for personal needs could be lent to such persons.

No exact figures of the total amount expended by the United States on this type of assistance to its nationals can be given, but the following figures will serve as an approximation. The total number of cases reported as receiving payments as of January 1944, were 7,341, of which 5,460 were interned and 1,881 not interned. Of the internees, 4,081 were in the Philippine Islands. Of those not interned, 309 were in France and 296 were in Italy. The total monthly payments were estimated at \$52,027.35 for the internees and \$109,130.19 for those not interned, making a total monthly expenditure of \$161,157.54. The total sum advanced to the Swiss Government for financial assistance to United States nationals and representation of American interests generally in enemy territory for the calendar year 1942 amounted to \$2,093,629.32, and for 1943 to \$1,676,709.16. The decrease in 1943 reflects the repatriation of over 3,000 American citizens from enemy territory in 1942 and 1943.

The work of a financial character became so

¹This instruction, known as no. 1202, together with the amendments of Jan. 22, 1944, has served as a basis of our procedure.

heavy and complicated that on February 15, 1944 a unit was established in the Welfare and Whereabouts Section which for convenience was called the "1202 Unit" since it carried out the provisions of instructions 1202. The duties of this unit as stated in the office circular were fourfold:

1. To amend and interpret the instruction no. 1202 so far as it applies in enemy, enemy-occupied, or enemy-controlled territory, in the liberated areas, in unoccupied China and Macau, in Switzerland and in other areas which may later be covered.

2. To review all decisions upon applications for financial assistance and index such decisions with respect to persons found eligible or not to receive financial assistance.

3. To tabulate information regarding the application of 1202 and to modify the procedure if necessary to make it conform to departmental policy.

4. To set up Special Authorization to provide necessary funds to extend financial assistance outside of enemy territory and to prepare estimates needed when assistance is authorized.

Mr. Dayle C. McDonough, a Foreign Service officer, was placed in charge of this Unit.

Miscellaneous functions

Another function of the Welfare Section is the notification to interested persons in the United States of the death of American nationals in enemy territory.

The function of the Section which has been very helpful to American nationals in foreign territory is the role played in certain circumstances in the transmission of messages through the American missions abroad to relatives or friends in the United States. Such messages before they are delivered must be cleared through censorship in the United States. In the case of financial transactions of any importance, the Treasury also must license the message. The Section takes care of these formalities. The messages are of all sorts, from simple greetings to very urgent inquiries of personal or business character. The Section cleared 1,316 such messages in the year 1943.

A duty which has become a fairly heavy one at times consists of the notification of interested persons in the United States of the inclusion of their friends or relatives in the exchange of nationals between the United States and enemy countries. Since many people often write to the Department

regarding the same person, the notifications, when an exchange is made, may run into the thousands. For example, in the last exchange of Americans and Japanese in December 1943, the number of notifications amounted to approximately 4,800. It would seem reasonable in such cases to notify only the next-of-kin where such is indicated.

A recent procedure which has proved to be of great value has been the issuance to the Department's representative on each exchange vessel of instructions to collect all possible information from the passengers regarding the Americans who still remain in enemy hands. Mr. Donald Smith, a Foreign Service officer, who undertook this duty in addition to his responsibilities as Special Disbursing Officer or principal representative of the Department, on the recent voyage of the *Gripsholm* obtained a vast amount of useful information for the Division's files and for transmission to interested relatives and friends.

One incident will illustrate the value of such information. On the day before the Department had received the cards that had been prepared on the second voyage of the *Gripsholm*, an American called upon Mr. Gilson Blake, Chief of the Section, to find out about his brother and wife who had been seized by the Japanese and from whom he had received no information. He said his elderly mother was very ill with the anxiety and worry and that her death was likely to occur at any time. Mr. Blake agreed to send any information obtained at the earliest possible moment. When the cards arrived they contained favorable news regarding this interned family. Mr. Blake telephoned the interested relatives in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and promised, at their request, to send a written message which could be put into the mother's hands. This was done, and word was received that, as a result of the favorable news, the mother was on the road to recovery.

These functions of the Welfare Section are, perhaps, those which are best known; but with the development of the war other problems arose that increased materially the scope and number of the Division's activities. The work of the Special War Problems Division covering internees, prisoners of war, representation of foreign interests, liaison with the Red Cross, negotiations for exchanges whereby to repatriate prisoners of war and others held by the enemy, and problems of relief will be considered in subsequent articles.

The United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press by the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference July 1]

JUNE 29, 1944.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS MONETARY AND FINANCIAL CONFERENCE: I welcome you to this quiet meeting place with confidence and with hope. I am grateful to you for making the long journey here, grateful to your governments for their ready acceptance of my invitation to this meeting. It is fitting that even while the war for liberation is at its peak, the representatives of free men should gather to take counsel with one another respecting the shape of the future which we are to win.

The war has prodded us into the healthy habit of coming together in conference when we have common problems to discuss and solve. We have done this successfully with respect to various military and production phases of the war, and also with respect to measures which must be taken immediately after the war is won—such as relief and rehabilitation, and distribution of the world's food supplies. These have been essentially emergency matters. At Bretton Woods, you who come from many lands are meeting for the first time to talk over proposals for an enduring program of future economic cooperation and peaceful progress.

The program you are to discuss constitutes, of course, only one phase of the arrangements which must be made between nations to ensure an orderly, harmonious world. But it is a vital phase, affecting ordinary men and women everywhere. For it concerns the basis upon which they will be able to exchange with one another the natural riches of the earth and the products of their own industry and ingenuity. Commerce is the life blood of a free society. We must see to it that the arteries which carry that blood stream are not clogged again, as they have been in the past, by artificial barriers created through senseless economic rivalries.

Economic diseases are highly communicable. It follows, therefore, that the economic health of every country is a proper matter of concern to all its neighbors, near and distant. Only through a dynamic and a soundly expanding world econ-

omy can the living standards of individual nations be advanced to levels which will permit a full realization of our hopes for the future.

The spirit in which you carry on these discussions will set a pattern for future friendly consultations among nations in their common interest. Further evidence will be furnished at Bretton Woods that men of different nationalities have learned how to adjust possible differences and how to work together as friends.

The things that we need to do, must be done—can only be done—in concert. This Conference will test our capacity to cooperate in peace as we have in war. I know that you will all approach your task with a high sense of responsibility to those who have sacrificed so much in their hopes for a better world.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

MESSAGE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press by the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference July 2]

The message from Secretary of State Hull to the Honorable Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Chairman of the United States delegation, follows:

JUNE 29, 1944.

MY DEAR HENRY,

I am very glad that the President has selected you as Chairman of the delegation of this Government to the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference to be held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, beginning July 1, 1944.

Your position in national and world affairs as well as your conscientious and diligent efforts and preparation for this meeting make you the natural choice to head our delegation.

This forthcoming Conference will be one of the most important and historic international meetings and the successful accomplishment of your mission will have far-reaching effect upon the future reconstruction and rehabilitation of the world. You can rest assured that my colleagues and I will be most happy to extend to you and the other members of the delegation every possible assistance.

I wish you the greatest success in this difficult and responsible undertaking.

Sincerely yours,

CORDELL HULL

ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY¹

[Released to the press by the Treasury Department July 1]

FELLOW DELEGATES AND MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE: You have given me an honor and an opportunity. I accept the presidency of this Conference with gratitude for the confidence you have reposed in me. I accept it also with deep humility. For I know that what we do here will shape to a significant degree the nature of the world in which we are to live—and the nature of the world in which men and women younger than ourselves must round out their lives and seek the fulfilment of their hopes. All of you, I know, share this sense of responsibility.

We are more likely to be successful in the work before us if we see it in perspective. Our agenda is concerned specifically with the monetary and investment field. It should be viewed, however, as part of a broader program of agreed action among nations to bring about the expansion of production, employment, and trade contemplated in the Atlantic Charter and in article VII of the mutual-aid agreements concluded by the United States with many of the United Nations. Whatever we accomplish here must be supplemented and buttressed by other action having this end in view.

President Roosevelt has made it clear that we are not asked to make definitive agreements binding on any nation, but that proposals here formulated are to be referred to our respective governments for acceptance or rejection. Our task, then, is to confer, and to reach understanding and agreement, upon certain basic measures which must be recommended to our governments for the establishment of a sound and stable economic relationship among us.

We can accomplish this task only if we approach it not as bargainers but as partners—not as rivals but as men who recognize that their common welfare depends, in peace as in war, upon mutual trust and joint endeavor. It is not an easy task that is before us; but I believe, if we devote ourselves to it in this spirit, earnestly and sincerely, that what we achieve here will have the greatest historical significance. Men and women

everywhere will look to this meeting for a sign that the unity welded among us by war will endure in peace.

Through cooperation we are now overcoming the most fearful and formidable threat ever to be raised against our security and freedom. In time, with God's grace, the scourge of war will be lifted from us. But we shall delude ourselves if we regard victory as synonymous with freedom and security. Victory in this war will give us simply the opportunity to mold, through our common effort, a world that is, in truth, secure and free.

We are to concern ourselves here with essential steps in the creation of a dynamic world economy in which the people of every nation will be able to realize their potentialities in peace; will be able, through their industry, their inventiveness, their thrift, to raise their own standards of living and enjoy, increasingly, the fruits of material progress on an earth infinitely blessed with natural riches. This is the indispensable cornerstone of freedom and security. All else must be built upon this. For freedom of opportunity is the foundation for all other freedoms.

I hope that this Conference will focus its attention upon two elementary economic axioms. The first of these is this: that prosperity has no fixed limits. It is not a finite substance to be diminished by division. On the contrary, the more of it that other nations enjoy, the more each nation will have for itself. There is a tragic fallacy in the notion that any country is liable to lose its customers by promoting greater production and higher living-standards among them. Good customers are prosperous customers. The point can be illustrated very simply from the foreign-trade experience of my own country. In the pre-war decade, about 20 percent of our exports went to the 47 million people in the highly industrialized United Kingdom; less than 3 percent went to the 450 million people in China.

The second axiom is a corollary of the first. Prosperity, like peace, is indivisible. We cannot afford to have it scattered here or there among the fortunate or to enjoy it at the expense of others. Poverty, wherever it exists, is menacing to us all and undermines the well-being of each of us. It

¹Delivered before the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods, N. H., July 1, 1944.

can no more be localized than war, but spreads and saps the economic strength of all the more-favored areas of the earth. We know now that the thread of economic life in every nation is inseparably woven into a fabric of world economy. Let any thread become frayed and the entire fabric is weakened. No nation, however great and strong, can remain immune.

All of us have seen the great economic tragedy of our time. We saw the world-wide depression of the 1930's. We saw currency disorders develop and spread from land to land, destroying the basis for international trade and international investment and even international faith. In their wake, we saw unemployment and wretchedness—idle tools, wasted wealth. We saw their victims fall prey, in places, to demagogues and dictators. We saw bewilderment and bitterness become the breeders of fascism and, finally, of war.

In many countries controls and restrictions were set up without regard to their effect on other countries. Some countries, in a desperate attempt to grasp a share of the shrinking volume of world trade, aggravated the disorder by resorting to competitive depreciation of currency. Much of our economic ingenuity was expended in the fashioning of devices to hamper and limit the free movement of goods. These devices became economic weapons with which the earliest phase of our present war was fought by the Fascist dictators. There was an ironic inevitability in this process. Economic aggression can have no other offspring than war. It is as dangerous as it is futile.

We know now that economic conflict must develop when nations endeavor separately to deal with economic ills which are international in scope. To deal with the problems of international exchange and of international investment is beyond the capacity of any one country, or of any two or three countries. These are multilateral problems, to be solved only by multilateral cooperation. They are fixed and permanent problems, not merely transitional considerations of the post-war reconstruction. They are problems not limited in importance to foreign-exchange traders and bankers but are vital factors in the flow of raw materials and finished goods, in the maintenance of high levels of production and consumption, in the establishment of a satisfactory standard of living for all the people of all the countries on this earth.

Throughout the past decade, the Government of the United States has sought in many directions to promote joint action among the nations of the world. In the realm of monetary and financial problems this Government undertook, as far back as 1936, to facilitate the maintenance of orderly exchanges by entering into the Tri-Partite Agreement with England and France, under which they, and subsequently Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, agreed with us to consult on foreign-exchange questions before important steps were taken. This policy of consultation was extended in the bilateral exchange arrangements which we set up, starting in 1937, with our neighbors on the American continents.

In 1941, we began to study the possibility of international cooperation on a multilateral basis as a means of establishing a stable and orderly system of international currency relationships and to revive international investment. Our technical staff—soon joined by the experts of other nations—undertook the preparation of practical proposals, designed to implement international monetary and financial cooperation. The opinions of these technicians, as reported in the joint public statement which they have issued, reveal a common belief that the disruption of foreign exchanges *can* be prevented, and the collapse of monetary systems *can* be avoided, and a sound currency basis for the balanced growth of international trade *can* be provided, if we are forehanded enough to plan ahead of time—and to plan together. It is the consensus of these technical experts that the solution lies in a permanent institution for consultation and cooperation on international monetary, finance, and economic problems. The formulation of a definite proposal for a Stabilization Fund of the United and Associated Nations is one of the items on our agenda.

But provision for monetary stabilization alone will not meet the need for the rehabilitation of war-wrecked economies. It is not, in fact, designed toward that end. It is proposed, rather, as a permanent mechanism to promote exchange stability. Even to discharge this function effectively, it must be supplemented by many other measures to remove impediments to world trade.

For long-range reconstruction purposes, international loans on a broad scale will be imperative. We have in mind a need wholly apart from the problem of immediate aid which is being under-

taken by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The need which we seek to meet through the second proposal on our agenda is for loans to provide capital for economic reconstruction, loans for which adequate security may be available and which will provide the opportunity for investment, under proper safeguards, of capital from many lands. The technicians have prepared the outline of a plan for an International Bank for Postwar Reconstruction which will investigate the opportunities for loans of this character, will recommend and supervise them and, if advisable, furnish to investors guaranties of their repayment.

I shall not attempt here to discuss these proposals in detail. That is the task of this Conference. It is a task the performance of which calls for wisdom, for statesmanship, above all for goodwill.

The transcendent fact of contemporary life is this—that the world is a community. On battlefronts the world over, the young men of all our united countries have been dying together—dying for a common purpose. It is not beyond our powers to enable the young men of all our countries to *live* together—to pour their energies, their skills, their aspirations into mutual enrichment and peaceful progress. Our final responsibility is to them. As they prosper or perish, the work which we do here will be judged. The opportunity before us has been bought with blood. Let us meet it with faith in one another, with faith in our common future, which these men fought to make free.

United States Delegation

[Released to the press June 30]

The President has approved the membership of the United States delegation to the forthcoming United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, which will convene at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, on July 1, 1944, as indicated in the list¹ made public by the Department of State.

The President has also approved the list of the officers of the Secretariat of the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference.

In accordance with established international practice, the President of the United States of America, as Chief of State of the country serving as host to the Conference, has designated the Chairman of the delegation of the United States, the Honorable Henry Morgenthau, Jr., as Temporary President of the Conference to serve until the election of the Permanent President.

In further observance of international practice, the President has designated as Secretary General of the Conference Dr. Warren Kelchner, Chief of the Division of International Conferences, Department of State. Mr. V. Frank Coe and Mr. Philip C. Jessup will serve as Technical Secretary General and as Assistant Secretary General, respectively.

Mr. Michael J. McDermott, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, has been designated as Chief Press Relations Officer of the Conference.

Invitation to Bolivia

[Released to the press June 26]

The Government of Bolivia has been invited by President Roosevelt to participate in the international Conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, beginning on July 1, 1944, for the purpose of discussing proposals to meet post-war international monetary problems.

Visit of Nicaraguan Engineer

[Released to the press June 28]

Señor Constantino Lacayo Fiallos, Belgian-trained civil engineer of Managua, Nicaragua, will observe the work of the Public Roads Administration during his three months' visit in this country as guest of the Department of State.

Questions of drainage and mechanization of equipment will occupy also a considerable part of the visiting engineer's attention. Besides visiting the laboratories of the Public Road Administration he plans to observe actual road construction; to visit engineering courses at such institutions as Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and to see a representative industrial center manufacturing tractors, trucks, and automobiles. In connection with the latter he is

¹ BULLETIN of June 24, 1944, p. 587.

(Continued on next page)

Joint Resolutions Concerning the Philippines

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT¹

[Released to the press by the White House June 29]

I have signed today two joint resolutions of Congress respecting the Philippines. The first of these resolutions lays down a policy for the granting of independence, and for the acquisition of bases adequate to provide for the mutual protection of the United States and the Philippine Islands.

In that resolution it is declared to be the policy of "the Congress that the United States shall drive the treacherous, invading Japanese from the Philippine Islands, restore as quickly as possible the orderly, free democratic processes of government to the Filipino people, and thereupon establish the complete independence of the Philippine Islands as a separate self-governing nation". The measure makes it possible to proclaim independence as soon as practicable after constitutional processes and normal functions of government have been restored in the Philippines.

It is contemplated that as soon as conditions warrant, civil government will be set up under constitutional officers. It will be their duty forthwith to take emergency measures to alleviate the physical and economic hardships of the Philippine people and to prepare the Commonwealth to receive and exercise the independence which we have promised them. The latter includes two tasks of great importance: Those who have collaborated with the enemy must be removed from authority and influence over the political and economic life of the country; and the democratic form of government guaranteed in the Constitution of the Philippines must be restored for the benefit of the people of the islands.

On the problem of bases, the present organic act permitted acquisition only of naval bases and fueling stations, a situation wholly inadequate to meet the conditions of modern warfare. The measure approved today will permit the acquisition of air and land bases in addition to naval bases and fueling stations. I have been informed that this action is most welcome to Commonwealth authorities and that they will gladly cooperate in the establishment and maintenance of bases both as a restored Commonwealth and as an independent nation. By this we shall have an outstanding ex-

ample of cooperation designed to prevent a recurrence of armed aggression and to assure the peaceful use of a great ocean by those in pursuit of peaceful ends.

The second joint resolution signed today brings into effect the joint economic commission first ordained in the present organic act, and enlarges its scope to include consideration of proposals for the economic and financial rehabilitation of the Philippines.

We are ever mindful of the heroic role of the Philippines and their people in the present conflict. Theirs is the only substantial area and theirs the only substantial population under the American flag to suffer lengthy invasion by the enemy. History will attest the heroic resistance of the combined armies of the United States and the Philippines in Luzon, Cebu, Iloilo, and other islands of the archipelago. Our character as a nation will be judged for years to come by the human understanding and the physical efficiency with which we help in the immense task of rehabilitating the Philippines. The resolution creates the Philippine Rehabilitation Commission whose functions shall be to study all aspects of the problem and, after due investigation, report its recommendations to the President of the United States and the Congress, and to the President and the Congress of the Philippines.

NICARAGUA—Continued from p. 16

interested especially in living and working conditions of the workmen.

Señor Lacayo Fiallos, former Director General of Public Works of Nicaragua, is now engineer of the Nicaraguan Department of Roads, engaged in the construction of the Pan American Highway. He says that the highway under construction across Nicaragua will cut ocean-transportation time between San Francisco and New York by about four days. The existing Pacific-Atlantic highways in other countries, he explains, runs for miles at a very high altitude, but the Nicaraguan road will lie almost at sea-level.

¹ Made in connection with the signing of S.J. Res. 93 and S.J. Res. 94.

Sol Bloom: Fighter for Freedom

Address by THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE¹

[Released to the press June 28]

It is a great privilege to join with this distinguished gathering tonight in paying tribute to Sol Bloom.

I have seen Sol Bloom in action with presidents and kings, with prime ministers and ambassadors. The respect he has inspired in them all is amply attested by the presence here tonight of so many distinguished representatives of so many great nations.

The range of Sol Bloom's talents and accomplishments is enormous—from song writing to statesmanship, from real estate to foreign affairs. He is just concluding his eleventh consecutive term as one of the most distinguished congressmen of our day. Yet I think I can tell you in one sentence the wellspring of all his energy and ability. It is a profound faith in our democratic principles and a profound love for his fellowmen.

Sol Bloom has always been a valiant fighter for freedom, a bitter foe of intolerance and persecution. He saw clearly from the start that Nazism was a menace to the freedom of the whole world; he understood immediately that this new barbarism was an assault on civilization itself. I speak for the entire State Department—and I am sure for the country—when I say that we owe a great debt to Sol Bloom and indeed to all the distinguished members of the Foreign Affairs Committee for their whole-hearted cooperation during these difficult recent years. I am certain that the members of that Committee who are present here this evening will testify with me to Chairman Bloom's fine leadership.

Today, the armies of the United Nations are driving the brutal beasts from the peaceful lands which they have ravaged. The dawn of a new day is breaking for the oppressed peoples of the world. But we have still a long way to go before complete victory is attained over the forces of intolerance and persecution. In the meanwhile, we must do everything in our power to release from imprisonment the oppressed peoples who have suffered so long.

This work is being carried on under the active sponsorship of two of the great men of our age—Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Cordell Hull. They are men of large hearts and large minds. And I can assure you that their hearts and their minds are deeply concerned in this work of rescuing human lives from Axis cruelty.

In 1938 President Roosevelt summoned the Évian Conference which established the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, on which the Honorable Myron C. Taylor has so effectively represented this Government. The work of this body has constantly expanded.

In January of this year the War Refugee Board was created by the President to assist in the immediate escape from Europe of the peoples who face extermination. Again, Mr. Bloom was of the utmost assistance. The work of the Board has gone forward with energy and skill.

Acting in close cooperation with these two organizations and with the governments of other United Nations, the State Department has labored constantly to assist the escape of refugees from Europe and to find for them places of refuge.

Much of the story of assistance to the refugees of Europe cannot now be told without seriously endangering our future efforts. Escape from Europe is not easy. Savage retaliation by the Nazis follows quickly upon any mistake or ill-planned action. But in a thousand different ways, in many different lands, the work goes on night and day. When the full story can be told it will be one of the most dramatic chapters in the history of human freedom.

There is one fact, however, which I can announce with great pleasure to you this evening. The British Government has just agreed to the establishment of a new haven of refuge in one of the former Italian colonies in Libya. As you know, large numbers of refugees are arriving in southern Italy every day from Yugoslavia. Great efforts have been made to find places of refuge for them. This new haven will do much to ease the suffering of these unfortunate people. We profoundly hope that this act of mercy, like that of our own country a few weeks ago, will lead to similar acts

¹ Delivered by Mr. Stettinius at a testimonial dinner in honor of Representative Sol Bloom in New York, N.Y., June 28, 1944.

by other nations in opening their doors to peoples who would otherwise perish under Nazi brutality.

It is with the deepest pleasure that I speak to this large gathering this evening. For, despite different beliefs and points of view, everyone here has a profound common interest in the great causes for which we are fighting. And I am confident that everyone here is determined to do everything possible to aid the victims of Fascist intolerance. Unity, cooperation, and mutual trust are indispensable to the success of our labors. I feel certain that the strength of those who are working to aid the refugees from Europe will not be divided in this time of crisis and suffering.

Let me return for a moment in closing to our distinguished guest, Mr. Sol Bloom. He has been an outstanding leader in the struggle to aid and rescue the persecuted peoples of Europe. In a multitude of ways—with little publicity or fanfare—he has contributed greatly to the success of our common efforts. I know of no man more deserving of the great tribute which this distinguished gathering is paying to him this evening.

There are great tasks still ahead in the world, in the cause of freedom and peace and tolerance. In that work we shall always find Sol Bloom in the forefront—a distinguished, unselfish, and inspiring leader.

The Right of Innocent Passage in International Civil Air-Navigation Agreements

By STEPHEN LATCHFORD¹

One of the most important contributions that the interested governments could make in the negotiation of any future agreement governing international air navigation in the post-war period would be the drafting of the agreement in language that would indicate clearly what the parties may have in mind and that would avoid the ambiguities and uncertainties which arose from the language of some of the provisions of international air-navigation agreements adopted in the past.

In connection with the discussions and debates that have taken place on the subject of the post-war aviation policy of the various governments with reference to the admission into their territories of foreign air-transport lines, emphasis has been placed upon "the right of innocent passage". Apparently a great many persons believe that an agreement by the various governments upon an international convention in which each contracting state would accord to civil aircraft of other contracting states the right of innocent passage would establish the authority of a commercial airline of any contracting state to make flights in transit across territory of the other contracting states. In other words, the use of the term "innocent passage" seems to give the impression that if aircraft of country A are accorded the right by country C to enter its territory, the authorities of country B could not interpose an arbitrary restriction upon the right of transit of the aircraft

in order to reach country C. This illustration might be enlarged to apply to operations in transit through countries B, C, D, E, and F on a route from country A to country G. However, in view of the interpretation placed upon the term "right of innocent passage" in previous international air-navigation agreements, the question arises whether, if the use of the term is continued, there could be any certainty that the right of transit would thereby be obtained for regular or scheduled international air-transport services.

The International Convention for the Regulation of Aerial Navigation, adopted at Paris on October 13, 1919 at the time of the Peace Conference of that year, embodies, with its annexes, very elaborate provisions on the subject of international air navigation. This convention has served in a very large measure as a model for the negotiation of all subsequent international air-navigation agreements both bilateral and multilateral. In addition to adopting a number of the sound principles of the Paris convention of 1919 many of the air-navigation agreements have repeated the reference to "the right of innocent passage" found in that convention or have employed a very similar expression. Under article 2 of the Paris convention each contracting state

¹The author of this article is Adviser on Air Law, Aviation Division, Department of State.

undertakes, in time of peace, "to accord freedom of innocent passage above its territory to the aircraft of the other contracting states" provided that the conditions laid down in the convention are observed. One might suppose that the right of innocent passage granted by article 2 would have at least accorded a right for commercial airlines of any of the contracting states to operate in transit across the territory of any other contracting state in order to reach the country of final destination. One might suppose also that such transit would be possible as a matter of right and without the necessity of obtaining formal authorization from the government whose territory would be flown over. Moreover, if article 2 did not give the right of transit for commercial airlines one would suppose that such right would have been granted by article 15 of the 1919 convention, which provided that every aircraft of a contracting state would have the right to cross the airspace of another state without landing. Article 15 provided also that the aircraft making such non-stop flights would have to follow the route fixed by the state over which a flight took place and that the aircraft could be required to land if necessary for security reasons. However, the question might well have been raised whether an absolute right of transit for commercial air services was not established by the non-stop provision of article 15, subject only to the right of the subjacent state to enforce reasonable security measures.

The last paragraph of article 15 as adopted in 1919 provided that the establishment of international airways would be subject to the consent of the state or states flown over. Some authorities thought that while the establishment of international airways was a matter within the jurisdiction of each contracting state, once such airways were established a general right of transit over such airways would be automatically accorded to the aircraft of other contracting states.

The Paris convention as adopted in 1919 did not specifically provide that the operation of regular or scheduled airlines of any contracting state into or through territory of any other contracting state would be subject to the prior consent of the latter. On this point there was perhaps as much ambiguity as there was with reference to the right of transit. However, the governments which were parties to the Paris convention interpreted the reference to international airways in the last para-

graph of article 15 as giving them the right to require their prior consent to the establishment and operation of regular or scheduled airline transport services into or through their territories. In general, the right of innocent passage granted by article 2 of the Paris convention was interpreted as according only a general right of entry into territory of any one of the contracting states by civil aircraft of other contracting states making special flights, such as tourist flights. Under this interpretation and subject to compliance with applicable local laws and regulations such special flights could be made without the necessity of obtaining special permission from the government of the country whose territory was entered.

With regard to the right of the subjacent state to require its prior authorization for the "establishment of international airways" as provided in the last paragraph of article 15 a great deal of uncertainty arose, owing largely, it appears, to the difficulty in finding a satisfactory and accurate English translation of the French expression "voies internationales de navigation aérienne". It seems that in the discussions in connection with the drafting of the convention, the French term quoted was translated by such expressions as "routes" and "lines". Eventually, however, the term "international airways" was adopted as the English equivalent of the French term mentioned above. Apparently the real intention of the drafters of the Paris convention was never made entirely clear. In any event the provision of article 15 stating that the establishment of international airways would be subject to the consent of the states flown over was, as stated above, interpreted in practice to mean that no regular or scheduled airline of any contracting state could be operated into or in transit across the territory of another contracting state with or without landing except by prior permission of the state whose territory would be flown over. It has been contended with good reason that the manner in which article 15 was applied in practice greatly retarded the development of international air transportation, particularly as regards the general right of transit. However, it is not the purpose of this discussion to go into the merits of the various principles involved but merely to call attention to the great importance of so drafting international agreements as to make clear just what the parties may have in mind.

An extraordinary session of the International Commission for Air Navigation functioning under the Paris convention of 1919 was held in Paris in 1929. Among the subjects brought up for discussion was the amendment of article 15 so as to make it entirely clear whether an air-transport enterprise of one state could fly into or in transit through the territory of another without the latter's prior consent. By the time the Commission met in 1929 the practice followed in applying article 15 had become so well established that there is little wonder that the majority of the delegations were unwilling to do any more than to bring article 15 into line with the interpretation which had been placed upon it.¹ Therefore, article 15 as amended as a result of the session of the Commission held in 1929 provides in the last paragraph that "every contracting State may make conditional on its prior authorization the establishment of international airways and the creation and operation of regular international air navigation lines, with or without landing, on its territory". The corresponding paragraph in article 15 of the convention as signed in 1919 merely provided, as above indicated, that "the establishment of international airways shall be subject to the consent of the states flown over". The amendment of article 15 made as a result of the meeting in Paris in 1929 did not change the original provisions regarding the right to fly over a contracting state without landing. Such right of transit, therefore, considered in connection with the right of innocent passage granted under article 2, continued to permit aircraft to fly in transit without the necessity of obtaining prior authorization from the country flown over only so far as concerned special flights not amounting to a regular or scheduled service.

Although representatives of the United States participated in the drafting of the Paris convention which was signed on behalf of this Government, it was never ratified by this Government. Therefore, as a substitute for becoming a party to the Paris convention this Government entered into a series of bilateral international air-navigation agreements which embodied certain basic principles of the Paris convention and, like that convention and bilateral air-navigation agreements concluded between various European countries, were not without some ambiguities.

In 1929 a general air-navigation agreement was concluded between the United States and Canada.² Section 2 of that agreement provided that "subject to the conditions and limitations hereinafter contained and set forth, Canadian civil aircraft shall be permitted to operate in the United States and, in like manner, civil aircraft of the United States shall be permitted to operate in the Dominion of Canada". This language corresponded with a provision in nearly all subsequent air-navigation agreements concluded by the United States to the effect that each country granted "liberty of passage" over its territory to the civil aircraft of the other country. Section 6 of the 1929 agreement with Canada provided in effect that if the aircraft and pilots of either country were licensed to carry passengers and cargo in that country they could do so between the United States and Canada, subject, however, to the right of each country to reserve to its own aircraft traffic wholly between points in its territory. Although one might suppose that the 1929 agreement with Canada afforded regular airlines of either country a general right to operate into territory of the other, it is not recalled that in practice regular air-transport services or routes could be established by airlines of the one country into the other without obtaining some form of prior authorization from such other country.

Following the negotiation of the agreement of 1929 with Canada, a series of air-navigation agreements was entered into by the United States with European countries. The first air-navigation agreement concluded by the United States with a European country was the one negotiated with the Italian Government in 1931.³ Article 1 of the agreement provided that "subject to the conditions and limitations hereinafter contained and set forth, Italian civil aircraft shall be permitted to operate in the United States of America, and, in like manner, civil aircraft of the United States of

¹The delegations of the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Sweden were not in agreement with the majority and favored the greatest possible freedom in the development of international air-transport services.

As indicated in this article the United States did not become a party to the Paris convention of 1919. However, non-contracting states as well as contracting states were invited to send representatives to the 1929 meeting of the International Commission for Air Navigation.

²Executive Agreement Series 2.

³Executive Agreement Series 24.

America shall be permitted to operate in Italy". This was the form used in section 2 of the 1929 agreement with Canada. Following the negotiation of the agreement with Italy, it was the practice, in negotiating air-navigation agreements with European countries, to stipulate in the first part of such agreements that each country granted "liberty of passage" above its territory to the aircraft of the other country.

Article 7 of the agreement between the United States and Italy provided that if the aircraft and pilots of either country were licensed by it to carry passengers and cargo in its territory they would be permitted to do so in the operation of a regular air-transport line of that country on a service between the two countries. This provision corresponded substantially with section 6 of the agreement of 1929 with Canada except for the specific reference to air-transport lines which did not occur in section 6 of the 1929 agreement. However, the formula employed in section 6 of the Canadian agreement was supplemented in article 7 of the Italian agreement by a provision that the operation of a regular air-transport line of either country into territory of the other country would be subject to the latter's prior consent. As in the Canadian agreement traffic wholly between two points in the territory of either country could be reserved to the aircraft of that country. This principle was uniformly adopted by this Government in the negotiation of air-navigation agreements.

Although it was provided in article 1 of the Italian agreement that the right of aircraft of either country to enter the territory of the other country would be understood to include the right of transit across such territory, it appears to be evident that there was no intention to grant an absolute right of transit for commercial airlines and that both countries fully intended to interpret the transit provision of article 1 in the same restrictive manner as the Paris convention had been interpreted.

The language employed in air-navigation agreements concluded by the United States with various countries subsequent to the negotiation of the agreement with Italy, most of which were entered into with European countries, made it clear that the establishment and operation of regular air-transport lines of each party to the agreement into

or across the territory of the other party with or without landing would be subject to the prior consent of the government whose territory would be flown over. A reservation to this effect in these various air-navigation agreements follows a paragraph granting "liberty of passage" (equivalent to the right of innocent passage) by aircraft of each country above the territory of the other.

If under the bilateral air-navigation agreements concluded by the United States a regular air-transport line of either country could not operate into or through territory of the other country without the prior consent of the latter, the question naturally arises as to what was meant by "liberty of passage". It has been interpreted to mean what the term "innocent passage" in the Paris convention of 1919 is understood to have meant in practice, namely, the right of civil aircraft of each contracting state to fly into and through territory of any other contracting state on special flights without the necessity of obtaining prior flight authorization from the country entered. Such special flights might be for touring or for occasional trips of a commercial nature such as might be made by a charterer but not amounting to the operation of a regular or scheduled air-transport service. The aircraft on such flights must, of course, comply with applicable local laws and regulations.

The bilateral air-navigation agreements entered into by the United States after the conclusion of the 1929 one with Canada and the 1931 one with Italy were an improvement over the Paris convention in that these agreements left no doubt that an air-transport enterprise of either country could not operate a regular service into or through the other country without the prior consent of the latter. There was, however, room for considerable clarification of the term "liberty of passage" in these agreements not only as to what specific rights of entry of a non-commercial nature were granted by the term, but also as to how it should be applied to occasional flights of a commercial nature not amounting to a regular or scheduled airline service. In that connection one might ask how often could non-scheduled commercial flights be made by aircraft of either country into the other without being required to obtain special authorization from the country entered for the reason that the operation had become so fre-

quent that it constituted, in effect, a regular service? It would seem that at the present time there is nothing to rely upon but the rule of reason which makes it necessary to judge each case in the light of the surrounding facts and circumstances.

The agreement with Canada of 1929 was superseded by the air-navigation agreement between the United States and Canada concluded in 1938¹ which grants to the civil aircraft of each country "liberty of passage" above the territory of the other country. Immediately following that specific grant, the agreement provides that "the establishment and operation by an enterprise of one of the parties of a regular air route or service to, over or away from the territory of the other party, with or without a stop shall be subject to the consent of such other party". Agreements relating specifically to the operation of air-transport services later supplemented that provision.

The Habana Convention on Commercial Aviation,² a multilateral convention signed on February 20, 1928, was probably the most ambiguous of all international agreements so far as concerns the acquisition of the right to establish and operate scheduled airline transport services. Article 4 of that convention provides that "each contracting state undertakes in time of peace to accord freedom of innocent passage above its territory to the private aircraft of the other contracting states, provided that the conditions laid down in the present convention are observed". It seems to be quite clear from the language of several articles of this convention that it was contemplated that regular commercial airlines would be operated between the contracting states. However, the convention contains no provision whatever indicating definitely whether the establishment of scheduled airlines of any contracting state over the territory of another contracting state would be subject to the latter's prior consent, nor does the convention make any specific reference to the right of transit. The Habana convention has been interpreted in the light of general international practice in that no air-transport enterprise of any of the contracting states may operate into or through the territory of another contracting state without the latter's prior consent. The United States is among the ratifying powers which have interpreted the convention in this manner. The Chilean Govern-

ment out of abundant caution ratified this convention with a reservation to the effect that the establishment and operation of regular airlines into its territory would be subject to its prior authorization.

Since the Habana convention does not establish an outright grant of authority for the establishment and operation of air-transport lines, the question arises as to what is meant by the "right of innocent passage" granted in article 4. It has generally been interpreted to mean, as in the case of the bilateral air-navigation agreements and the Paris convention, that the civil aircraft of each contracting state making special flights and not operated on regular services may fly into and away from the territory of any other contracting state without the necessity of obtaining prior flight authorization from such other state. The Mexican and Guatemalan Governments did not agree even to this interpretation. The Mexican Government insisted that notwithstanding the right of innocent passage granted by article 4 of the Habana convention no special flights could be made into its territory without prior authorization for each flight. The Guatemalan Government was willing for private United States civil aircraft to enter its territory on special flights without its prior authorization, but it indicated that blanket authorization for special flights by aircraft of both countries under article 4 should be regarded as a special agreement between the United States and Guatemala, such as might be entered into pursuant to the terms of article 30³ of the Habana convention.

In the light of past experience it would be desirable either to omit such terms as "liberty of passage" or "the right of innocent passage" from future international air-navigation agreements, or, if they are used at all, to define them so that their meaning would not be left in doubt. The writer would prefer to cast out such expressions root and branch from air-navigation agreements and to have the agreements indicate in clear and

¹ Executive Agreement Series 129.

² Treaty Series 840.

³ Art. 30 of the Habana convention permits, under certain conditions, a contracting state to enter into a special agreement or convention with another contracting state concerning international air navigation.

Return to the United States of the Ambassador to Argentina

[Released to the press June 27]

The United States Ambassador in Argentina, Mr. Norman Armour, has been instructed to return to Washington immediately for consultation.

unmistakable language just what air-navigation rights they would accord. Should it be decided to grant outright freedom of transit for scheduled airline operations, aside from the right to pick up and discharge passengers and cargo in the country flown over, the particular international agreement should so state, and it should be made clear that such general right of transit would be distinct from and in addition to any rights of commercial entry that might be acquired pursuant to other provisions of the particular agreement. This would appear to be desirable in order to avoid a repetition of the situation resulting from past interpretation of article 15 of the Paris convention where any intention that there may have been to grant a general right of transit for commercial lines was defeated by the interpretation given to that article. If the negotiators of future international air-navigation agreements desire also that aircraft of a contracting state be permitted to enter and fly in transit through the territory of another contracting state in unscheduled operations without the necessity of obtaining from the country entered prior authorization for each flight, the particular agreement should contain language that would make this intention absolutely clear. Should it be the purpose to establish a general right of entry for such special flights as well as the right of transit it should likewise be made clear whether these rights would be applicable not only to tourist or pleasure flights but to those of a commercial nature, such as might be made from time to time by chartered aircraft.

In accordance with the foregoing discussion, the following suggestions are made:

1. Abolishment of such terms as "liberty of passage" and "the right of innocent passage", and the substitution of appropriate language. Such

language should definitely indicate whether civil aircraft of a contracting state, making special flights and not operating on a regular or scheduled service, would be permitted to enter and fly in transit through territory of another contracting state without the necessity of obtaining prior flight authorization from the government of the latter state.

2. Employment of appropriate language which would make it absolutely clear whether a definite right of transit is to be accorded for scheduled air-transport operations. If such definite right of transit is to be accorded, it should, furthermore, be made clear that this right of transit would be distinct from and in addition to any commercial rights of entry that may be agreed upon at the same time.

The right of transit mentioned in the foregoing paragraph relates to such right as might be accorded for scheduled airlines to make non-stop flights across the territory of a contracting state, with the right to land at public airports for technical purposes such as refueling and repairs. Such transit would not, however, include the right to take on and discharge passengers and cargo in the territory flown over. Transit with the right to take on and discharge passengers and cargo in the country through which a flight is made would presumably come under the heading of commercial entry.

In referring to the wording of air-navigation agreements concluded in the past there is no intention of offering any criticism as to draftsmanship. The negotiators at the time undoubtedly adopted such terms as appeared to be called for in the light of all surrounding circumstances and the precedents that had been established up to that time. Experience gained in the practical application of all these agreements shows the necessity for the use of clarifying language.

In discussing the desirability of adopting clarifying language for future international air-navigation agreements, the writer does not intend to imply that the discussion herein necessarily reflects any official attitude with respect to the position which the Government of the United States may take in the adoption of post-war aviation policy nor does he intend to imply that the general right of entry heretofore accorded by air-navigation agreements is unaffected by wartime restrictions.

What Is the International Cartel Problem?

Address by CORWIN D. EDWARDS¹

[Released to the press June 30]

WHAT A CARTEL IS

A cartel is a group of business enterprises formed for the purpose of avoiding some kinds of competition among themselves. Its members continue to do business separately for their own profit, but they act together in deciding such matters as the prices they are to charge, the amounts they are to produce or sell, and the share of the market which is to be regarded as the exclusive right of each of them.

In Germany and in some other European countries, the term "cartel" is often used to describe a domestic trade association which carries out this kind of program. In this country the word is seldom applied to such domestic groups. It usually refers to groups which are organized internationally by the businessmen of two or more countries and which are used to prevent or limit competition in international trade.

Cartels sometimes undertake to lower their members' cost of doing business by various activities such as standardizing products or supplying statistical information, but such programs usually receive a minor part of the attention of cartel members.

THE RELATION OF COMBINES TO CARTELS

A combine is a group of business enterprises which have been brought under a single control so that they behave like one concern. The simplest form of combine is the holding company and its subsidiaries. In this kind of group one company, called the "parent" or the "holding" company, owns so much of the stock of various other companies, called the "subsidiaries", that by voting this stock it can pick the managers and control their decisions. Consequently, all of the companies act together whenever the people who control the holding company see an advantage in having them do so.

It is possible for combines to control companies which have been organized in several different countries. For example, General Aniline and Film Corporation was incorporated in this country but was controlled before the war by the con-

cern which directly or indirectly held most of its stock, I. G. Farbenindustrie of Germany.

International combines sometimes become very large, so that a single one of them may do most of the business in its own industry throughout the world. The organization of the combine usually prevents competition among the concerns which belong to it; and where the control over a whole industry has been concentrated in a combine, little or no competition is likely to remain within the industry. In this sense, combines are alternatives to cartels. Moreover, when the number of independent companies in an industry has been greatly reduced by the organization of four or five combines, it is relatively easy for these large interests to form a cartel and thereby avoid competing with each other. When this happens cartels and combines supplement and reinforce each other as ways of controlling an industry.

HOW A CARTEL SUPPRESSES COMPETITION

The chief purpose of a cartel agreement is to increase the profits of the members of the cartel by reducing competition. There are many different ways to do this. Any cartel may use more than one, and no two cartels are likely to use exactly the same methods.

One of the simplest ways is for the members of the cartel to agree upon the prices at which they will sell their goods, and thereby to avoid the price-cutting which often occurs in competition. But such price agreements, standing alone, are hard to maintain. A high price reduces sales, and companies with unsold goods upon their hands or with idle plant capacity are likely sooner or later to reduce prices in order to attract customers. Moreover, there are often some concerns which have not signed the cartel agreement, and if these independent companies sell at lower prices they may take enough business away from the cartel to oblige the cartel members to follow suit.

A second way of avoiding competition is to agree to restrict production, sales, or exports. The

¹ Delivered before the Consumers Union, Washington, June 30, 1944. Mr. Edwards is Consultant on cartels, Commodities Division, Department of State.

purpose of such an agreement is to reduce the amount offered for sale, so that the sellers will find it easier to maintain prices. Sometimes restriction of the supply is used to reenforce a price agreement, but so sometimes it is used alone in the belief that with supply limited the price will remain high even without any formal decision to keep it so.

A third way of restricting competition is to assign some part of the market to each concern so that in its own field it can make decisions about prices and sales without being afraid that its customers will find other companies to turn to. There are several different ways of allocating markets. In some cases, each company will take a certain territory, consisting of its own home market and perhaps the markets of some foreign countries where there is no local producer. In other cases, each company may be given the right to make certain goods which the other companies are pledged to avoid making. Occasionally customers may be assigned so that each company has a list of purchasers to whom all the others will avoid selling.

Agreements of this kind are often worked out in the form of simple contracts, in which the duties and rights of each company are specified. There have been instances, such as the pre-war control of rubber and tin, in which the governments of the principal producing countries have recognized cartels and given them support, either by appointing government officials to the group administering a cartel or by enacting laws which strengthened a cartel's authority over its members and protected it from competition by outsiders. For example, governments have occasionally enacted export taxes which made it difficult for members of a cartel to sell more abroad than the amount they had agreed upon.

Many cartels have been established by the use of patents. A patent is an exclusive right to use an invention, granted by a national government. The owner of the patent may allow others (licensees) to make use of it. Restrictions upon the kind or amount of products which a licensee may make, the territories in which he may sell, or the prices which he shall charge are often included in patent license agreements. When a single company controls so many patents that others cannot operate in the same industry without licenses, the conditions imposed in these licenses may prevent competition as effectively as a formal cartel agree-

ment. Moreover, since each nation's patents are valid only within its own boundaries, a single invention may be recognized by a series of separate patents taken out by the inventor in various countries; and in such cases the right to use the invention in each country may become the exclusive property of a different company which has bought that country's patent from the inventor or has obtained the sole license under it. If one company owns the British and American patents for one invention and a second company owns patents in the same two countries for another invention, they may exchange their patents, so that one company controls both inventions in England and the other controls both in the United States. Arrangements may be made between particular companies to exchange all patents which they now own and any which they may acquire in the future. When large concerns which hold many patents make such an exchange arrangement, each concern enjoys the combined strength of all the patents in the particular market where this company receives patent rights from the others. By uniting their patents in this way, the dominant concerns in various countries may each come to control the patents of an industry in certain markets. Thus the markets of the world may be divided among the business enterprises which take part in the plan, so that these enterprises no longer compete against each other; and other companies may be handicapped because they are not allowed to use any of the patents belonging to any member of the group.

THE FORCES WHICH LEAD PEOPLE TO ORGANIZE CARTELS

Businessmen usually take part in cartels because they wish to reduce competition. The desire to do this is wide-spread; for business is done for profit, and competition tends to limit the amount of the profit which can be made. Some cartels are organized by business groups which are already very prosperous but see an opportunity to increase their prosperity still further. Others are formed in order to avoid losses which appear to be probable, if competitive forces are not checked. Where cartels are taken for granted by public opinion and accepted by governments, business readily becomes cartelized. Where law and public opinion are opposed to cartels, many businessmen share the prevailing sentiment that such arrangements are bad for the community, and other businessmen who

think differently often hesitate from motives of prudence to take part in the cartels.

There are certain typical situations in which cartels are peculiarly likely to appear. Some of these are as follows:

(a) *The desire of powerful business enterprises to exchange inventions.* When a concern has acquired special knowledge and skill in making a particular product, either by engaging in research or by buying the discoveries of independent inventors, it usually patents the part of its knowledge which is patentable and keeps the rest as a trade secret. Ordinarily the total knowledge which would be useful in an industry is divided among various concerns which are operating there. Each is likely to want information from the others but to be unwilling that the others should use its own information to compete against it. Consequently in granting the right to use its patents and in giving others its secret information, each concern is likely to insist that the inventions thus made available shall not be used to make goods for sale in competition with it in its own markets. When inventions are being exchanged among several firms, their mutual insistence on such a principle results in an agreement to divide markets wherever possible and to set limits upon their competition with each other in markets which no one of them can be left free to occupy alone.

(b) *The desire of established industries to cope with threatened loss of markets.* When improved processes have been developed, producers who use the older methods may lose sales because they cannot make the improved product or may lose profits because the newer producers undersell them. When buyers change their buying habits, producers in some industries may find that the volume of goods they can sell is seriously reduced. When new plants have been built and old ones expanded too rapidly, all members of an industry, including those who have not taken part in the expansion, may be forced to struggle for a market which is too small to buy all that the producers wish to sell. Under circumstances like these, the profits and even the survival of a large part of an industry may be seriously threatened.

To protect themselves such industries may adopt cartel practices. The older producers may unite to drive the new ones into bankruptcy or may try to limit the speed of the newcomers' growth or may persuade them to sell at the old prices in spite of

their lower costs. Prices may be fixed by general agreement or the available business may be divided in order to avoid the use of price-cutting as a means of competing for larger sales.

Patterns like these appear both in manufacturing industries and in industries producing primary products. However, the problems which create them are likely to be more severe for some commodities of agricultural origin than for manufacturing or for mineral production. The uncertainties of the weather and of crop conditions in all parts of the world make it unusually hard for agricultural producers to plan intelligently. It is unusually difficult for farmers to change quickly to some other line of production, because they are numerous, and because their farming knowledge is often limited to one or two crops, and because farming is not merely an industrial occupation but also a way of life.

The pressure of distress is most wide-spread, both for agricultural industries and for other industries, in times of general business depression. The beginnings of depressions abound in efforts to organize cartels. In many cases, however, the members of an industry find themselves too helpless to counteract the effect of the decline of all business, and the cartel breaks down. Renewed efforts when a business revival has begun are more likely to succeed, and in such cases the cartel sometimes is credited by its members with an increase in prices and sales which is merely a consequence of better business conditions throughout the economy.

(c) *The desire of industries to cope with governmental trade barriers.* In Europe after 1918 many business enterprises found themselves separated by a new national frontier from their previous markets. The commercial policies of the new governments often established tariffs and other barriers to trade at such frontiers and thereby handicapped the older concerns while encouraging the development of new ones within the national territory. The older business enterprises frequently sought to maintain their markets by making special price reductions upon foreign sales, sometimes supported by subsidies from their home governments. To escape from a struggle for markets which took the form of dumping goods abroad, raising tariffs, and increasing subsidies, concerns in some industries made international agreements by which they decided what parts of the European

market should be allocated to each enterprise. In some cases these European cartels were the beginnings of larger cartels which later operated throughout the world. Non-European concerns found it convenient to join a cartel in doing business in Europe, and in return for their admission consented to the extension of the agreement to cover some or all of their non-European markets.

(d) *The desire to maintain the exports of highly specialized countries.* When a country's foreign trade supplies a large part of its national income and when most of its exports are produced by one or two industries, there is a strong national interest in the amounts which those industries sell abroad and the prices which they obtain. Employment at home, the foreign exchange which pays for imported goods, and possibly even the taxes received by the government, depend upon these amounts and prices. If export prices fall, the government may encourage the exporters to join an international agreement to maintain prices. If foreign sales fluctuate in amount, similar encouragement may be given to an international plan for market sharing which will protect the home country's export market by limiting the amount or proportion of exports from other countries.

(e) *The desire of independent concerns to do business in cartelized markets.* When a market is cartelized, members of the cartel are sometimes able to use their combined strength to organize boycotts against non-members or to subject such concerns to other similar inconveniences. When foreign non-members are strong enough to take customers away from cartel members and to endanger the cartel's ability to maintain its prices, a government which has jurisdiction over a cartelized market sometimes comes to the rescue of the cartel by establishing tariffs, controls over foreign exchange, or other regulations designed to exclude the independent concern from the market. Under these pressures a business enterprise may join a cartel in order to do business in a cartelized area without being harassed.

THE PROBLEMS RAISED BY CARTELS

National governments cannot ignore cartels. Among the problems of public policy which are raised by cartels are the following:

(a) *The relation between cartel restrictions and the effort to increase standards of living throughout the world.* In so far as cartels limit production

they directly diminish the supply of goods and services available for human use. Such activity runs counter to governmental efforts to increase standards of living. It tends to decrease consumption by making commodities less plentiful and higher priced. It tends to diminish employment because fewer people are needed to make the reduced amount of goods. So far as a cartel keeps prices higher than they would otherwise have been, consumption of the cartelized commodity is likely to be reduced and production is likely to fall even if the cartel does not limit output directly.

(b) *The relation between cartel restrictions and the effort to relieve the distress of producing groups.* In a system of free private enterprise the inducement to business concerns to keep themselves efficient is the danger that otherwise their costs will rise and their profits will decline. Similarly, if they find themselves in an industry which tends to produce more than it can sell, they are encouraged to transfer their resources to some other industry by the fact that their prices and profits decrease. Chances for prices to fall as well as rise and for businessmen to lose money as well as make it are necessary to make the business system work well. But prices or amounts sold sometimes decrease so sharply that many producers suffer severe distress, especially if it is impossible for them to save themselves by moving quickly out of one industry into another or by making sudden and great improvements in their productive methods.

When cartel restrictions intended to maintain prices or limit output or divide markets are used by a distressed group to lighten its burden, such remedies usually retard the transfer of resources out of the distressed industry and thus preserve the condition which created the distress. Moreover, the gain of the members of the cartel comes at the expense of those who buy its products and of its employees, whether or not these other groups are best able to bear the burden.

There are more desirable ways of cushioning the shock of such adjustments, if aid is considered necessary. Among them are direct grants of money, loans, and technical help to encourage transfers of resources to other industries, devices by which surplus products are bought by governments for distribution to people who would otherwise be too poor to obtain them, and various other measures. When distress is so great that some form of relief

is regarded as necessary, such possibilities should be explored and cartel methods of relief should be avoided.

(c) *The relation of cartels to the international balance of trade.* To varying degrees, countries which depend largely upon their export trade have a national interest in maintaining the position of their export industries. They are interested both in a large volume of exports and in higher export prices. As has been pointed out previously, the businessmen of these industries may receive encouragement from their governments in fixing prices through cartels or in agreeing upon a division of markets which gives them a guaranteed amount of exports instead of forcing them to compete for an uncertain share of the market. But though such a program may serve the interests of the producer in one country, it usually does so at the expense of consumers elsewhere. Moreover, the general use of such devices in various industries in other countries must mean that the first country pays higher prices for its imports and therefore needs foreign exchange more than ever. Furthermore, a cartel system is likely to retard the rise of new industries within the country, both because the people whom the cartel protects have less incentive to seek a new occupation and because foreign cartels which control other industries will often use their power to prevent the appearance of new competitors. For this reason the cartel system makes it difficult for a country to escape from its dependence upon one or a few industries by developing new types of activity.

Where a country's prosperity is threatened by changes in its exports of a few commodities, there is need to discover ways of meeting the problem which offer more promise of solving it and create fewer difficulties for other nations than do cartels.

(d) *The relation of cartels to commercial policy.* One of the most important policy questions which each nation decides is the degree of encouragement it shall give to the imports of foreign goods and to the exports of domestic products. Decisions about these matters are expressed in tariffs, export and import quotas, export subsidies, and similar regulations. Although no nation today follows a foreign-trade policy which is wholly free from restrictions, there has been a growing belief that the barriers to international trade which have been built up by the laws of the various nations in the last two decades have been excessive

and unwise. Efforts have been made to reduce these barriers by mutual agreement. How far this should be done has been determined in each country directly by its own government and, in democratic countries, ultimately by the people.

National policies about foreign trade are sometimes made ineffective by the private policies of international cartels. Such a result is particularly probable where the government's policy is to encourage access to its markets by enterprises in all countries and access by all its exporters to the markets of the world. A tariff which admits foreign goods without discrimination in favor of any country may be ineffective because of a cartel agreement which assigns the national market exclusively to the producers of one foreign country. A cartel agreement which reserves the domestic market for a domestic producer may have the same effect as a prohibitory tariff, even though the government may have refused to enact such a tariff. A government's refusal to place a quota upon imports or exports may be nullified in practice by a cartel's decision to include such a quota in an international agreement.

It is obvious that national policies must not be overridden by conflicting private policies. Ways of preventing cartels from thwarting the commercial policies of government must be found.

(e) *The relation of cartels to industrial progress.* Rapid improvement of industrial methods by applied scientific research is an important aim of public policy. The exchange of ideas and inventions is essential to such progress. Cartel agreements have often included arrangements between business enterprises to make such exchanges. Thereby research has advanced more rapidly than would have been possible if each enterprise had kept its inventions secret or prevented others from using them. But the industrial improvements which are made possible by this exchange of knowledge have sometimes been delayed by cartels in order to protect the capital values of existing plants. Furthermore, the program to exchange information has often been entangled with a program to fix prices, and access to the information has often been confined to companies which are members of the cartel, so that independent concerns have been deprived of the results of most of an industry's research. If ways can be found to prevent such practices from being associated with the exchange of scientific knowledge, the useful-

ness of this exchange to the community will be increased. Methods must be sought to accomplish this result.

(f) *The relation of cartels to national security.* The strength of the state in time of war depends largely upon the vigorous development of its industries during peace. Experience during the last decade has shown that cartels can sometimes be used by an aggressive government to retard the industrial development of other nations by preventing the erection of new plants, by limiting the output of existing plants, and by withholding the right to make use of new scientific discoveries. Safeguards against such practices must be found.

GOVERNMENT POLICY TOWARD CARTELS

The governments of the world have followed several divergent policies in dealing with cartels.

The policy of the United States as expressed in the Sherman Act and the Webb-Pomerene Act has been to prevent combinations in restraint of trade which affect the American domestic market or which impose restrictions upon American exporters against their will. However, subject to these limits, American exporters are free to combine with each other under the supervision of the Federal Trade Commission when they make sales in foreign markets, in order that they may not be at a disadvantage in competing against foreign combinations. Early in 1943, when authority for the President to make trade agreements was renewed, the Congress adopted an amendment to the Trade Agreements Act which singled out cartels for special attention. The author of this amendment declared on the floor of Congress that its purpose was to serve notice that the Congress is opposed to cartel operations.

In most of continental Europe, cartels have been lawful, and governments have attempted to regulate rather than to prevent their restrictive activities. In France, a criminal statute which appeared to prohibit monopolistic practices was interpreted by the courts in such a way as to authorize most cartel activity. In Germany, restrictive cartel activities were not forbidden, but in 1923 a government agency was given the right to supervise them in order to prevent actions contrary to the public interest. Subsequently, the Nazis greatly increased the authority of the government over the cartels and used these bodies as agencies to carry out government policies.

Within the British Empire there has been considerable difference of policy toward cartels. In England agreements to control prices and production have been permitted, but the law has forbidden business groups to coerce their rivals. Some of the British Dominions have enacted laws which resemble the antitrust laws of the United States. Canadian law, for example, provides for the investigation of business combinations and agreements and for punitive measures where there are restrictions contrary to the public interest.

ISSUES AS TO FUTURE POLICY

Several important questions of policy toward cartels await decision.

The first of these is whether our future handling of the cartel problem shall depend, as heretofore, exclusively upon our own governmental machinery and shall carry out a policy which we have determined separately for ourselves, or whether we shall join with other nations in working out a common program of action and in putting it into effect by cooperative means. If the latter alternative were chosen, an attempt to develop principles on which the various nations could agree would be essential, and each country might find it necessary to make some changes in its pre-war policy. An intermediate course of action is possible in which we and other countries would act together in dealing with parts of the problem about which we agree but would reserve our freedom to follow different policies in other respects. For example, agreement might be reached to forbid cartels to restrict production, but the different countries might disagree about whether or not cartels should be permitted to withhold the research of their members from use by non-members. The latter question would then be dealt with by each country in accord with its own policies.

Closely related to the question of whether we act alone is the question as to the direction of our future policy, in so far as this policy is not to be regarded as already determined by the Sherman Act and the Webb-Pomerene Act. Diverse opinions as to future policy toward cartels are being advanced by private groups here and abroad. They include complete abolition of cartels, regulation of the structure and practices of such groups, and active fostering of cartels as the typical method of organizing post-war international commerce.

In developing our post-war policy we must decide not only the general direction of our program but also whether there are to be any exceptions to it and, if so, in what fields. Among the industries for which claims to exception must be examined are international transportation and communication industries, such as aviation, shipping, cable, and radio, some of which are regulated domestically as public utilities; industries bearing upon military security, such as munitions; industries in which a natural resource may soon be exhausted, such as certain minerals; industries which are limited in size and regulated in order to protect public health and morals, such as the production and sale of narcotics; and certain industries producing agricultural commodities which sometimes suffer from market fluctuations so severe as to cause wide-spread distress. If it is decided that the special circumstances of any of these industries justify types of restriction which are not generally acceptable, a question will arise whether these restrictions should be established and administered by private agreement or whether, alternatively, intergovernmental agreements should be used.

If in the post-war world cartels are permitted to operate abroad in ways which are forbidden in this country, issues will arise about our policy toward the operations of American exporters in foreign cartelized markets and toward the importation of commodities which are controlled by foreign cartels. It will be necessary to determine what steps this Government should take to prevent the foreign cartel from destroying the independent American exporter, and what steps we should take to assure the United States an adequate supply of foreign cartelized goods at reasonable prices.

Certain specific proposals as to policy have been made. It has been suggested that governments agree to prohibit such practices as price-fixing, restriction of output or exports, allocation of markets, and suppression of new inventions; and that each government undertake to enforce this agreement within its own jurisdiction. Modifications of national laws and international conventions governing patents have been proposed in order to prevent the use of patents for restrictive purposes and to make new inventions more widely available. Interchange of research which has been sponsored by governments has also been suggested. It has been proposed that in those special cases in which control over prices and output would serve a public

purpose, international agreements for such control should be made between governments instead of between private business enterprises. It has been suggested that an international agency be established to help carry out such a program by keeping a record of international private agreements and of the structure and control of international combines and by investigating complaints of restrictive cartel activity in order to recommend corrective measures to the participating governments. Such an agency, it is suggested, might also promote the interchange of new scientific discoveries and industrial methods and might, from time to time, recommend further steps toward an agreed economic policy among the nations as to trade practices.

Public discussion of the problems raised by cartels and of the different ways of dealing with them is necessary in order that a sound national policy may be evolved with public support. In this field, as in other aspects of post-war policy, the only sound course is to begin by obtaining agreement upon broad principles which determine our general direction; then to explore alternative means; and finally to take action where we can agree upon a practical program, while leaving to future experience and discussion the matters which are not yet clear.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Regulations, Orders, and Instructions Relating to the Foreign Service

On June 26, 1944 the President issued Executive Order 9452 authorizing the Secretary of State to prescribe such regulations and issue such orders and instructions relating to the duties of officers and employees of the Foreign Service of the United States and the transaction of their business as he may deem conducive to the public interest: "*Provided, however, that the authority granted by this order shall not be exercised in any case in which the President is specifically authorized by law to prescribe regulations with respect to a particular subject.*"

The Secretary of State is authorized also "to prescribe the form and the manner of publication

of all regulations, orders, and instructions prescribed or issued under authority of this order . . .”

The full text of the Executive order appears in the *Federal Register* of June 29, 1944, page 7183.

Consular Offices

[Released to the press July 1]

The American mission at Dakar was closed on June 30, 1944, and the Foreign Service office there reverts to its former status of a Consulate General. Admiral William A. Glassford, who was appointed on May 26, 1943 by the President as his Personal Representative, with the rank of Minister, in French West Africa to coordinate and supervise American activities in that area, will no

longer continue in that capacity since the principal activities of his mission, which were connected with the rehabilitation and recommissioning of French naval vessels, have been completed.

[Released to the press June 30]

The American Consulate General at Naples has been reestablished and will be opened for public business July 1, 1944.

Embassy Rank for American Legation at Lisbon

The American Legation at Lisbon was raised to the rank of Embassy on June 20, 1944, on which date Mr. R. Henry Norweb presented his credentials as Ambassador to Portugal.

TREATY INFORMATION

Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences

On June 29, 1944 the President of the United States ratified the Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on January 15, 1944 and was signed for the United States on that date (see BULLETIN of Jan. 15, 1944, p. 90).

Military Mission Agreement With Ecuador

[Released to the press June 29]

In conformity with the request of the Government of Ecuador, there was signed on June 29, 1944, at 10:30 a.m., by the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, and the Honorable Señor Dr. José A. Correa, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Ecuador in Washington, an agreement providing for the detail of a military mission by the United States to serve in Ecuador.

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 Ecuador.

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.

Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic

El Salvador

The American Embassy at San Salvador informed the Department by a despatch of June 24, 1944 that the National Legislative Assembly of El Salvador has ratified the Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic, which was opened for signature on December 15, 1943 at the Pan American Union and was signed for El Salvador on January 6, 1944. Decree No. 61 of June 12, 1944, by which the National Legislative Assembly ratified the convention, is published in the Salvadoran *Diario Oficial* of June 23, 1944, vol. 136, no. 140. It is provided in article XXI of the convention that it shall come into force for the contracting parties in the order of the deposit of their respective ratifications.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

VOL. XI, NO. 263

JULY 9, 1944

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BULLETIN



July 9, 1944

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Office of Public Information, Division of Research and Publication, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest is included.

Publications of the Department, cumulative lists of which are published at the end of each quarter, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

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Seventh Anniversary of the Japanese Attack on China

TELEGRAM FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK

[Released to the press July 6]

The President of the United States has sent the following telegram to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the attack on China by Japan:

“On this seventh anniversary of your country’s resistance against the brutal and unprovoked attack of the Japanese aggressor, the entire American people do honor to the spirit of the Chinese nation. Through seven long years the people of China, under your steadfast leadership, have dedicated themselves to the cause of freedom with heroism and determination undaunted by increasing trials and sacrifices. China’s example has been an inspiration to all of the United Nations.

“The rising tide of victories in Europe and the Far East is hastening the day when Chinese and Allied armies will sweep the invader from your country and China will assume its rightful role in the common task of building peace and prosperity for all.

“We rejoice in the deep and understanding friendship between our two peoples, long tested by the years and now proven and cemented on the field of battle. That friendship and the close fellowship of all the United Nations must be the basis of the fundamental goodwill and mutual trust that can alone assure the future welfare of mankind.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT”

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press July 6]

Seven years ago today the Chinese nation made its historic stand against the savage onslaught of the Japanese tyrant. By that act and by the heroic tenacity with which they have since carried on in the face of incredible difficulties and privations the Chinese have won the respect and admiration of all freedom-loving peoples.

On this day especially the minds and hearts of Americans are with the brave people and defenders of China in their dark hour of trial. To them we renew the solemn pledge of our unfailing sup-

port and of our faith in the indomitable spirit which will carry them through their terrible ordeal.

The recent victories of the United Nations in both the European and Asiatic theaters give heartening assurance that the great task in which China has struggled so long and valiantly will soon enter its final phase. We are proud that, in the successful conclusion of the war and in the building of a democratic peace, we shall have by our side our great and good friend, the Chinese nation.

State Department Aid to Cultural Exchange With China

By WILLYS R. PECK¹

"Consultation having been had with the Chief of Staff of the Army, I find that:

"(1) The defense of China is vital to the defense of the United States;"

Opening with these words, the President in a letter of May 6, 1941 to the Secretary of War authorized the Secretary to transfer to China certain defense articles set forth in an annexed schedule. This action was taken in accordance with the Lend-Lease Act of March 11, 1941.

During those summer months of 1941, while material aid was being sent to China over the Burma Road, the Department of State developed aid to China in the fields of education, technical skills, and publications. One of the dislocations caused by four years of invasion had been the disappearance of ordinary means of travel and mail communications within China and between China and the rest of the world. On July 26, 1941 this Government proclaimed a "freezing order" against Japanese funds. At the request of the Chinese Government this order was extended to include Chinese funds as well. It was not the intention, however, of either the Chinese or the American Government that there should be any freezing of the intellectual exchanges between Americans and Chinese. The Department devised ways to keep these exchanges active.

By November the basic operations had been planned and matters had progressed so far that the Secretary of State, with the President's approval, asked the Director of the Bureau of the Budget for an allotment of funds. He pointed out that China had been fighting for over four years and that the emergency definitely called for the beginning of a cultural-relations program with that country. An initial allotment to start the project was made by the President in a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury dated January 14, 1942, by which time the United States and China had become associated in the war. It may be admitted frankly that this

idea, originating months before we ourselves were in the fight, was prompted by American sympathy for the Chinese in their struggle against Japan. The Chinese people had endured bitter sufferings at the hands of the Japanese. They were not in a position to take full part in a reciprocal program of cultural relations like the programs operating in the Western Hemisphere. This might well come later. At this time, a helping hand from one ally to another and the restoration, as far as possible, of pre-hostility intellectual relations with our country was needed. The Chinese Ambassador at Washington heartily approved the effort. As early as June 1941 the American Ambassador at Chungking, who has warmly supported the plan from the beginning, reported that he had discussed with prominent Chinese officials a proposal that the American Government should offer to send American technical specialists to China. He had the impression that such an offer would be welcomed.

The object of this cultural-relations program with China is to assist China in those cultural activities that have been impeded by the Japanese hostilities.

When we entered the war, for example, there were about 1,800 Chinese students in the United States. They represented a large investment of money, time, and talent. If the United States had 1,800 young men and women with sufficient knowledge of the Chinese language to take up college education in Chinese universities, it would regard them as an extraordinary asset. In China's case these students were counted upon to help in the reconstruction of China after the war. Many of them had been plunged into financial difficulties by exchange restrictions or by the wiping out of their remittances from China. Necessary steps had to be taken to provide them with subsistence and the means of completing their education. The Chinese Government set up an organization to take care of some of these students, and the State Department began at once to give scholarships to others. Up to the present time the Department has given monthly grants to approximately 400 different persons. About 160 are on the rolls at one time.

¹The author of this article is a Foreign Service officer who was for many years Counselor of the American Embassy in China and was later American Minister to Thailand. As Special Assistant in the Office of Public Information he has been assigned duties in the cultural exchange with China.

Here are comments on a few of the students who have been given scholarships. A professor at the University of Chicago says of Mr. R. C. S.:

"He is a hard-working student, has an excellent background and considerable experience in scientific and quantitative sociology. He has made a very good impression at the University of Chicago."

A professor at Pomona College, California, says of Mr. B. T.:

"He is one of the most brilliant students that I have had in the last several years. His work is thorough, promptly done, and accurate. He has an unusual amount of initiative."

A faculty member at the State University of Iowa writes of Mrs. F.:

"She has been doing her thesis research for the Master of Science degree under my direction, and has, in addition, been serving as senior assistant in quantitative analysis. In this work she has been in sole charge of laboratory sections, and has handled the students with efficiency, tact, decision and self-reliance. Her scholastic work has been excellent, and if continued at the present level, should rank with that of our very best graduate students."

Comments such as these could be quoted at length. For the sake of China's development and for the sake of our relations with that country it was preferable that these students complete their education, rather than that they leave college and support themselves by work. Many wished to return to China, but transportation and financial difficulties prevented all but a very few from making the journey.

Here is a letter from a student who received a scholarship to study at Iowa State University. It depicts well the general reaction of these young people:

"I was awarded a State Department scholarship for the period of July 1942 to April 1943. This award enabled me to complete my Ph.D. degree in Civil Engineering in the State University of Iowa and to join two honorary fraternities in science and engineering, which, before receiving the grant, I was unable to do because of my financial condition. Now I have completed my education and I am going to work with the Committee on Wartime Planning for Chinese Students in the

United States. I shall always be grateful for having received this grant and shall try to make the best use of this award so that I shall not be the only one benefited by it, but my country and the people of China as well."

The Department has given special scholarships to between thirty and forty students, and it has provided opportunities for their practical training in Government agencies or in private institutions. The Soil Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture has trained a number of students in the making of maps from aerial surveys; the Bureau of Reclamation of the Interior Department and the Tennessee Valley Authority have given training in hydraulic engineering; the Herman Briggs Memorial Hospital at Ithaca, New York, received a Chinese surgeon for training in thoracic surgery. These are merely examples taken from a long list.

Another special development in the training has been the appointment of four Chinese men and one woman to teaching positions in the school systems of Springfield, Massachusetts; Lincoln, Nebraska; Bronxville, New York; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and the region around San Francisco Bay, California. These appointees, known as "consultants" or "visiting teachers", are graduate students in education. They have been getting a thorough insight into American educational methods and administration of the primary and secondary levels; they have also been giving instruction to American pupils in the customs and culture of China and have delivered addresses on these subjects before social organizations. Reports from these visiting teachers testify that school authorities and all other members of the communities where they were living have treated them with the greatest cordiality. As acquaintance has deepened, this cordiality has developed into mutual enthusiasm. The following excerpt from a letter by a school official is a typical reaction to the activities of the Chinese visiting teachers:

"Mr. H. has addressed our elementary school faculty and has been invited into various classrooms throughout the schools to talk with students and to assist any of our teaching staff of some seventy teachers. The results of these experiences convince me that this is the true educational method of developing better understanding

between our United States and the remainder of the world. Would that much more of it could be done by schools throughout our nation."

In what way has it been possible for the State Department to collaborate culturally with China behind the barrier of Japanese encirclement?

As we think of transportation capacities in the United States the volume of freight carried by the Burma Road was little more than a trickle, yet when the Japanese closed the road in May 1942 China's resistance to Japan entered its most serious phase. Except for what could be flown in by plane China was reduced to what it could itself produce in the way of military equipment and consumer goods. In the vast task of creating a new economic order in west China the Chinese Government and the Chinese people must depend on their own resources and resourcefulness. The China National Aviation Corporation, an American-Chinese enterprise, has done a magnificent job throughout the Japanese hostilities; so has the Air Transport Command since we entered the war. Both of them fly scheduled flights "over the hump" from Assam into China. Their planes are needed, however, for passengers and for strictly military purposes.

When the State Department took steps to assist the Chinese to complete the training of their own future doctors, engineers, scientists, and technicians here in the United States, it simultaneously asked the Chinese Government whether it would like to have the services of a number of American specialists and, if so, to describe what fields should be covered. The Chinese Government canvassed its different agencies and found that they wanted about thirty American specialists, as follows:

Ministry of Agriculture:

- Potato and corn breeder
- Insecticide and fungicide specialist
- Veterinarian to produce serum and vaccine
- Animal breeder
- Two soil conservationists
- Animal husbandman

National Health Administration:

- Two pharmaceutical chemists to produce sulfa drugs
- Sanitary engineer
- Pharmaceutical engineer
- Specialist in biological products
- Chemical engineer

Ministry of Education:

- Professors of chemical, mechanical, aeronautical, and electrical engineering

Ministry of Economic Affairs:

- Chemical engineer to produce nitric compounds
- Mechanical engineer to improve machine-shop practice
- Petroleum expert
- Metallurgical engineer

Ministry of Communications:

- Engineer to assist with long-distance telephones
- Radio engineer

Ministry of Finance:

- Specialists in paper production and engraving

Commission on Hydraulic Affairs:

- Hydraulic engineer

Ministry of Information:

- Journalism: Experts in radio, rewrite, features, and photography

Industrial Cooperatives:

- Three specialists in management.

This list is significant in the way that it describes the range of the Government's activities. The entire Chinese Government had been obliged four years before to migrate 1,500 miles to the western side of the country and set itself up in a new area. This region, although comparatively rich in mineral and agricultural potentialities, was undeveloped in the industrial sense of the term. In the course of reconstruction, political and military centers and factories had been constantly bombed. Practically no materials could be obtained from outside the country. Just as the scope of the list is an index to the Government's ambitions, so the challenge to American technicians is one to appeal to the pioneering spirit of Americans.

The State Department began a nation-wide search for qualified specialists, mainly through other Government agencies. The positions offered to American technicians were no richly paid sinecures. Salaries offered were intended merely to insure against financial loss. Transportation expenses were to be met by the Department, and a small allowance was given each man to meet extra expenses arising from service abroad. The Chinese paid the travel expenses in China. They also, in most cases, supplied food and lodging. Even then the daily allowance was more than swallowed up by the constantly rising prices of other necessities. If travel outward was by sea, there was a six weeks' voyage to India, by no means devoid of danger. Living and traveling in China are at their best uncomfortable and a trial to the unaccustomed, whether Chinese or Americans. In reality the positions offered to these successful technicians were distinctly wartime duties.

Up to the present time, after searching investigation, 22 men who volunteered for these posts have been appointed. Eleven have come back to the United States. Two of them, having felt that worthwhile programs had not been set up, returned before their contracts expired. One is on his way to China. One died in China. Nine are now in China. From two to four additional specialists are in process of being selected, the number depending on the desires of the Chinese authorities.

Here are some of the things these Americans have been able to accomplish for China:

A specialist lent by the Soil Conservation Service of the Department of Agriculture conducted an expedition in northwest China, covering 6,000 miles in 7 months, as far as the borderlands of Tibet and the desert of Gobi. Eight Chinese technicians accompanied him, and the Chinese Government met the high costs of the entire expedition, which made exhaustive investigations and collected data relating to soil conservation and utilization. Before his return to the United States this specialist submitted to the Chinese Government a 50-page preliminary report that ended with five recommendations for action. The Chinese Minister of Agriculture and Forestry said to him, in a letter, after his return: "Your last year's service in China has laid the foundation of China's water and soil conservation work."

Another official lent by the Soil Conservation Service arrived in China in January 1944 and is working on investigations and recommendations in the field of soil-erosion prevention. He is, incidentally, greatly interested in the dehydration of foods. At a welcoming dinner given by the Minister of Agriculture, he opened a can of dehydrated sweet potatoes. The tasting of this American product resulted speedily in official approval for an extensive project of food dehydration. Another Department of Agriculture specialist is engaged in finding what varieties of white potatoes are most suitable for different areas in northwest China. The Chinese Government attaches the greatest importance to his work, believing that the successful cultivation of potatoes will help in preventing famines and in colonizing vast areas now uninhabited or sparsely inhabited. In December 1943, after one year's operations, this specialist submitted to the Chinese Government a long report of his investigations, which included experiments with 52 varieties of potatoes brought

from the United States. He expects, after his return to the United States, to prepare a textbook for the use of Chinese agricultural technicians and colleges.

An official of the Bureau of Animal Industry of our Department of Agriculture spent nine months traveling in remote areas studying livestock production and formulating recommendations for the Ministries of War, Agriculture, and Communications on animal breeding and transportation. He visited the far northwestern province of Chinghai and made a report to the governor on livestock production there and the possibilities of its improvement. At the request of the Government of India he traveled in India for two months studying similar problems and submitting his recommendations.

The head of the department of animal husbandry of a western state college covered long distances in west China, including the frontier provinces of Sikang and Ninghsia, reporting on range problems and animal production. After his return he collected and sent to China through the State Department an assortment of grass seeds, for experimental planting, obtained from all over the United States. This collection is believed to be the largest of this sort ever made.

The two specialists last listed are preparing for publication at the expense of the State Department a book of information concerning Chinese livestock types and conditions, based upon their researches, for distribution in China. An associate veterinary pathologist from another state college is now in China setting up methods for the prevention of animal diseases.

An official, lent by the Imperial Valley Irrigation and Drainage Project in California, has made inspections over wide areas in west China and has advised the Chinese Government on irrigation and power and similar enterprises. Officials of Chinese national engineering agencies and provincial officials accompanied him. Their presence made it possible to analyze, on the spot, the problems involved in each project.

The head of a college mechanical engineering department has spent a year in China visiting most of the Chinese universities that give courses in engineering. He has also inspected factories and engineering projects and has given the Chinese the latest methods of training men to impart job instruction. He carried credentials from the

American Society of Mechanical Engineers and has established what promises to become a very fruitful relationship between that organization and the Chinese Institute of Engineers.

A machine-shop supervisor, with responsibility in this country for directing 20,000 workmen, has personally visited the larger factories in China and has given instruction in machine-shop practice. A specialist with long experience lent by one of the telephone and telegraph companies has prepared for the Chinese Government, after investigations on the spot, a program for the national expansion of China's long-distance telephone system.

Specialists in the dissemination of news by radio and the press have served the Chinese Ministry of Information during the emergency situation by lending technical assistance.

Two specialists in management prepared a plan which the Chinese Government has used in improving the efficiency of the vast network of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives.

Related to the task of getting things done in China is the job of getting technical information in bulk into the country and of bringing to the knowledge of the western world the latest findings of Chinese research workers. In these operations the role of the English language is most important.

The wide-spread knowledge of English in China can no doubt be attributed partly to the fact that two of the greatest factors in China's trade, the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States, both employ that language. It may also be ascribed to the fact that in the last 75 years several thousand Chinese have come to the United States for their education. We take it as a matter of course that a large proportion of the educated classes in China can read material printed in English.

Many persons in China who understand English are teachers or are Government employees in teaching or in other professions; that is, they are in the salaried classes. During the seven years of Japanese invasion, men of this type have been subjected to two special hardships: economic, because of the scarcity of consumer goods and inflation; and intellectual, caused by the dwindling of the normal flow of printed material from abroad. To alleviate somewhat the second hardship the Department very early began to send to China microfilmed copies of technical and learned

journals. Over a dozen centers equipped with projectors and readers have been set up where these microfilms may be used. Microfilm is impressive. On a hundred-foot strip weighing about one pound—packed for shipment—can be recorded twelve pounds of books. Any number of positives can be made from a negative. Whereas a book serves only one person at a time, microfilmed copies can serve an indefinite number of persons. To overcome the impossibility of shipping large quantities of books, microfilms seem to be a most efficient device. Yet microfilms are, for ordinary readers, a most unsatisfactory substitute for printed books and magazines, especially in west China, where the electric current necessary for the use of projectors is generally weak and variable in voltage. Reading microfilms is irksome and hard on the eyesight. Nevertheless, this method of learning about the latest scientific advances is much better than nothing. For example, excerpts may be copied in China. There are three separate services distributing mimeographed selections from the microfilms. For research purposes, of course, microfilms are admirable. The State Department makes a practice of filling requests for special articles. For such service research workers have expressed deep gratitude.

A powerful stimulus to research lies in the possibility of sharing results with the scientific world. The State Department decided that it could be of aid to research workers with education in English by awarding small honorariums to such persons for translating research papers recently produced that might be of outstanding merit. A committee was set up in China in 1943 to select the papers. Up to this time 70 honorariums have been paid for translations. The translators and authors of some of these papers have had the further gratification of having 29 of them accepted for publication by learned journals in the United States. Another translation project to strengthen cultural bonds between the United States and China during the war is the forthcoming translation into Chinese of approximately twenty books about the United States. These translation projects have the character of reciprocity which the State Department regards as the core of desirable cultural relations with other countries.

Life on the temporary campuses of refugee universities in west China has very depressing aspects. The scarcity of clothing and other ar-

ticles of ordinary use and the inflation have made the daily living of faculty members very hard. It is they who, in the practice of their professions, have especially felt China's isolation, because they had been accustomed to keep up their contact with other countries through foreign literature, the supply of which has practically ceased. Text-books, Chinese as well as foreign, have become more and more inadequate in quantity, as have laboratory equipment and even ordinary stationery. Although the number of young people eager to enroll in colleges has even increased during the hostilities, some members of the teaching staffs have been forced to resign in order to earn more money to support their families. The work of those remaining has thereby been increased.

Clearly it is the professors and instructors in the Chinese universities, whether or not they speak English, on whom we must largely rely if we hope to realize the ambition that American and Chinese youth shall grow up with a feeling of mutual acquaintance and confidence. The State Department felt that the temporary isolation of Chinese and American colleges from each other might be diminished if some Chinese faculty members were to visit the United States.

In 1943 the State Department extended invitations through the American Embassy to six Chinese national universities to nominate members of their respective faculties to come to the United States as guests of the Department for about one year.¹ The Department said it hoped that the visits would benefit the visitors themselves by enabling them to pursue further studies in their particular subjects and that their institutions would benefit through the contact that the visitors would have had in the United States. The visitors, it was observed, would have opportunities to give lectures, speeches, or interviews in which they could speak of China's educational needs.

In preparation for the visitors, officers of the Department wrote informally to numerous persons and institutions telling them about the visits and asking for collaboration in making them profitable. When the professors arrived in Washington they were consulted in regard to their plans. When decisions had been made the State Department wrote letters of introduction and arranged railway transportation. There is no question but that these six visitors have been benefited

by their sojourn in the United States. Habits of living in this country, as compared with China, are untouched by the war. The professors recuperated in health while they were profiting professionally from the experience. No heavy duties have been imposed on the Chinese professors. No attempt has been made to utilize their presence in the United States for any ulterior purpose. Four of these Chinese guests were invited to take part in a conference on Chinese subjects conducted by the Harris Foundation at the University of Chicago. The papers prepared by these and other Chinese participants were published in a book entitled *Voices From Unoccupied China*.

These visits have been so profitable and agreeable to all concerned that six additional invitations have been sent out.² The new party of visitors will include two university presidents and a representative of the Academia Sinica, which corresponds to our own National Academy of Sciences, all of whom have been selected by their respective institutions. All of the 12 representatives chosen in China are well versed in the English language, and, with few exceptions, have spent considerable time in American educational institutions. The State Department suggested that English-speaking men be chosen on this occasion, so that Americans might get, at first hand, information about conditions in China. From the viewpoint of cultural relations, contacts are even more important when the educators of two countries have no language in common, and this is a point the Department keeps constantly in mind. The 12 invitations to China have brought to this country two sociologists, a philosopher, a political scientist, a physiologist, a specialist in international relations, a geographer, a botanist, a neurophysiologist, a chemist, a specialist in Chinese literature, and a physicist.

To return this exchange in the academic sphere the State Department has made it possible for a prominent American geographer, who is also an author and a college professor, to visit Chinese universities. He is answering requests for lectures on subjects in his field and is in other ways promoting solidarity between academic groups in our two nations. This representative received his appointment as visiting professor from the Na-

¹ BULLETIN of June 12, 1943, p. 522.

² BULLETIN of June 10, 1944, p. 537, and June 17, 1944, p. 564.

tional Academy of Sciences, as well as from the State Department, and bore greetings from the Academy to the Academia Sinica of the Chinese Government.

The outlook for friendly relations between two countries is likely to be improved to the extent that the people of each, particularly the intelligent and influential people, come to understand each other. The process may be thwarted as in Axis countries by a few individuals who by hook or by crook have acquired power to control the thoughts and actions of their fellow citizens, but in the democratic era after the war personal reactions will become of ever-increasing importance in determining the character of international relations.

With this principle in mind the State Department hopes that persons of other countries who come to the United States for education and training will acquire not only the technical information they seek but also an acquaintance with our customs and national culture and a friendly feeling for us as American citizens. In this particular phase of our relations with China an officer of the State Department has visited most of the colleges where large groups of Chinese students are found and has personally talked with as many as possible. He achieved gratifying results in establishing contacts among the Chinese students and the residents and organizations in different communities. In the case of Chinese technicians who are in training in factories and public utilities the State Department made an arrangement for an experienced man who speaks Chinese to visit such trainees in typical industries, to talk with them, and to recommend measures whereby the trainees may have pleasant and profitable contacts with their environment outside of working hours.

In another effort in the same direction, the Department is preparing a handbook in Chinese containing information that will explain aspects of American life that persons newly arrived from China might not otherwise understand. It is hoped that the handbook will make their entrance into our society easier and pleasanter.

In corresponding with educators and scientific institutions in China the Department frequently learns of situations in which small quantities of chemicals, a few books, or other cultural materials would be of great assistance to such persons and

institutions in their activities. The meagerness of transportation available for such articles has hampered the collaboration in which the State Department is engaged. It was with deep appreciation, therefore, that the State Department received the consent of the Vice President to carry with him on his plane a limited quantity of these materials on his visit to China.¹ Mr. Wallace left Washington on May 20, 1944 taking with him over 90 separate packages, addressed to 43 separate institutions scattered over several Chinese provinces. Each parcel bore the following statement: "The contents of this package are sent to you under the program of cultural relations of the Department of State of the United States as a small evidence of the continuance of the longtime cultural exchanges between our two countries." Every article was sent in response to a request or to fill a known need. A few items will show the general nature of the shipment. Parcels of books and current journals were sent to a dozen universities. To a national university went laboratory equipment and some supplies for the manufacture of drugs; to the Ministry of Education, a collection of college catalogs and curriculum outlines for use in developing instruction in animal husbandry; to the governor of a province, copies, illustrated with photographs, of the investigations of an American specialist into the development of the wool industry; to the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, a wide selection of pamphlets, manuals, and charts for use in manufacturing without power machinery; to the International Cultural Service, electric bulbs for microfilm readers; to several institutions, about thirty documentary motion pictures; and to the American Embassy at Chungking, a set of reproductions of American paintings and a collection of books and pamphlets for distribution.

In the spring of 1943 the Chinese Ministry of Education informed the Embassy that over a hundred 16-millimeter silent projectors were in use in provincial and municipal educational systems and in other organizations under the Ministry's direction and asked the Embassy to obtain educational films from the United States for use by such agencies. Among the subjects suggested were irrigation, sanitation, medicine, social and living conditions, and films for instruction in physics, biology, history, and other school studies. The Ministry preferred that Chinese titles be

¹ BULLETIN of June 24, 1944, p. 586.

added in the United States. Over twenty films in the fields described by the Ministry of Education have been selected and are in course of preparation with Chinese titles. About one hundred reels are being given Chinese sound tracks for general audiences. These depict such subjects as the "Bonnevill Dam", flood control on the Mississippi River, the growing of winter wheat, and the sights of Washington, D. C. Films that have reached China have been favorably received. A picture on American plastics was shown at the national meeting of the Chinese Institute of Engineers. Officials in many Chinese Government agencies have viewed a group of films on steel production in the United States. The War and State Departments cooperated in preparing a picture with Chinese sound track on the training of Chinese air officers in the United States, a copy of which was presented to Generalissimo Chiang. Among the motion pictures taken to China by the Vice President were ten dealing with medical, surgical and public-health matters, all of which were gifts to the Chinese from American hospitals and other institutions.

A pleasant feature of the State Department's cultural-exchange activities with China has been the interest and enthusiasm it has evoked in the United States. When opportunities have been presented to American citizens and organizations to take part, they have shown genuine pleasure in working with the Chinese in building up their country. Perhaps this feeling is akin to the respect we feel for an American community whose members go out energetically to get for themselves good roads, good schools, plentiful and cheap electricity, a higher standard of living, and prosperous banks. Whatever the reason, it has been demonstrated that cultural collaboration with the Chinese people needs no urging with the American people.

One of the American specialists in China, for example, found that a Chinese enterprise particularly needed a steam hammer and that one would have to be made on the spot. On behalf of the Chinese he asked that the Department find out whether blueprints for such a hammer could be obtained and how much they would cost. The Department referred this inquiry to an American firm, the same one that had temporarily released the specialist. It soon received a reply that such equipment was obsolete in the United States, that special plans would have to be drawn at a cost of

\$2,000, and that the firm would defray the cost. The blueprints have long since arrived in China.

Agencies of the Chinese Government are constantly seeking opportunities for the training of young technicians in the different agencies of this Government. Almost invariably, except when security precautions during the war have prevented it, officials of the Government have gladly received such Chinese trainees even though it meant an added responsibility.

The same desire to cooperate culturally with the Chinese is found in business firms, universities, societies with national memberships, and even in State governments. Mention has been made of the welcome that the city school systems gave to Chinese graduate students as visiting teachers or consultants. The president of a great university recently called at the Department. In the conversation it casually developed that the university had found ways to support two promising Chinese students whom the war had impoverished. The university had also paid for the printing of a handbook for students, in Chinese, compiled by the students themselves.

An American specialist in the standardization of serums, who has just arrived in China, took with him a collection of laboratory equipment, serums, vaccines and bacteriological cultures, and copies of all procedures used in the manufacturing and testing of biologic products. They were supplied to him out of surplus stocks by the State department of health of which he was a member. This collection of articles, which was worth thousands of dollars, could not have been obtained from any other one source. It was all contributed gratis for the use of the Chinese.

The Department's activities described in this article have overcome many of the wartime obstacles to Chinese-American educational, scientific, and technical cooperation. This type of cooperation is important to our joint war against Japan because it creates solidarity behind the lines. It is vastly important, also, because it prevents a gap in the century-old cultural interchange between American and Chinese organizations and citizens. A continuous flow of ideas and persons from each country to the other through the war period will prevent any set-back to the greatly expanded cooperation that will begin in the stirring period of world reconversion and reconstruction after the war.

Working Together

ADDRESS BY THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE ¹

[Released to the press July 5]

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE GRADUATING CLASS OF 1944: It is a great honor to be invited to Rutgers University to participate with you today in your commencement exercises.

I should like to discuss with you briefly the subject of cooperation—that is, the ability of men to work together smoothly, effectively, and harmoniously. Cooperation is not an abstract, ideal virtue; it is a vital, practical necessity for success in life. It is indispensable to the solution of the problems which we as a nation, and you as individual citizens of that nation, will face in the years that lie ahead.

No matter what your talents are, no matter what your training has been, or how great your ability, you will not make the contribution to your nation of which you are capable unless you learn quickly and effectively the secret of working with your fellowmen in a spirit of tolerance and understanding and good-will. This has been the great common characteristic of our American national leaders and heroes. It is the very foundation of our greatness as a nation. And it is the indispensable basis for the momentous effort we are now making to preserve our nation's freedom.

From battle-fronts in all parts of the world new and inspiring reports come to us every day of the successes of our armies and the armies of our Allies. To the winning of these far-flung victories have been devoted the full strength and resources of the freedom-loving peoples of the world—the energy and courage of our soldiers, sailors, and airmen, and of our merchant seamen; the long hours of the workers in war factories, in shipyards, and on the farms; the skill of our scientists and inventors in their laboratories; our raw materials—coal, iron, copper, and petroleum; our great war industries now producing guns and planes in such incredible volume; and finally the hopes and ideals of all of us for a decent world where peace and opportunity will be secure for all men.

We and the other United Nations are fighting our brutal enemies with resources and energies of staggering size and force. Yet all of this would be just so much useless equipment and wasted energy had we not, as individuals and as nations,

learned the vital lesson of team play—each performing his individual job for the benefit of all.

Consider the war, for a moment, on the simplest level.

A landing boat approaches the shore of France. Its bottom scrapes on the sand. The ramp falls, and a platoon of men advance onto the beach. Unless every man in that platoon can depend on every other man to know his individual job and to do it effectively and courageously, unless the men have complete faith in their commanding officer and he has faith in them—in short, unless they can all work together as a single effective fighting team, a small strip of beach may remain in the hands of the enemy. A small but vital step in the invasion may fail.

For, in the final analysis, what is an invading army? It is nothing more than thousands upon thousands of small groups of men trained to work together, each group depending upon all the others to do their part in carrying out a common plan of attack.

We are winning the victories which will bring this war to a successful conclusion through teamwork. But this cooperation does not start at the battlefronts. The grand strategy of this war is a gigantic pattern of cooperation which involves our entire nation.

American Government, labor, and business have had to plan together and work together in order to turn out in the shortest possible time the best possible weapons for our men to use on the battlefronts. It is difficult to realize today that we were forced to start practically from scratch, only a few short years ago, to marshal a fighting strength greater than that which our enemies have spent many years building.

Through our democratic processes we have planned together how to use our great resources to the best common advantage. We have depended on our scientists and inventors to keep pace with the technological advances of war; upon our engineers to plan the mass production of the most modern weapons; and upon the management, fore-

¹ Delivered before the graduating class at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N. J., July 5, 1944.

men, and workers of our industries to carry through as a team and deliver the tools to our men on the battle-fronts.

Our aircraft factories and shipyards through intricate systems of cooperative mass production are producing the greatest air fleet and merchant fleet in the world. It is easy to forget that when this war started neither ships nor planes had ever been turned out before by large-scale, mass-production methods. We have learned to do this only through the most intimate teamwork. The technical knowledge of our great industries has been pooled so that the latest techniques could be available to all. Engineers, workmen, management, and Government all work together to achieve miracles of production.

In these last few years, our farmers, in cooperation with the Government, have achieved the greatest food production in our nation's history.

All this is a part of the victories we are winning today.

From the first stages of preparation, this gigantic cooperative effort has cut across many lines which in the past have divided men. This nation is now working together as a single unit despite differences of outlook between geographic sections, political parties, economic classes, and religious beliefs. And we are, moreover, only one of a great group of United Nations all working together toward the one common goal of victory.

Hitler's strategy of divide and conquer has proved an utter failure. Men of different nationalities, race, color, and creed, are fighting side by side today under a single command. Through lend-lease and reverse lend-lease, and other forms of mutual aid, the United Nations are sharing their material resources so that the hardest possible blows can be struck against our common enemies.

It has been my privilege to serve in the building of our country's defenses since May of 1940, when—during the dark days of the fall of France—the President called into being again the National Defense Advisory Commission. Up until that time I had served in large American industrial organizations. I found when I started to work in Washington that the job to be done involved the same cooperation and team play, the same give-and-take of ideas, that underlies the success of any large business unit. Only now this teamwork had to be on a nation-wide basis.

I could give you countless examples of the way in which American business and labor and Government have pulled together to make possible the gigantic supply achievements of this country. I remember a day in October 1941, for instance, just after I had undertaken the direction of our lend-lease program. We received an urgent request from the Russians for barbed wire. The great battles before Moscow were starting. The Russians were desperately short of barbed wire, and they needed 4,000 tons urgently. The only convoy on which it could sail in time to do any good was leaving in two weeks.

Four thousand tons of barbed wire is enough to stretch from Moscow to Sidney, Australia, and back again, with a good bit left over. After telephoning to every possible source in this country we had found immediately available only 700 tons of barbed wire suitable for military purposes.

In the days that followed, wire mills worked 24 hours a day; our Army dug down into its stocks for us; the British turned over all the wire they had in this country. I remember calling an associate in OPM late one night and asking him if we were going to make it. He stated: "It's an impossibility, but we're all staying here tonight to make it possible. We'll do it."

It was done. When the convoy sailed for Russia the barbed wire was aboard.

Let me give you another example of teamwork.

A few days after the American and British forces landed in North Africa, an air raid on one of the major ports there seriously damaged the electrical equipment needed to run the port. Some of the damage could be repaired on the spot, but one small part of the equipment which was absolutely vital to the working of the whole system had been blown to bits. General Eisenhower sent a special messenger by plane to Washington. He arrived on a Saturday.

The WPB scoured the country and found only one piece of equipment that would do the work. It was being made by a large American electrical company on a special rush order for the Navy. When the situation was explained to the Navy Department they released the equipment because the Army's need was even more urgent than their own.

The workers in the plant worked night and day over the weekend to finish the equipment and adapt it to the French electrical system. On Tues-

day the Army officer was able to start back to North Africa by plane with the needed equipment by his side.

Gentlemen, that is the kind of teamwork between Government, industry, labor, and our armed services that is making possible the victories we are winning today.

Terrible as is the tragedy of this war it has taught us momentous lessons. Although our nation is vast and diversified we have proved that we can still work together as a united whole as we have done in every national crisis since we proclaimed our national independence in 1776.

This lesson we must not forget in the days to come. Demobilization for peace is no easier than mobilization for war. It will require the patience and cooperation of all Americans. We can accomplish this transition with the same success as we have turned our energies and resources to war only if we continue the same full measure of team play and mutual confidence.

This war has taught us another momentous lesson. Great nations, too, can work together in intimate and fruitful cooperation. The 35 nations which compose the United Nations family are winning this war by planning together and working together with a common purpose and a common goal.

This also contains a lesson which we must not forget. The future security of the world depends upon no one nation alone; it depends upon the peace-loving nations of the world learning to work together in peace as they have learned to work together in war. I have high hopes that the nations of the world will be successful in finding a formula on which to base that full measure of international cooperation through which alone we can maintain peace and security for all mankind.

I have told you of cooperation on a national scale and on an international scale. These same principles apply throughout our lives—in whatever tasks we turn our hands to. Many of you will doubtless go from this university into the armed service of your country. There you will find that teamwork and mutual confidence are everything. When you return home again after victory has been won you will find this same habit of working together equally indispensable to your own individual success in life.

Cooperation is far more than an amiable and friendly state of mind. It is hard work. There are

inevitable misunderstandings and set-backs which have to be ironed out with patience and tolerance. Each of us has his own individual personal peculiarities, and we must be sympathetic with the peculiarities and shortcomings of others if we expect them to work with us in the same spirit of sympathy and friendly cooperation.

A vital element in working together effectively is to learn respect for the ideas and principles of your fellowmen. If you will give the other man's point of view fair and sympathetic consideration, you will find in most cases that he has valid reasons for his beliefs just as you have for your own. After thrashing the matter out in a full and honest discussion you will often find that both of you have arrived at a greater common truth.

That is the way of democratic debate, the principle of working together in the shaping of ideas. It is the method by which the greatest decisions of our nation are made. It is the source of the great basic principles upon which the structure of our national life is founded.

Men cannot work together unless they respect one another, for the philosophy of cooperation is based on the dignity and nobility of man. It is an American philosophy rooted deep in our democratic traditions. The future of your lives and the future of your nation depend upon your boldly carrying forward this great national heritage of working together for the common good in a spirit of faith and good-will.

I have just returned from Britain, where it was my privilege to see first-hand the tremendous striking-power which we and our Allies have mobilized for victory. I could not begin to describe to you the tremendous volume of weapons and equipment which we, through our cooperative efforts, have been able to send overseas for our fighting men. I could not begin to tell you of the complexity and magnitude of the gigantic cooperative military operations by which our victories are being won.

At the basis of all these great accomplishments lies the philosophy of working together. With that philosophy to guide us I am confident that we shall win this war. But we as a nation cannot for a moment become over-confident and thereby cease to work together. There are still bitter battles to be fought and won before we achieve victory.

(Continued on next page)

Visit of General Charles de Gaulle to the United States

General de Gaulle arrived at the Washington National Airport at 4 o'clock on the afternoon of July 6. He was received with full military honors, including the Army Air Forces band, three squadrons with colors from Bolling Field, and a battery salute of 17 guns. After the commanding officer of the airport escorted him from the plane to the Guard of Honor, General de Gaulle was greeted by General Marshall, Admiral King, Gen-

eral Arnold, and Lieutenant General Vandegrift. The President's aides, General Watson and Rear Admiral Wilson Brown, accompanied him from the airport to the White House, where he was received by the President and members of the Cabinet in the White House diplomatic reception room. Later the President and General de Gaulle had tea on the south portico of the White House, after which the General proceeded to Blair House.

Other conferences were held between the President and General de Gaulle at noon on July 7 and at 11:30 on July 8.

Limiting the Production of Opium

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press July 3]

House Joint Resolution 241, introduced by the Honorable Walter H. Judd, Representative from the State of Minnesota, which was approved by the President after having been passed unanimously by both the House of Representatives on June 5, 1944, and the Senate on June 22, 1944, is in line with the long-standing opium policy of the United States. This resolution requests the President to urge upon the governments of those countries where the cultivation of poppy plant exists the necessity of immediately limiting the production of opium to the amount required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes. It is hoped that the opium-producing countries of the world will now cooperate in an international program to wipe out drug addiction and the illicit traffic in narcotic drugs.

When the Chinese Government in 1941 prohibited the use of smoking opium in China, and the British and Netherland Governments on November 10, 1943 announced their decisions to prohibit the use of opium for smoking and to abolish opium monopolies in their territories in the Far East when those territories are freed from Japanese occupation, the way was prepared for the suppression of the traffic in smoking opium in those and other areas. The provisions of article 6 of the Hague Convention of 1912, to which more than 60 countries are parties, calling for the gradual suppression of the manufacture, the internal traffic in, and the use of prepared opium, can now be ful-

filled. In its announcement of November 10, 1943 the British Government warned, however, that the success of the enforcement of prohibition will depend on the steps taken to limit and control the production of opium in other countries. The Judd Resolution is a public announcement of the conviction of the Congress that this World War ought to be not an occasion for permitting expansion and spreading of illicit traffic in opium but rather an opportunity for completely eliminating it.

The Department of State, having received instructions from the President pursuant to the Resolution of the Congress, will undertake to secure the cooperation of the opium-producing countries in the solution of this world problem.

WORKING TOGETHER—Continued from p. 46

There are still difficult problems to solve before we win the peace that follows.

No matter how great the difficulties which lie ahead, however, I look to the future with complete confidence; for we are approaching our problems, nationally and internationally, in a spirit of cooperation and mutual trust.

With faith in the principles of freedom for which we are now fighting with all our might we shall win through to victory over our brutal enemies who would destroy those principles. With that faith, we shall in the end bring about a world where peace and the blessings of peace will be secure for all mankind.

United States Policy Relating to Opium

By GEORGE A. MORLOCK¹

House Joint Resolution 241, approved on July 1, 1944, requesting the President to urge upon the governments of those countries where the cultivation of poppy plants exists the necessity of immediately limiting the production of opium to the amount required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes, focuses attention on the narcotics policies of the United States.

The interest of the United States in narcotics control increased considerably soon after our annexation of the Philippine Islands in 1898, where a government monopoly for sales of opium to addicts, principally Chinese, for the satisfaction of their addiction, had been legalized prior to annexation. The Congress of the United States passed an act, approved March 3, 1905, providing "That after March first, nineteen hundred and eight, it shall be unlawful to import into the Philippine Islands opium, in whatever form, except by the Government, and for medicinal purposes only, and at no time shall it be lawful to sell opium to any native of the Philippine Islands except for medicinal purposes."

Recognizing that nations acting alone are unable adequately to protect themselves against the international illicit traffic in narcotic drugs, the United States decided to cooperate with other nations in the control of the legal trade in these dangerous drugs and in international efforts to suppress their abuse. It took the initiative in bringing about the first international conference on the subject, which was held in Shanghai in 1909, and later proposed the convening of the conference which resulted in the international opium convention signed at The Hague on January 23, 1912. The American Government took part in the conferences held at The Hague in 1912, in 1913, and in 1914; participated in the Second Geneva Drug Conference of 1924-25; and in the Narcotics Limitation Conference of 1931 held at Geneva; was represented by an observer at the Bangkok Conference of 1931 on Opium Smoking in the Far East, and sent delegates to the Conference for the Suppression of the Illicit Traffic in Dangerous

Drugs at Geneva in 1936. In those conferences representatives of the Government of the United States clearly stated that the policy of the United States was to limit the production of the poppy plant and manufacture of narcotic drugs strictly to medical and scientific requirements and to consider use for any other purpose as abuse. The Department of State, through its representatives at international conferences and at meetings of the Opium Advisory Committee at Geneva, has constantly carried on a vigorous campaign looking to the suppression of the illicit traffic in narcotic drugs and the abuse of those drugs.

The delegates of the United States withdrew from the Geneva Drug Conference of 1925 when it became apparent that the Conference would not restrict the production of opium and coca leaves to the medicinal and scientific requirements of the world. The withdrawal of the American delegation was based on a memorandum by the chairman of the American delegation, the Honorable Stephen G. Porter, addressed to the president of the Conference on February 6, 1925. As this memorandum outlines principles of policy to which the United States has consistently adhered, it is reproduced below in full:

"On October 18, 1923, the League of Nations extended an invitation to the powers signatory to The Hague Convention, including the United States, to participate in an international conference which was called for the purpose of giving effect to the following principles, subject to reservations made by certain nations regarding smoking opium.

"One. If the purpose of The Hague Opium Convention is to be achieved according to its spirit and true intent it must be recognized that the use of opium products for other than medical and scientific purpose is an abuse and not legitimate.

"Two. In order to prevent the abuse of these products it is necessary to exercise the control of the production of raw opium in such a manner that there will be no surplus available for non-medical and non-scientific purpose.

"The joint resolution adopted by the Congress of the United States on May 15, 1924, authorizing

¹The author of this article is an officer in the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State.

our participation in the present conference, quoted the principles referred to in the preamble and expressly stipulated that the representatives of the United States shall sign no agreement which does not fulfill the conditions necessary for the suppression of the narcotic drug traffic as set forth in the preamble.

"Despite more than two months of discussion and repeated adjournments it now clearly appears that the purpose for which the Conference was called cannot be accomplished. The reports of the various committees of the Conference plainly indicate that there is no likelihood under present conditions that the production of raw opium and coca leaves will be restricted to the medicinal and scientific needs of the world. In fact the nature of the reservations made show that no appreciable reduction in raw opium may be expected.

"It was hoped that if the nations in whose territories the use of smoking opium is temporarily permitted would, in pursuance of the obligation undertaken under Chapter Two of The Hague Convention, adopt measures restricting the importation of raw opium for the manufacture of smoking opium or would agree to suppress the traffic within a definite period, such action would materially reduce the market for raw opium and an extensive limitation of production would inevitably follow.

"Unfortunately, however, these nations with the exception of Japan are not prepared to reduce the consumption of smoking opium. Unless the producing nations agree to reduce production and prevent smuggling from their territories and then only in the event of an adequate guarantee being given that the obligations undertaken by the producing nations would be effectively and promptly fulfilled, no restriction of the production of raw opium under such conditions can be expected.

"In the matter of manufactured drugs and the control of transportation an improvement over The Hague Convention is noticeable. There is, however, no likelihood of obtaining a complete control of all opium and coca leaf derivative irrespective of the measure of control provided. For manufactured drugs it is believed that by reason of the very small bulk, the ease of transportation with minimum risk of detection, and the large financial gains to be obtained from their illicit handling, such drugs and their derivatives

can only be effectively controlled if the production of the raw opium and coca leaves from which they are obtained is strictly limited to medical and scientific purposes. This the Conference is unable to accomplish.

"In the circumstances the delegation of the United States in pursuance of instructions received from its Government has no alternative under terms of the joint resolution authorizing participation in the conference other than to withdraw, as it could not sign the agreement which it is proposed to conclude. We desire to make it clear that withdrawal from the present conference does not mean that the United States will cease its efforts through international cooperation for the suppression of the illicit traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs. The United States recognizes that the world-wide traffic in habit-forming drugs can be suppressed only by international cooperation but believes that for the present at least greater strides in the control of the traffic may be hoped for if it should continue to work towards this end upon the basis of The Hague Convention of 1912."

The narcotic drugs which are the subject of international cooperation are the principal habit-forming ones, namely, opium and its derivatives, the coca leaf and its derivatives, and *Cannabis sativa* and its derivatives. Opium is the coagulated juice obtained from the capsules of the soporific poppy (*Papaver somniferum*). The principal derivatives of opium are morphine, heroin, and codeine. The principal derivative of the coca leaf is cocaine. *Cannabis sativa* is Indian hemp, from which hashish, marihuana, and other dangerous drugs are made.

House Joint Resolution 241 relates to the opium problem only. There is more immediate need of solving the opium problem than of solving the coca-leaf and marihuana problems.

The results of the abusive use of opium and its derivatives are so destructive of health and so far-reaching socially and economically that governmental control over them is generally recognized as an absolute necessity. As the International Labor Office in its report of 1936 entitled "Opium and Labor" has so well stated, "Opium smoking is injurious to the workers, impedes their social and economic development, impairs their health and decreases their efficiency and, when it is practiced continuously, shatters the health and

Sweden to Represent Finnish Interests in United States

[Released to the press July 3]

The Counselor of the Swedish Legation called at the Department of State on the morning of July 3 and delivered a note stating that the Swedish Government had acceded to the request of the Finnish Government to represent Finnish interests in the United States.

increases the death rate of the smokers, and tends to reduce the rate of economic and social progress in the districts affected." The effects of addiction to morphine and heroin are much worse.

The principal cause of illicit traffic is surplus production. The United States has been making and continues to make every effort to persuade the poppy-producing countries of the world to reduce production. For this reason the United States has discouraged the planting of the opium poppy within its territories and possessions for the production of opium and opium products, although it could easily supply its entire requirements. Nevertheless, large-scale production continues in other parts of the world. At the present time annual production of raw opium has been estimated by Government experts, in the absence of exact figures, as follows:

	Kilograms
Afghanistan-----	50,000
Bulgaria-----	7,000
Burma-----	18,000
China (occupied and unoccupied)-----	1,000,000
Chosen-----	35,000
India-----	300,000
Iran-----	600,000
Japan-----	16,000
Thailand-----	400
Turkey-----	250,000
U. S. S. R.-----	75,000
Yugoslavia-----	55,000

The total estimated annual production amounts to 2,406,400 kilograms or 5,294,080 pounds. There is also extensive production in Central Europe of morphine directly from poppy straw amounting to about 6,500 kilograms. The actual needs of the world for manufactured narcotic drugs from 1933 to 1938 averaged 284,715 kilograms (626,373

pounds) annually. It is estimated that after the war annual needs for medical purposes will not exceed 400,000 kilograms (880,000 pounds).

The Governments of the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, after pursuing for many years a policy of gradual suppression of the use of smoking opium, decided last year to make a change in policy in view of the new conditions which will prevail in their Far Eastern territories as a consequence of the Japanese occupation. On November 10, 1943 they announced that on regaining control of their Far Eastern territories they would suppress the smoking of opium and would not re-establish the opium monopolies.¹ This means that a market which averaged 347,036 kilograms of opium annually during the years 1933 to 1938 will disappear. It is obvious, therefore, that, if present world production continues at the rate of 2,400,000 kilograms a year, about 2,000,000 kilograms will remain for the satisfaction of drug addiction. The United States is anxious to prevent this surplus production, thus liberating several million souls throughout the world from the awful slavery of drug addiction.

There is immediate need for the opium-producing and consuming countries of the world to join in an international convention to limit and control the cultivation of the opium poppy and to suppress the illicit traffic in opium. The United States, as one of the principal victims, is deeply interested in and is prepared to cooperate with all nations in efforts to solve this problem.

A number of narcotics-control measures have become effective during the last 35 years and will facilitate the solution of the problem.

First, the Hague Opium Convention of 1912 is the cornerstone and basis of the entire system of international control. Among other things it makes certain provisions for the control of opium and other dangerous drugs and obligates the contracting parties to take measures for the gradual and effective suppression of the manufacture of, internal trade in, and use of prepared opium.

Second, the Geneva Drug Convention of 1925 deals principally with the control of internal and international trade in opium and in the manufactured derivatives of opium, the coca leaf, and *Cannabis sativa*. The system established in the convention whereby export authorizations can be issued only against import certificates has resulted

¹ BULLETIN of Nov. 13, 1943, p. 331.

in much more effective control of the international movement of narcotic drugs. The convention also provided for the establishment of an international body, the Permanent Central Opium Board, to compile statistics, to watch over the course of international trade, and to give warning of excessive accumulations of narcotics in any country.

Third, the Narcotics Limitation Convention which was signed at Geneva on July 13, 1931 deals with the limitation of manufacture of narcotic drugs and controls the distribution of narcotic drugs. Limitation is brought about in the following manner: The parties to the convention undertake to furnish annually for examination by the Drug Supervisory Body, an organ established by this convention, estimates of their requirements for the ensuing year in respect of each of the drugs. This body consists of four persons, some of whom have had medical experience and some of whom have had administrative experience. The body has no power to revise an estimate without the consent of the government furnishing it but is empowered to ask for explanations. Every government has the right to submit supplementary estimates. Countries which are not parties to the convention are also invited to furnish estimates; if they do not, the supervisory body frames estimates for them. At the conclusion of its examination, the supervisory body issues for the guidance of all governments a statement containing the estimates as decided upon. These provisions as to estimates are the foundation on which the scheme of limitation is based.

In addition, mention should be made of the Opium Advisory Committee, an organ of the League of Nations, whose functions are limited to investigating and reporting on existing narcotic conditions and recommending the action to be taken by the League of Nations and by governments. The United States has never accepted the invitation which was extended to assume full membership in this committee, but has cooperated with the committee through a representative who has attended its meetings in an expert and advisory capacity.

Other forces have been or are now operating to prevent the abuse of narcotic drugs. At the end of 1935 the exportation of opium from India to the Far East was forbidden. In 1941 the Chinese Government enacted laws prohibiting the cultivation of the opium poppy, the smoking of opium, and all

traffic in opium and narcotics except for medical purposes. In connection with the present military effort to remove the Japanese forces from the territories which they now occupy in the Southwest Pacific and China it will be the policy of all American expeditionary forces, under American command, immediately upon the occupation of a part or the whole of any of these territories, to seize all narcotic drugs intended for other than medical and scientific purposes which they may discover and to close existing opium monopolies, opium shops and dens.

In view of the large world production of opium over and above medical needs, the United States has, whenever opportunity offered, discouraged production in this hemisphere, because new production in any area, even if restricted and controlled, results in making an equal quantity in an old producing area available to non-medical use or to the illicit traffic. The experience of opium-producing countries is that, even with severe laws well enforced, it is extremely difficult to prevent the escape of a part of the production into the international illicit traffic and to check the spread of addiction and illegal use within the country. The history of narcotics in China, India, and Iran confirms this statement.

The United States regards the present time as propitious for the poppy-producing and narcotic-drugs-consuming countries to give serious consideration to the advisability of joining immediately after the war in a convention for the limitation and control of the cultivation of the opium poppy strictly to medicinal and scientific requirements.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Consular Offices

The American Legation at Helsinki, Finland, was closed on June 30, 1944.

The American Consulate at Bahía Blanca, Argentina, was closed on June 30, 1944.

The American Consulate at San Sebastián, Spain, was opened to the public on July 1, 1944.

The American Consulate at Cayenne, French Guiana, will be closed to the public on July 10, 1944.

Changes in Travel Regulations Between the United States and Canada

[Released to the press July 6]

Recent changes in the regulations governing travel between the United States and Canada make it advisable for the Canadian Government and the United States Government jointly to summarize and explain the documentary restrictions imposed by the two countries on such travel and the need for them.

The United States Government has recently announced further relaxation in the border-crossing regulations affecting all Canadian citizens and British subjects domiciled, permanently residing, or stationed in Canada desiring to enter the United States for visits of 29 days or less. Hereafter no passport, visa, or border-crossing card will be necessary for entry into the United States by such persons whose purpose in entering the United States for 29 days or less is that of business or pleasure.

The relaxation in the requirements for travel across the border between Canada and the United States will not deprive citizens of Canada domiciled therein or other British subjects domiciled or residing in Canada of the privilege of obtaining border-crossing cards or continuing to use such cards, issued on or after November 14, 1941, for border-crossing purposes. These cards are valid for an indefinite period for border-crossing purposes and need not be revalidated by United States consuls or United States immigration officials. Those persons who make frequent visits to the United States and do not have a passport or border-crossing card, valid or expired, will find it convenient to obtain a border-crossing card which will expedite entry especially at busy ports. Persons not using border-crossing cards will find it helpful to carry some means of identification, such as a birth or baptismal certificate or other document which may assist in establishing their identity and nationality.

When a visit will be for more than 29 days the applicant should apply to any United States consul for an appropriate visa.

Passport requirements for Canadians entering the United States were first inaugurated in July 1940 when the United States for security reasons

imposed more rigid supervision over travel from all countries. At that time and until the adoption of the border-crossing card system it was necessary for all visitors from Canada to have passports and obtain visitors visas. The regulations were amended in the autumn of 1940 to permit Canadian citizens and British subjects domiciled in Canada to travel to the United States with border-crossing cards and their passports. A further relaxation was later adopted permitting the issuance of border-crossing cards by United States consular offices to Canadian citizens without passports. No further restrictions were imposed by the United States Government for travel to or from the United States of Canadian citizens.

For its part, the Canadian Government in 1940 imposed certain restrictions on the use of United States funds for travel in order to increase the amount of foreign exchange available for essential war purposes in the United States. The action taken was, of course, necessary as a wartime measure, and the restriction was carried into force by requiring all residents of Canada to obtain permission from the Foreign Exchange Control Board (on Form H) to depart from Canada and/or to export such funds as the Board allowed. Appropriate amounts of United States currency were supplied for necessary business, health, and educational travel, but travel involving the use of United States funds for pleasure purposes was stopped. In May 1944 the Canadian Government announced a relaxation of these restrictions, and Canadian residents are now able to obtain up to \$150 a year in United States funds for pleasure travel in the United States. Special exchange provisions have also been made to enable residents of border communities to make ordinary social visits to adjoining communities in the United States.

For the protection of its manpower reserve the Canadian Government also imposed restrictions upon the departure from Canada of men of military age and those intending to depart from Canada for the purpose of accepting employment. The Labor Exit Permit was also adopted as a measure of preventing the departure of persons

subject to military call. Labor Exit Permits were and are issued by the Employment Service, Department of Labor, in conjunction with the Mobilization Service and National Selective Service of that Department. Canadian immigration and customs officials are empowered to prevent the departure from Canada of any person subject to draft unless he is in possession of a Labor Exit Permit or a certificate of exemption.

If the emergency which caused the Canadian and United States Governments to impose the travel restriction becomes less acute it is expected that it may be possible to make further modification in the restrictions.

Mexican-United States Agricultural Commission

[Released to the press July 4]

The Secretary of State on July 4 announced the establishment of a Mexican - United States Agricultural Commission the purpose of which is to take all appropriate steps to assure active and continuous cooperation between the United States and Mexico in the field of agriculture. The following officers have been designated to serve on the United States Section of the Commission: Mr. L. A. Wheeler, Director of the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture, to act as chairman; Dr. E. C. Auchter, Administrator of the Agricultural Research Administration, Department of Agriculture; Mr. Lester De Witt Mallory, Agricultural Attaché of the American Embassy at Mexico City; and Mr. Carl N. Gibboney, Chief of the Production and Procurement Division, Office of Food Programs, Foreign Economic Administration.

The Mexican Government has designated the following officers to serve on the Mexican Section of the Commission: Señor Ing. Alfonso Gonzalez Gallardo, Under Secretary of Agriculture, to act as chairman; Señor Ing. Dario M. Arrieta M., Director General of Agriculture; Dr. Guillermo Quesado Bravo, Director General of Cattle Production; and Señor Ing. Gonzalo Gonzalez H., Director General of Rural Economy.

The Commission is being established in accordance with an agreement between the United

States and Mexico effected by an exchange of notes. The first meeting of the commissioners was scheduled to take place in Mexico City on July 4.

Visit of Guatemalan Pediatrician

[Released to the press July 5]

Dr. Ernesto Cofiño of Guatemala is now in the United States at the invitation of the Department of State to study official and private programs of child welfare in this country. Dr. Cofiño is a practicing pediatrician in Guatemala City and is active in child-welfare work there.

Dr. Cofiño plans to spend several months in Washington, D. C., studying the work of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor and will then visit several outstanding clinics, children's hospitals, (and sanatoria in other parts of the United States, including those at Duke University, University of Minnesota, Mayo Clinic, and Johns Hopkins.

In Guatemala Dr. Cofiño is professor of pediatrics on the Faculty of Medicine and chief of the service for children in the general hospital of Guatemala. He is also one of the principal organizers and the medical director of the "Colonia Infantil", a private charity hospital and rest camp for tubercular children. Located in the pine woods of San Juan Sacatepequez, the camp has beds for 25 children in the primary stages of infection. The rest camp, the first of its kind to be established in Guatemala, is supported by voluntary contributions of private citizens.

Visit of Mexican Hematologist

[Released to the press July 4]

Dr. Marcelo Martínez Repetto, Mexican hematologist of Mérida, capital of the State of Yucatán, has arrived in Washington at the invitation of the Department of State for three months' professional study and observation. Dr. Martínez Repetto has during the past five years carried on serious work in both clinical and laboratory hematology, four as intern and one as general practitioner.

Dr. Martínez Repetto says that anemia is a principal problem in Yucatán and that it is caused by the prevalence of pellagra, arising from a diet based on corn products and lacking in vitamins, and by the high incidence of diseases resulting from intestinal parasites. Because of this fact he plans, while in the United States, to pursue his investigations at a hospital in the South where he will have opportunities to observe how the physicians in this country deal with these problems.

Visit of Director of Uruguayan Hospital

[Released to the press July 3]

Dr. Amadeo Grosso Rossi, director of the Durazno Hospital in Durazno, Uruguay, has arrived in Washington as guest of the Department of State. He expects to remain in the United States for two months, visiting hospitals and clinics in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, and observing surgery practice, particularly the technique of the operating room, and teaching methods.

Dr. Grosso Rossi is public-health supervisor for the Durazno Department, which has 45 hospitals. He says that his work is handicapped at present by a wartime shortage of supplies and also by a scarcity of nurses. In order to supply this latter deficiency the Durazno Hospital, in February 1944, inaugurated a school for nurses.

THE DEPARTMENT

Appointment of Officers

By Departmental Designation 24, issued June 23, 1944, effective June 23, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. R. Horton Henry as Assistant to the Under Secretary.

By Departmental Designation 25, issued June 23, 1944, effective June 23, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Earl C. Hackworth, Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs, as Principal Liaison Officer for the Department of State with the Office of Alien Property Custodian.

By Departmental Designation 26, issued June 24, 1944, effective June 24, 1944, the Secretary of

State made the following designations: Mr. Honoré Marcel Catudal and Mr. Woodbury Willoughby as Associate Chiefs of the Division of Commercial Policy; Mr. H. Gerald Smith to continue as Assistant Chief of the Division of Commercial Policy in charge of the American Republics Branch; Mr. Erwin P. Keeler as Economic Consultant to the American Republics Branch; Mr. Carl D. Corse as Assistant Chief of the Division of Commercial Policy in charge of the General Commercial Policy Branch; Mr. Vernon L. Phelps as Assistant Chief of the Division of Commercial Policy in charge of the Division's European Branch; Mr. James A. Ross, Jr., as Assistant Chief of the Division of Commercial Policy in charge of the British Commonwealth Branch; and Mr. Homer S. Fox to continue as Consultant on foreign-trade protection and promotion in the Division of Commercial Policy.

By Departmental Designation 27, issued June 24, 1944, effective June 24, 1944, the Secretary of State made the following designations: Mr. Harry M. Knrth, Chief, Division of Budget and Finance, as Budget Officer of the Department of State; and Mr. Clifford C. Hulse as Chief, Planning and Liaison Staff; Mrs. Ella A. Logsdon as Chief, Budget Branch, and Mr. Donald W. Corrick as Chief, Accounts Branch of the Division of Budget and Finance.

By Departmental Designation 28, issued June 27, 1944, effective June 27, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Henry P. Leverich as Assistant Chief of the Division of Central European Affairs.

By Departmental Designation 29, issued June 30, 1944, effective June 30, 1944, the Secretary of State designated Mr. Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, as Chairman of the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy,¹ established by letter of April 5, 1944, from the President to the Secretary of State. Mr. Harry C. Hawkins, Director of the Office of Economic Affairs, was designated as Vice Chairman.

Mr. Robert M. Carr, in the Office of Economic Affairs, was designated Executive Secretary of the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy.

¹ BULLETIN of June 3, 1944, p. 511.

TREATY INFORMATION

Military-Service Agreement, Brazil and Great Britain

The American Embassy at Rio de Janeiro informed the Department by a despatch of May 31, 1944 that an agreement has been concluded between the Governments of Brazil and Great Britain authorizing military and other war services in the respective forces of each country by citizens of the other. The agreement was effected by an exchange of notes signed at Rio de Janeiro on May 27, 1944.

Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences

On July 4, 1944 the instrument of ratification by the United States of America 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, was deposited with the Pan American Union.

PUBLICATIONS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Lease of Defense Sites: Agreement and Exchanges of Notes Between the United States of America and Panama—Agreement signed at Panamá May 18, 1942; effective May 11, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 359. Publication 2106. 17 pp. 10¢.

Wheat: Memorandum of Agreement and Related Papers Between the United States of America, Argentina, Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom—Memorandum of agreement initiated at Washington April 22, 1942; effective June 27, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 384. Publication 2140. 25 pp. 10¢.

Establishment of the Inter-American Cooperative Food Production Service in Peru: Agreement Between the United States of America and Peru—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Lima May 19 and 20, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 385. Publication 2131. 9 pp. 5¢.

Post-War Disposition of Defense Installations and Facilities: Agreement Between the United States of

America and Canada—Effected by exchange of notes signed at Ottawa January 27, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 391. Publication 2136. 4 pp. 5¢.

The Cultural-Cooperation Program, 1938-1943: Prepared by Haldore Hanson. Publication 2137. 71 pp. 15¢.

The Statesman: A Handbook for the Employees of the Department of State. By Richardson Dougall and Madge S. Lazo, Personnel Relations Section, Division of Departmental Personnel. Publication 2141. iv, 96 pp. Free.

The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 4, June 30, 1944, to Revision VII of March 23, 1944. Publication 2146. 46 pp. Free.

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

The articles listed below will be found in the July 1 and 8 issues of the Department of Commerce publication entitled *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, copies of which may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, for 10 cents each:

"Haiti in 1943", prepared in the American Republics Unit on basis of reports by Robert S. Folsom, vice consul, and William A. Krauss, junior economic analyst, attached to the United States Embassy, Port-au-Prince (July 1, 1944 issue).

"Electronics in Venezuela", based on a report prepared by Carl Breuer, American Embassy, Caracas, Venezuela (July 8, 1944 issue).

"Honduras in 1943", prepared in American Republics Unit, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, on basis of report from Albert K. Ludy, Jr., junior economic analyst, American Embassy, Tegucigalpa, Honduras (July 8, 1944 issue).

LEGISLATION

An Act Making appropriations for the Executive Office and sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, and offices, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945, and for other purposes. Approved June 27, 1944. [H.R. 4070.] Public Law 358, 78th Cong. 30 pp.

An Act Making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945, and for other purposes. Approved June 28, 1944. [H.R. 4204.] Public Law 365, 78th Cong. 33 pp.

An Act Making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, and for prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1944, and June 30, 1945, and for other purposes.

- Approved June 28, 1944. [H.R. 5040.] Public Law 375, 78th Cong. [Department of State p. 16.] 29 pp.
- Joint Resolution Declaring the policy of the Congress with respect to the independence of the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes. Approved June 29, 1944. [S.J. Res. 93.] Public Law 380, 78th Cong. 2 pp.
- Joint Resolution To amend section 13 of Philippine Independence Act, as amended, establishing the Filipino Rehabilitation Commission, defining its powers and duties, and for other purposes. Approved June 29, 1944. [S.J. Res. 94.] Public Law 381, 78th Cong. 2 pp.
- An Act Making appropriations for defense aid (lend-lease), for the participation by the United States in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and for the Foreign Economic Administration, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945, and for other purposes. Approved June 30, 1944. [H.R. 4937.] Public Law 382, 78th Cong. 5 pp.
- Joint Resolution Requesting the President to urge upon the governments of those countries where the cultivation of the poppy plant exists, the necessity of immediately limiting the production of opium to the amount required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes. Approved July 1, 1944. [H. J. Res. 241] Public Law 400, 78th Cong. 2 pp.
- An Act To provide for loss of United States nationality under certain circumstances. Approved July 1, 1944. [H. R. 4103.] Public Law 405, 78th Cong. 1 p.
- Relating to the Invitation to the Congress of the United States To Send a Delegation To Visit the British Parliament. H. Rept. 1741, 78th Cong., on S. Con. Res. 43. 1 p. [Favorable report.]
- Protesting the Extermination by the Nazis of Minorities in Hungary and Other Nazi-Controlled Territories. H. Rept. 1742, 78th Cong., on H. Res. 610. 2 pp. [Favorable report.]

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

VOL. XI, NO. 264

JULY 16, 1944

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ECONOMIC COOPERATION, UNITED STATES AND MEXICO

SPECIAL WAR PROBLEMS DIVISION

By Graham H. Stuart ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆



BULLETIN



July 16, 1944

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Information, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest is included.

Publications of the Department, cumulative lists of which are published at the end of each quarter, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

The BULLETIN, published with the approval of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., to whom all purchase orders, with accompanying remittance, should be sent. The subscription price is \$2.75 a year; a single copy is 10 cents.

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Nazi Atrocities in Hungary and Greece

STATEMENTS BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press July 14]

Reliable reports from Hungary have confirmed the appalling news of mass killings of Jews by the Nazis and their Hungarian quislings. The number of victims of these fiendish crimes is great.

The entire Jewish community in Hungary, which numbered one million souls, is threatened with extermination. The horror and indignation felt by the American people at these cold-blooded tortures and massacres has been voiced by the President, by the Congress, and by hundreds of private organizations throughout the country. It is shared by all the civilized nations of the world. This Government will not slacken its efforts to rescue as many of these unfortunate people as can be saved from persecution and death.

The puppet Hungarian government, by its violation of the most elementary hu-

man rights and by its servile adoption of the worst features of the Nazi "racial policy", stands condemned before history. It may be futile to appeal to the humanity of the instigators or

perpetrators of such outrages. Let them know that they cannot escape the inexorable punishment which will be meted out to them when the power of the evil men now in control of Hungary has been broken.

[Released to the press July 14]

The cold-blooded murder of the population of the Greek village of Distomo is another shocking example of the reign of terror which the Nazis have instituted in Europe and which becomes more savage as they become more desperate. This new crime will be noted in the registers of the United Nations, and justice will certainly be meted out to those responsible.

Bastille Day

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press by the White House July 13]

Once again I salute, on Bastille Day, the heroic people of France.

July fourteenth this year is different, for we hope that it is the last fourteenth of July that France will suffer under German occupation. With full confidence, I look forward that the French people on July 14, 1945, will celebrate their great national fete on French soil, liberated alike from the invader and from the puppets of Vichy.

For the great battle of liberation is now engaged. It is a battle resolutely waged by the American, British, and Canadian forces, together with the valiant fighters of the home French, who have already contributed so greatly to the success of the operations. At the same time gallant French fighting forces are carrying on the victorious struggle in Italy, joined in traditional unity with their comrades of the American Fifth Army and the British Eighth Army.

Here, on this side of the Atlantic, the fourteenth of July, 1944, offers an equally great spectacle of the indissoluble unity and the deep friendship of the American and French peoples.

Together, the French and American peoples stand today, united as they have always been when the cause of freedom was endangered.

Together, we shall win, and France shall be free!

Need for Alert Public Opinion

REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press July 11]

The Secretary of State on July 11 held his press and radio news conference in the new press room of the Department of State. Secretary Hull made the following remarks:

"I greet you in your new quarters. I am glad to see you move in here because you can work better in this place, and because you deserve the best possible facilities.

"You are engaged in work that is only second in its responsibility to the most important work of the Government itself—that is, disseminating in the most understandable manner all of the pertinent and material facts and circumstances that would be included in what we call 'spot' news. That range of work especially is just about as responsible as any work I can think of in this crisis through which we all are passing.

"There has never been greater need for an alert public opinion than there is today. It will continue to be increasingly greater until victory has crowned our efforts and post-war problems have been settled. You will perform a tremendous function for good or bad according to the skill and intelligence and practical judgment with which you aid in developing and keeping thoroughly alive what we call an alert public opinion.

"There is, unfortunately, today in this country and in other countries a decline—I may say, an unconscious decline—in interest on the part of a surprising number of citizens, not only in this war and the awfulness of the issues that are involved but in planning for the future as well. I notice that at times an increasing number of people will listen to that part of the news which is of a minor or temporary or trivial nature and neglect the big basic questions that stand right before their faces. Your most vital task today is to make the maximum contribution in your work to what we would call an informed public opinion relating to basic international questions—those arising during the war and those that are inevitably arising even now in relation to post-war peace."

Opposition in Denmark to Nazi Rule

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press July 12]

Recent events in Denmark have again proven that the spirit of freedom cannot be crushed in a people determined to uphold their liberties. The Danes have steadfastly opposed the attempts by the Germans to establish a "model protectorate" in what once was and will again be a free and sovereign country. Their stand, inspired by leaders within and without Denmark, associates them with the people of the other countries who firmly resist the German oppressors and whose conduct sets an example to the people of other lands whose craven leaders succumbed to the false promises of the Nazis.

There is no Danish government which can give expression to the feelings of Denmark by adhering to the United Nations Declaration. We recognize, however, that the Danish people have placed themselves side by side with the people of the United Nations and like them are determined to contribute to the common struggle for victory over Nazism and for the attainment of the aims of the Atlantic Charter.

Visit of Chief Tax Auditor of Ecuador

Dr. Gonzalo Ramón, director of the Technical Department of the Ministry of Finance of Ecuador, and Chief Tax Auditor of the Republic, has arrived at Washington as guest of the Department of State for six months' study of our tax system. During his visit Dr. Ramón will spend much of his time at the Bureau of Internal Revenue and at the Treasury Department. He is interested especially in the administration of tax and customs laws.

Dr. Ramón spoke with enthusiasm of the work being carried out by the Ecuadoran-United States cultural institute at Quito in teaching English, and of the great interest in learning Spanish that, as he says, "is to be seen in Washington on every hand".

Economic Cooperation, United States and Mexico

[Released to the press July 12]

The Secretary of State and the Honorable Ezequiel Padilla, Mexican Foreign Minister, issued on July 12 the following joint statement:

We have enjoyed the opportunity afforded by Lie. Padilla's visit to Washington to exchange impressions and views with one another about a wide variety of matters of importance to our two countries.

In our keen desire to continue the development of ever closer relations between Mexico and the United States we have agreed that certain steps, outlined below, are to the mutual benefit of the two countries; and that every effort, consistent with our joint abilities as limited by wartime exigencies and consistent with the proportionate needs of other countries, shall be made to implement these steps.

1. *Transportation*

We have discussed the general transportation system of Mexico as it affects the wartime economy of our two countries and as it shall affect our economies in the postwar period. We have reached agreement that our Governments shall make every effort within their ability further to improve the transportation facilities of Mexico by rail, by highway, by air, and by sea.

The Mexican railway transportation system, which had little margin to handle more than peacetime needs, has increased enormously the volume of its traffic. It has succeeded in moving without delay to the United States Mexico's vast output of strategic raw materials. This achievement has been the result of cooperative arrangements between the two countries whereby the United States furnished Mexico with technical advice and certain emergency equipment and supplies.

To maintain the level of current operations during the war period such additional technical assistance as may be necessary will be furnished to Mexico and also as soon as possible additional necessary equipment and supplies. Moreover, to the limit of our wartime ability, every effort shall be made by the United States to continue to provide transportation facilities for the movement of essential goods to Mexico, while Mexico will make every effort, on her part, to reduce the strain on United States transportation facilities.

With respect to sea transportation, the two Governments are agreed that regular shipping services between the two countries, interrupted by the war, shall be resumed so as to provide for the relief of overburdened rail and highway transportation facilities.

2. *Economic Development*

The Mexican-American Commission for Economic Cooperation which was formed as a result of the meetings of Presidents Avila Camacho and Roosevelt in May 1943, has considered in some detail the various methods of economic cooperation in the field of industrialization.¹ We have discussed the findings and recommendations of the Commission made as a minimum program this year and find that our two Governments are substantially in accord in principle with respect to them. Every effort will be made to secure as promptly as possible the materials necessary to implement these recommendations. The Commission has presently under consideration a long-range program covering Mexico's needs for 1945 and subsequent years. This program will receive prompt attention by various agencies of the United States Government. In carrying forward this cooperative effort in the field of economic development the two Governments will discourage trade barriers which may unduly interfere with the economic development of Mexico and trade between the two countries.

3. *General*

We have taken advantage of the occasion to discuss a number of matters of general interest to our two Governments. We find ourselves in complete accord on all questions discussed. We agree that the inter-American cooperative system has proved of the utmost importance to the safety and security of this hemisphere and that it should be developed and expanded now and in the future for the continuing requirements of the present world crisis as well as for the needs of the postwar era. The exemplary cooperation which we have maintained during the war, we are determined to maintain during the peace.

¹ BULLETIN of July 17, 1943, p. 38.

Suppression of Revolt in Colombia

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press July 12]

I am glad to be able to inform you that I have just received a report from the American Embassy at Bogotá, Colombia, which was sent from there this morning, that the revolt of a certain part of the military forces which were on maneuvers near Pasto has been completely suppressed. The leader of the revolt and the troops which supported him have been captured. President López has been released and is understood to be in Ipiales. It is anticipated he will fly today from Ipiales to Bogotá.

The maintenance of the legally established authority of the Government of Colombia is gratifying to me. It demonstrates that there rules in that country that political stability and that basic democratic spirit which have placed Colombia conspicuously among those nations which freely carry out the will of their peoples.

The Government and people of Colombia are staunch allies of the United Nations in this great struggle for freedom. It is a satisfaction to express again the deep appreciation which we hold here for the invaluable collaboration, spiritual and material, which the Colombian Nation has extended for hemisphere security and in the cause of the United Nations, both before and after Colombia entered this war.

Participation by the United States in Work of UNRRA

On July 6, 1944 the President issued Executive Order 9453 to facilitate the participation of the United States in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Subject to provisions of Public Law 267 and the UNRRA Appropriation Act, 1945, the Adminis-

¹ Made at his press and radio news conference July 12, 1944.

² BULLETIN of May 6, 1944, p. 411.

trator of the Foreign Economic Administration is authorized and directed to exercise and perform all the functions and authority with respect to the expenditure of funds, and the provision of supplies and services related thereto. The United States representative on the Council of UNRRA, as named by the President, is authorized, subject to the provisions of the agreement for UNRRA, concluded November 9, 1943, to "designate or arrange for the designation of United States alternates on the Council and of United States members

(Continued on p. 80)

Petroleum Questions

NEGOTIATIONS TO BE RESUMED BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

[Released to the press July 12]

The Department of State on July 12 made the following announcement, which is being issued simultaneously in Washington and London:

"Negotiations between the United States Government and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom on the subject of oil will be resumed shortly.

"The British delegation will be led by Lord Beaverbrook and will consist of the Minister of State, Mr. Richard Law, the Chairman of the Oil Control Board, Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd, and the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Mr. Ralph Assheton.

"Sir William Brown will be the chief technical adviser to the ministerial delegation."

The Committee appointed by the President to conduct the conversations for this Government is composed of Secretary Hull, Chairman; Secretary Ickes, Vice Chairman; Secretary Forrester; Under Secretary Patterson; Leo T. Crowley, Foreign Economic Administrator; Ralph K. Davies, Deputy Petroleum Administrator for War; Charles E. Wilson, Executive Vice Chairman of the War Production Board; and Charles Rayner, Petroleum Adviser, Department of State.

It will be recalled that discussions preliminary to these forthcoming conversations were recently held in Washington between expert groups representing the two Governments.²

Special War Problems Division

By GRAHAM H. STUART¹

INTERNEES SECTION

Background

The United States has always been a strong advocate of fair treatment of prisoners of war. One of its treaties, signed with Prussia in 1785—before the Constitution was written—covered the treatment of war prisoners. The famous order of the War Department prepared by Dr. Lieber for the use of the Federal Army during the Civil War became a classic in international law in the field of regulations governing the conduct of war, including the treatment of prisoners. The conventions signed in Geneva in 1864 and in Brussels in 1874 looked toward a more humane conduct of war. The Hague conventions of 1899 and 1907, respecting the laws and customs of war on land, provided a humanitarian code for the treatment of war prisoners. Although these conventions were not regarded as legally binding in the first World War, many nations, including the United States, followed their provisions as representing existing international law practice.

The representatives of 47 states, realizing the need of something more concrete, met in Geneva in 1929 to prepare regulations that would govern the treatment of war prisoners. They based their codification upon a tentative draft that the International Red Cross submitted. The Geneva Prisoners of War Convention, which resulted from this meeting, has been ratified or adhered to by 40 nations that include all of the belligerent states in the second World War except Russia and Japan. The latter has, however, agreed with the United States to follow the provisions of the convention.²

Since the Prisoners of War Convention of 1929 was limited specifically to prisoners of war and to certain civilians such as newspapermen who follow the armed forces, the International Red Cross Committee negotiated at the outbreak of the second World War an informal agreement among the belligerents signatory of the Geneva convention to apply the principles of the Geneva convention to civilian enemy aliens. Where the specific provisions of the convention do not readily apply, the basis of treatment is generally con-

ceded to be the fundamental obligations of humanity.

The United States expressed its views regarding civilian enemy aliens immediately after the outbreak of the second World War. This Government, believing that some surveillance might be necessary, expressed the hope that such extreme measures as internment en masse for the war's duration would not be regarded as necessary. In a telegram sent to the American embassies in London, Paris, and Berlin on September 29, 1939 Secretary of State Hull expressed the earnest hope that the belligerent governments should give thought to avoiding undue harshness to alien enemy civilians. In expressing his strong support of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention of 1929 he declared that "just as the nations have abandoned the idea that prisoners of war are hostages for the good behavior of the enemy, so the same idea in respect to civilians might be held".

From the beginning of the second World War the Representation Section of the Special Division was concerned with certain duties pertaining to the treatment of war prisoners of countries whose interests it had undertaken to protect. Before the United States became a belligerent the Section had raised also the question of civilian internees. In a reply to a memorandum dated October 14, 1941 from a member of the War-Justice Board, covering discussions by the Departments of War and Justice regarding enemy aliens who might be interned in the United States, Mr. Joseph Green, Chief of the Special Division, surveyed the current practices of belligerents and suggested that since international law principles and practice were involved, the State Department had a definite interest in the matter.

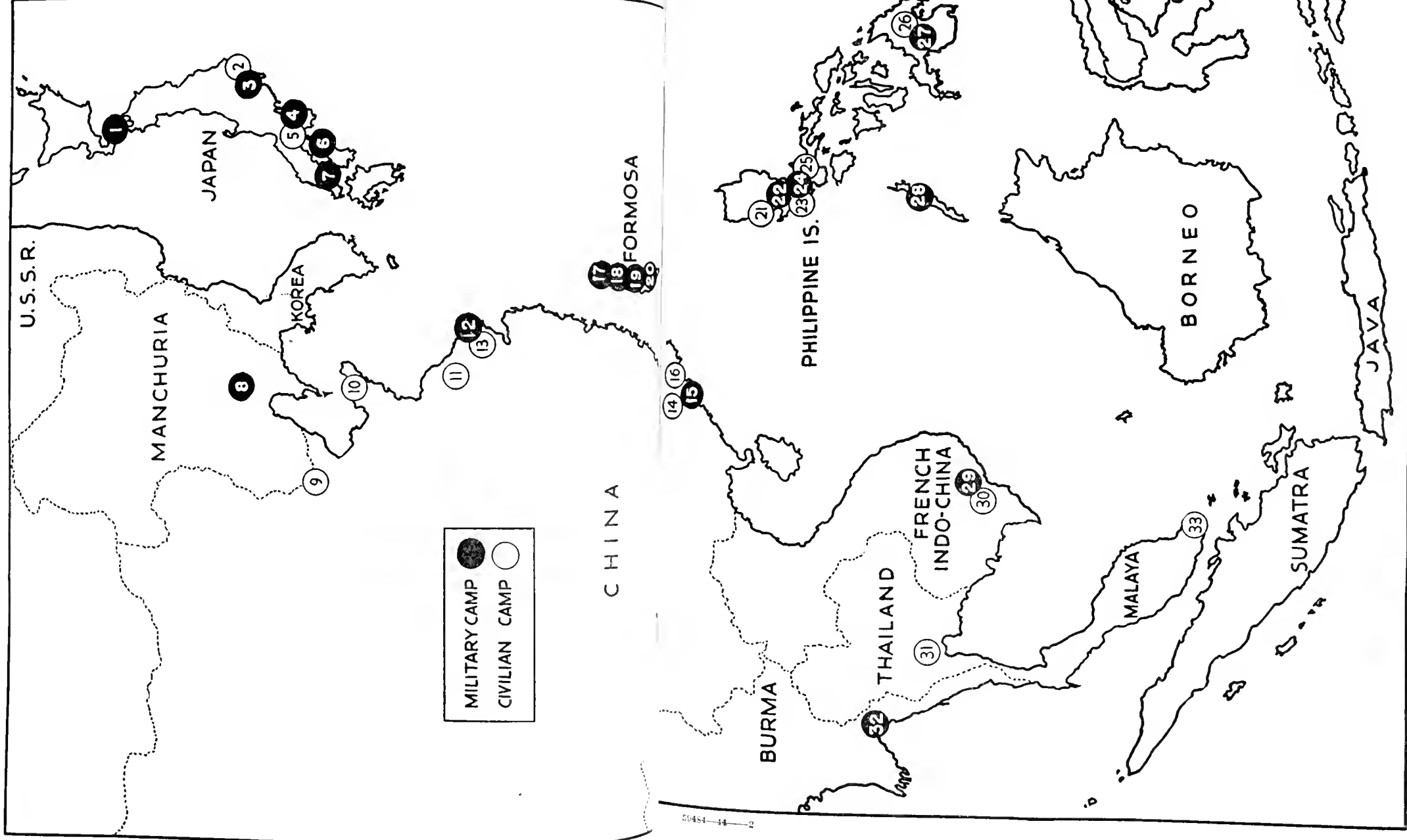
Three days after the United States became a belligerent the International Red Cross Committee, at Geneva, placed at the disposal of this Gov-

¹ This is the second in a series of articles on the Special War Problems Division by Dr. Stuart. For the first article on the historical background and the Welfare Section see the BULLETIN of July 2, 1944, p. 6.

² BULLETIN of May 23, 1942, p. 445.

Prisoner of War and Civilian Internee Camps in the Far East

Approximate Locations of Camps Containing American Nationals



INDEX

(The key numbers on this map bear no relationship to camp numbers. The camps marked * are civilian internment camps. Those unmarked are prisoner of war camps.)

JAPAN

- Key No. Location
 1 Hakodate
 *2 Tokyo
 3 Tokyo
 4 Osaka
 *5 Kobe
 6 Zentsuji
 7 Fukuoka

All these are groups containing from 2 to 9 camps.

MANCHURIA

- 8 Hoten (Mukden)

CHINA

- *9 Peking
 *10 Weibsiien
 *11 Kangchow
 12 Kiangwan (Shanghai)
 *13 Shanghai (7 camps)
 *14 Canton
 15 Hong Kong (3 camps)
 *16 Nanking (Hong Kong)

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FORMOSA

- 17 Tainan (Nos. 1, 5 and 6)
 18 Tainan (No. 2)
 19 Keelung (No. 4)
 20 Hsiao (No. 3)

PHILIPPINE IS.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
 (Several camps have still to be located.)

- *21 Holmes (Baguio)
 22 Cabanatuan (No. 1)
 *23 Sto. Tomas (Manila)
 24 Manila (Nos. 3, 4 and 11)
 *25 Los Banos
 *26 Davao (No. 2)
 27 Davao
 28 Puerto Princesa

FRENCH INDO-CHINA

- 29 Saigon
 *30 My Tho

THAILAND

- *31 Bangkok

BURMA

- 32 Moulmein

MALAYA

- *33 Singapore

JAVASUMATRA

Camp locations unknown

ernment all the services of that agency, particularly those regarding war prisoners and civilian internees. The committee urged the United States to follow the same procedure regarding war prisoners and internees as that which had been established between the belligerent states through the Central Agency of the Prisoners of War set up in September, 1939 in conformity with the provisions of the Geneva convention of 1929. In its reply of December 16, 1941 the United States accepted in principle the offer of the International Red Cross Committee and pointed out that it had already asked the Swiss Government to convey to the opposing belligerents the intention of the United States to apply to prisoners of war, and so far as they might be adaptable to civilian internees, the provisions and terms of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention and of the Geneva Red Cross Convention with the hope that the opposing governments would act similarly.

In a subsequent telegram of January 8, 1942 the United States Government accepted definitively the details of the Red Cross proposal relative to the exchange of lists of invalid and wounded prisoners of war under the 1929 convention and, by extension, a similar exchange of lists of civilian internees. It expected, of course, reciprocal action on the part of the opposing belligerents. At that time neither Germany nor Japan had agreed to this Government's proposals for the exchange.

Only four days after our entry into the war, on December 12, 1941, at a meeting held in the office of Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long, arrangements were made for the repatriation of Americans, for the relief of Americans in enemy territory, and for provision of funds for representation of American interests. A Committee on Exchange of Diplomatic and Consular Officials of Enemy Powers for American Diplomatic and Consular Officials Held by those Powers was established and the chairmanship of this committee was placed in the Special Division, which was directed to inform the opposing belligerents of the intentions of this Government regarding international conventions applicable to warfare.

A memorandum prepared on January 6, 1942 in the Special Division stated that the policy of the United States was to supply as liberal a regime as possible for civilian enemy aliens detained or interned in this country and to treat them as favorably as prisoners of war. The memorandum stated further that in continental United States

1,484, or 2.6 percent, of approximately 55,000 Japanese aliens had been detained; 1,256, or .04 percent, of approximately 300,000 German aliens; and 231, or .002 percent, of approximately 400,000 Italians had been detained. These figures did not include the 1,800 German and Italian seamen interned prior to the declaration of war.

Provision was made for special civilian boards to review the cases of detained enemy aliens. The detainees were placed in the custody of the Immigration and Naturalization Service at detention stations.

Establishment of the Internees Section

Early in January 1942, an Internees Section was set up in the Special Division to deal particularly with the Department's responsibilities concerning prisoners of war and alien internees. Since it was realized that the questions relating to internees and prisoners of war would become increasingly numerous, the Section had been in a formative period for some time. A Foreign Service officer, Mr. Edmund A. Gullion, was assigned to this special work. Later the Section was definitely organized and its staff was placed in charge of Mr. Bernard Guffler, a Foreign Service officer who had been serving at our Embassy in Berlin and who had had charge of the inspection in Germany of prisoners-of-war camps where British prisoners were held. In less than a month after its establishment, the Section had to triple its personnel in order to handle the ever-increasing volume and complexity of work.

The general work of the Internees Section, as indicated in a memorandum of March 3, 1942, concerned, first of all, the supervision of all matters related to the State Department's responsibilities regarding enemy prisoners of war and civilian internees in American hands and American prisoners of war and internees in enemy hands. The principles governing the procedures were laid down in the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention of 1929. The United States, as already pointed out, had declared to enemy governments its intention to apply the provisions of the Geneva convention to civilian internees in so far as they were adaptable.

Since the War and Navy Departments were primary participants in matters pertaining to prisoners, the Section had to maintain very close liaison with these departments, particularly in the case of the Office of the Provost Marshal General

in which there had been set up, under the Geneva convention, a Prisoners of War Information Bureau and a Civilian Internees Information Bureau. These Bureaus performed similar functions. Very close liaison was maintained also with the American and International Red Cross and with the Spanish Embassy and the Swiss and Swedish Legations, which acted as protecting powers for enemy interests in the United States. Finally, the Section had many and various duties in connection with the prisoners-of-war camps and civilian-internment camps in the United States. The work of this Section is so complicated that one may perhaps best survey it by dividing its activities into several major categories.

Duties Regarding Prisoners of War in the United States

The Internees Section's bible in regard to the treatment of prisoners of war is the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention of 1929. According to the provisions of article 2 of this convention, prisoners of war must at all times be humanely treated and protected. Reprisal measures against them must be prohibited. By the terms of article 4 the power detaining prisoners of war must provide for their maintenance. All the rest of the convention specifies in detail the exact procedure required to fulfil properly the foregoing principles.

For protection prisoners of war must, first of all, be brought back far enough from the zone of combat so that they will be out of danger. Since the United States is far from the field of operations and has no lack of space, it makes an excellent area for the establishment of prisoners-of-war camps. More than a hundred such camps have already been established.

According to article 77 of the Geneva convention, belligerents are bound mutually to notify each other, within the shortest period possible, of their capture of prisoners. Some governments use the Red Cross for this service; others, their war offices. According to the Regulations Governing Prisoners of War issued by the War Department, the Prisoners of War Information Bureau has charge of transmitting periodically to the protecting powers and to the central agency of the International Red Cross Committee information to facilitate the identification of each prisoner. However, all negotiations with the enemy governments through the protecting powers concerning prisoners are carried on by the Internees Section of the Special

Division. This function involves considerable discussion with other governmental agencies concerned with the control or rights of prisoners.

The Geneva convention is very exact in its provisions regarding prisoners-of-war camps: the quarters must be healthful, food and clothing adequate, discipline regulated, and the kinds and amount of labor specified. A fundamental requirement is that labor furnished by prisoners of war shall have no direct relation with war operations. To see that these provisions are properly carried out the convention authorizes representatives of the protecting power to visit the internment camps and to interview prisoners without witnesses. As a courtesy, and without limiting in any way their freedom of action, a representative of the Internees Section accompanies the protecting power's representatives on all such visits and makes a report to the Department. Copies of these reports are usually transmitted to other interested agencies of the Government. In a similar fashion, Foreign Service officers, under directions from the Internees Section, are carrying on a similar function in areas abroad where agencies of the United States hold prisoners of war in foreign territory.

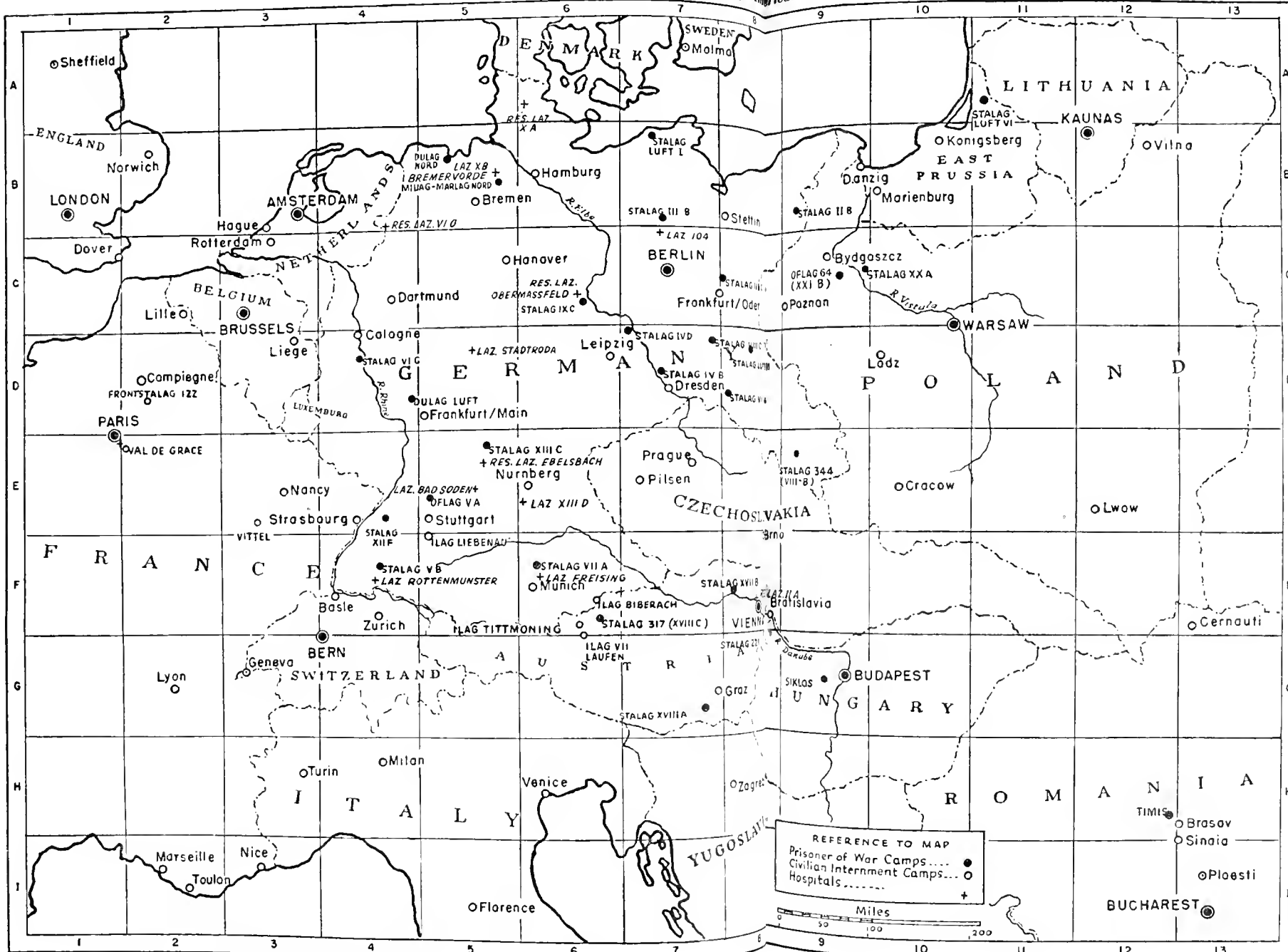
A routine report by the representative of the Internees Section usually lists the names of the officers in charge, and tabulates the persons interned as to numbers and rank. It also describes the camp's location and housing facilities; the quantity, quality, and preparation of the food; the adequacy of clothing, medical, and recreational facilities; the provisions for communications by the prisoners both to their friends and relatives and to the protecting power; and the arrangements for labor by the prisoners. Any complaints by the prisoners are noted and the Department's representative is expected to report completely upon the general conditions of the camp, how these conditions meet the provisions of the Geneva convention, and upon the reactions, if expressed to him, of the representative of the protecting power.

A composite report on the prisoners-of-war camps in the United States where German prisoners are confined would give a favorable picture of earnest effort to enforce the terms of the Geneva convention.

Almost all the ten to twelve officers of the Internees Section make periodic visits to most of the camps. The assignment requires an experienced official since the Department's representative must

PRISONER OF WAR AND CIVILIAN INTERNEE CAMPS IN EUROPE

Location of camps containing Americans



INDEX

PRISONER OF WAR CAMPS

Camp Designation	Map Square
DULAG LUFT	D4
DULAG NORD	B5
MILAG-MARLAG NORD	B5
OFLAG V A	E5
OFLAG 64 (NXIB)	C9
SIKLOS	G9
STALAG II B	B9
" III B	B7
" III C	C8
" IV B	D7
" IV D	D7
" V B	F4
" VI C	D4
" VII A	F6
" VIII A	D8
" VIII C	D7
" IX C	C6
" XII F	E4
" XIII C	E5
" XVII B (252)	F8
" XVIII A	G7
" XX A	C9
" 221	G8
" 317 (XVIII C)	F6
" 344 (VIII B)	E9
STALAG LUFT I	B7
" III	D8
" VI	A11
TIMIS	H12

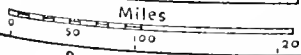
CIVILIAN INTERNEE CAMPS

ILAG BIBERACH	F6
FRONTSTALAG 122 (COMPIEGNE)	D2
ILAG VII (LAUFEN)	G6
" LIEBENAU	F5
" TITTMONING	F6
MILAG MARLAG NORD	B5
VITTEL	E3

HOSPITALS (LAZARETS)

LAZ. NIII D	E6
" 104	C7
" BAD SODEN	E5
" N. B. (BREMERVORDE)	B5
" FREISING	F6
" ROTTENMUNSTER	F4
" STADTRODA	D5
RES. LAZ. II A	F8
" VI C	B4
" ERELSBACH	E5
" OBERMASSFLD	C6
" N A	A6
VAL DE GRACE	E2

REFERENCE TO MAP
 Prisoner of War Camps ●
 Civilian Internment Camps... ○
 Hospitals..... +



be capable of making to the camp commanders whatever recommendations may be required regarding the application and interpretation of the controlling international agreements. The reports which they make upon their return must be of such a character that they can be used, when necessary, as a basis for recommendations to the proper Departments of the Government for action in fulfillment of the obligations of the international agreements which are applicable. It is difficult to state exactly how much time of the Section is devoted to the task of visiting camps but in the six-month period from July through December 1943 the average number of man-days a month required might be estimated as fifty-nine. That number represents full-time work for two officers but does not include the extensive drafting and other routine work incidental to inspections which they must complete upon their return to the Department.

Duties Regarding American Prisoners Abroad

The Internees Section reviews reports that it receives from the International Red Cross Committee and from the Swiss Government covering visits that their representatives make to the prisoners-of-war camps where Americans are held in enemy and enemy-occupied countries.¹ It prepares comments on these reports for transmission to Swiss representatives for their guidance in making representations as needed on behalf of American prisoners confined in the camps subject to their inspection. In this connection the Section must maintain liaison with the proper departments of the American Government to insure that privileges requested for American prisoners abroad are reciprocally granted to enemy prisoners in American hands.

In the United States, Germans, Italians, and Japanese are segregated; in Germany, the British and Americans are often placed in the same camp. The conditions of Americans held in prison camps in Europe are not on the whole so good as those of German or Italian prisoners in the United States, for in the European camps quarters are sometimes overcrowded and the food is of poor quality.

A representative example of a German prisoners-of-war camp is Stalag IIIB at Fuerstenberg, where there are approximately 5,000 American prisoners of war. When the prisoners were first placed in this camp in the spring of 1943, they were in poor physical condition. A number had scarletina and their clothing was ragged, inadequate, and vermin-infested. With the aid of the Red Cross and the Y.M.C.A., the German authorities provided new clothing and promised additional food supplies. During a visit by a neutral representative in September conditions were found to be more satisfactory, and the camp commander was quite cooperative.

The State Department has faced a very difficult situation with regard to American prisoners in the hands of the Japanese. The Internees Section has devoted much time and attention to this problem. Although Japan is not a party to the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention,² the Department obtained from the Japanese Government a commitment to apply *mutatis mutandis* the provisions of that convention to American prisoners of war and, so far as adaptable, to American civilian internees held by Japan. In spite of Japanese promises, information from many sources indicated constant and flagrant violation of the convention on the part of the Japanese Government. During the years 1942 and 1943 the United States Government requested scores of times that the Japanese Government report names of American prisoners and that it permit the Swiss representatives to visit the camps. On August 7, 1942 the United States protested emphatically against sentences imposed, contrary to article 50 of the Geneva convention, upon Americans who attempted to escape from the Shanghai prisoners-of-war camps. It protested also against the refusal of the Japanese to permit the Swiss representatives to visit these men. On December 12 the Internees Section prepared an extended protest covering torture, neglect, physical violence, solitary confinement, illegal prison sentences, mistreatment, and abuse that led to the deaths of seven Americans. On January 4, 1943 the United States protested the insufficient diet and generally unsatisfactory conditions at Shinagawa prisoners-of-war camp. During February and March, thirteen further protests were registered for various violations of the convention, such as lack of heat, improper medical attention, refusal of the Japanese to permit foodstuffs sent

¹ In September 1943 there were in Europe 27 prisoners-of-war camps, 16 internees camps, and 21 hospitals where Americans were known to be detained.

² Japan has signed but never ratified the convention.

from the outside to be distributed to prisoners, and other failures of the Japanese Government to carry out their obligations. In April the United States Government learned of the execution of the captured American airmen who flew over Tokyo and protested vigorously both the sentences and the failure to grant proper judicial proceedings. Nineteen more protests, some of them covering many kinds of violations, were filed during the rest of the year.¹

On January 27, 1944 the United States sent two long telegrams to our Legation in Bern to be communicated to the Japanese Government through the Swiss Government that represents our interests in Japan. These communications summarized the entire unsatisfactory situation, reciting the many violations on the part of Japan, her callous failure to provide the minimum requirements for the barest existence, and her inhuman and revolting treatment of those unfortunates in her power. A list of eighteen flagrant violations of specific provisions of the Geneva convention was presented. This was followed by detailed charges giving specific facts in regard to the violations. Some of these reported brutalities were so inhuman that only a barbarous people of sadistic tendencies could have been guilty of them.²

Although the first accusation on the part of the United States was dated December 23, 1942, no reply had been made on the part of Japan other than that the Japanese would investigate and in due course of time communicate the results. The United States, therefore, weary of waiting, not only summarized the entire situation in explicit fashion but on February 11, 1944 also made public the text of the accusations.³ At the same time the United States stated most emphatically that the Japanese Government could assure itself by examining the reports of the Spanish, Swedish, and International Red Cross representatives that the United States had consistently and fully applied the provisions of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention in the treatment of all Japanese nationals that it held as prisoners of war or civilian internees.

It is manifestly impossible to give the exact number of American prisoners held by the Japanese, but the Internees Section has made the following estimates from sources available and from estimates based on first-hand information. A total of approximately 19,919 American prisoners are thought to be in the hands of the Japanese; in Japan proper 2,999 prisoners are held in 16 camps,

varying in size from the one at Osaka with 570 inmates to the one at Hokodate with 12; 887 are held in China at Kiangwan in Shanghai and 2,436 in other Japanese-controlled territory, including Formosa, Java, Thailand, and Malaya. In the Philippines it is estimated that there are 13,590 American prisoners.

Civilian Internees

The United States has made every effort to carry over the provisions of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention to the treatment of civilian internees. The European members of the Axis group have agreed to these provisions, and with few exceptions they have carried out their obligations. Japan, however, has violated these in her internment camps for civilians as she has in the prisoners-of-war camps.

Approximately 5,600 American civilians are interned under Japanese control. Of these over 4,000 are in the Philippines. The largest internment camp is Santo Tomas, which is perhaps the model camp from the standpoint of humanitarian treatment, and those few inmates who have been returned from that camp have vouched for the fairly humane conduct on the part of the Japanese officials.

Among the specific complaints directed at the civilian-internment camps in Japan were the refusal on the part of commanders to permit internees to address the protecting power; the lack of proper food, footwear, and adequate clothing; insufficient medical care; restrictions on religious services; and seizure of personal possessions. Although these violations did not include cruel and inhuman treatment to the same extent as in the case of prisoners of war, they were contrary to the methods of conduct that the United States very carefully accepted and observed.

In 1942 the Japanese registered a few complaints regarding the treatment of Japanese nationals in internment camps in the United States. This Government carefully considered and made appropriate replies to all complaints. In concluding its reply to the protecting power the United States stated that it had instructed its officers concerned with the handling of Japanese nationals to exercise the most scrupulous care that their control be governed by the humanitarian principles

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 24, 1943, p. 337.

² BULLETIN of Feb. 5, 1944, p. 145.

³ BULLETIN of Feb. 12, 1944, p. 168.

of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention and the generally accepted rules of international law.

There are seven internment camps in the United States for civilian alien enemies: three in Texas, two in New Mexico, one each in Idaho and North Dakota. A few hundred civilian alien enemies are held at Ellis Island and in detention stations in various cities. The camp at Santa Fe, New Mexico, has, at the present writing, 1,428 inmates, all Japanese; the one at Crystal City, Texas, has 2,070 inmates of which 1,266 are German. Of the total of 8,183 enemy aliens held in custody by the United States about 4,000 are German; 3,000, Japanese; and 1,000, Italian.

Japanese Relocation Centers

The situation of the Japanese in the United States has been complicated by the fact that it was felt necessary for the safety of the country to consider the entire western coast as a potential combat zone and to exclude all persons of Japanese or part-Japanese ancestry and individually objectionable European enemy aliens from this area.¹ Most of the Japanese in the United States—more than 100,000—were inhabitants of this zone and about 63 percent were American-born and, therefore, citizens. Nevertheless, the emergency was such that it was not thought practicable to permit even Japanese loyal to the United States to remain there. The Executive order of February 19, 1942 authorized the military commanders to prescribe military areas and exclude any or all persons from such areas.² General DeWitt declared the entire West Coast to be such a military area and that all Japanese, aliens and American-born, be excluded. On March 18, 1942 to aid in the removal of such large numbers the President established the Wartime Civil Control Administration to assist the War Department in this task. It was emphasized that this evacuation of Japanese from military areas was not to be confused with the enemy-alien program which required internment in camps under far more rigid restrictions.

Ten relocation centers were established on public lands: two in Arizona, two in Arkansas, two in California, and one each in Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming. Each area was required to support a minimum of 5,000 persons and to possess agricultural and power facilities. Until these centers were ready the Japanese were placed in assembly centers where food, shelter, and medical care were provided.

It is difficult to give figures for the population of these relocation centers, which remain inconstant, but on March 4, 1944 there were 90,504 evacuees resident in the 10 centers. In addition, 19,516 were on indefinite leave, 769 on short-term leave, and 2,557 on seasonal leave. The largest center was Tule Lake with 16,807 residents, and the next largest, Colorado River Center with 13,207. No center has less than 6,000 residents.

The relocation centers are under the control of a civil agency in the Department of Interior—the War Relocation Authority. They are not, however, governed by the strict regulations imposed upon the prisoners-of-war and enemy-alien internment camps. Nevertheless, the protecting power has been invited to visit and report upon them, and, as in other camps, a representative of the Internees Section of the Special War Problems Division accompanied the representatives of the protecting power.

Since the Japanese evacuees in relocation centers are not regarded as internees, the provisions of the Geneva convention have not been fully applied to them. Except for the relocation center at Tule Lake, the Japanese evacuees are permitted many more liberties than those granted to the internees.

Exchange of Sick and Wounded

According to the terms of article 68 of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention, belligerents are obligated to send back to their own country, regardless of rank or number, seriously sick and seriously injured prisoners of war, after their physical condition has improved to the extent that they can be transported. A model agreement which defines the degree of incapacity considered sufficient to qualify a prisoner of war for repatriation is attached as an annex to the Geneva convention. Furthermore, according to the provisions of the Geneva Red Cross Convention of July 27, 1929, surplus personnel charged exclusively with the care of the sick and wounded are to be repatriated as soon as a way is open for their return and military exigencies permit.

¹ Enemy aliens, as such, were not excluded. As a matter of fact not only can individually objectionable enemy aliens be excluded from coastal-defense regions but also American citizens can be excluded even when not of Japanese or part-Japanese ancestry.

² 7 *Federal Register* 1407.

In September 1943 the United States and Germany reached an agreement for the mutual repatriation of seriously sick and seriously wounded prisoners of war and surplus protected personnel—the latter according to the terms of the Geneva Red Cross Convention. Surplus protected personnel was defined in this agreement as including all such personnel in excess of two doctors, one dentist, one chaplain, and six enlisted sanitary personnel for each thousand prisoners of war.

The first exchange of seriously sick and seriously wounded prisoners and surplus protected personnel between the United States and Germany took place in October 1943, when the United States repatriated 234 seriously sick or seriously wounded prisoners and 1,732 surplus protected personnel. It received, in return, 14 sick or wounded American prisoners of war. In this exchange all the German prisoners who were returned were approved for repatriation by the American medical authorities. They included all who, up until that time, were found eligible for exchange. In the second exchange, which took place in March 1944, 117 Germans were repatriated, in contrast to 36 American prisoners. In this case the eligibility for repatriation from the United States was determined by mixed medical commissions composed of two neutral doctors and one doctor appointed by the detaining power.

Before the second exchange took place the State Department, through the Internees Section of the Special War Problems Division, approached the German Government for a third exchange to take place in Lisbon on April 12, 1944. At the same time the Department proposed that similar exchanges should occur without further negotiation at regular three-month intervals. The United States proposed that arrangements be made between the periodic exchanges for the examination of all possible repatriable prisoners, so that the largest number possible of repatriables might be returned upon each sailing of the exchange ship.

The German Government in its reply stated that all American prisoners of war qualified for repatriation, 36 in number, had already been sent back on the *Gripsholm*. Therefore, since no others would be available before the mixed medical commission completed its next tour of German war camps on May 9, 1944, it was felt that the proposed exchange should be deferred. The German Government, however, at approximately the

same time agreed to further exchanges of seriously sick or seriously wounded prisoners of war and proposed May 2, or a date thereafter, as the exchange date. Since Colonel d'Erlach, chairman of the mixed medical commission, operating in Germany, did not believe that the commission's work would be finished before the middle of May, a later date was thought to be more practicable.

The Governments of the United States and Great Britain jointly proposed to the German Government that an additional exchange of seriously sick and seriously wounded prisoners of war take place on May 17 with either Lisbon or Barcelona as the port of exchange. Barcelona was agreed upon, since the trip from Germany to Barcelona was much shorter than the trip to Lisbon. The German Government accepted both the date of May 17 and Barcelona as the exchange port. The vessel proposed was the M.S. *Gripsholm*. The itinerary was from New York via Algiers to Barcelona and return via Algiers and Belfast (to disembark the British contingent) to New York.

The number of Germans repatriated on this voyage of the *Gripsholm*, which left New York on May 2, 1944, was 517 sick and wounded and surplus protected personnel in British custody and 340 sick and wounded and protected personnel in United States custody, making a total of 857. The number of Allied sick and wounded brought back from Germany was over 1,000, of whom 65 were Americans.

The State Department was responsible for the repatriation movement from the time of delivery of the German prisoners of war on the *Gripsholm* in New York until the returning British and American prisoners were disembarked in Algiers, Belfast, or New York. This responsibility included accommodating, guarding, furnishing adequate medical care, and delivering the German prisoners to the Spanish authorities.

The United States has made similar proposals for the exchange of seriously ill and wounded prisoners and surplus protected personnel to the Rumanian and Bulgarian Governments, which are parties to the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention and the Geneva Red Cross Convention. The Japanese Government, which is a party to the Geneva Red Cross Convention, agreed in principle to the United States Government's proposal for the repatriation of protected personnel. It sent back a small number of American military nurses at the time of the first civilian exchange but none there-

after. The Japanese Government, after due consideration, stated that it could not make a favorable response to the United States proposals for the reciprocal application of the model agreement and the repatriation of seriously sick and seriously wounded prisoners of war under the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention.

Liaison Work

The Internees Section carries on a considerable amount of liaison work with the other agencies of the Government concerned with prisoners-of-war and civilian internment. It must participate with these agencies in committee meetings and in conferences to solve the various problems which arise.

The relationship with the American Red Cross and the International Red Cross Committee is constant and close. For example, this Section receives all proposals that the International Red Cross Committee makes for special agreements designed to broaden the scope of the humanitarian treaties or to clarify their interpretation. After consultation with the appropriate agencies of this Government, it replies to the proposals.

Since the Department of Justice has charge of the administration of the civilian-internment camps, considerable liaison work between the Section and that agency must be carried on. Prior to July 1943 the military authorities controlled civilian-internment camps. The change to the Department of Justice has worked out to the satisfaction of both Army and Justice, and the latter agency is administering the camps efficiently and in accordance with humanitarian standards of international law.

The relations of the Internees Section with the War Department and General Staff are also very close. Although the War Department controls the prisoner-of-war camps and is responsible for their proper administration, all complaints on the part of the protecting power must be made through the State Department. The Internees Section takes up these complaints with the War Department and relays its responses to the protecting power. The use of prisoners-of-war labor has been a serious problem. The War Department's regulations are very carefully drawn to carry out both the letter and spirit of the Geneva convention. The State Department must point out any viola-

tions when the protecting power brings them to its attention. Evidence of such derelictions is reported by the Section's representatives visiting the camps with the Swiss representative.

Although the problems handled are war-related, it is not likely that the Internees Section will cease to function for some considerable time after the end of hostilities. Many problems, some of them of a highly technical nature, will continue to vex the authorities, and a trained and experienced organization such as the Internees Section of the Special War Problems Division will continue to be an invaluable asset to the Department.

Regulations To Safeguard Interests of United States And Its Merchant Marine

[Released to the press July 12]

In order that the interests of the United States and its merchant marine may be safeguarded by every possible means the Secretary of State has decided that after 6 o'clock in the forenoon of August 15, 1944 no seaman who is a citizen or national of the United States may ship on a vessel in this country bound for a foreign port unless he bears a valid American passport or evidence, usually referred to as a "receipt", that he has applied for a passport within the preceding six months and that after 6 o'clock in the forenoon of November 15, 1944 no such seaman may ship on a vessel in this country bound for a foreign port unless he bears a valid passport. This procedure will place in full effect on November 15, 1944 the provision of the Passport Control Regulations issued by the Secretary of State on November 25, 1941 under which seamen are required to bear valid passports in order to depart from the United States. Consequently all seamen who have not heretofore applied for passports should do so as soon as possible.¹

The foregoing is in harmony with the views of the appropriate military authorities and the War Shipping Administration.

¹ BULLETIN of Nov. 15, 1941, p. 381, and Nov. 29, 1941, p. 431.

Presentation of Letters of Credence

AMBASSADOR OF ECUADOR

[Released to the press July 12]

A translation of the remarks of the newly appointed Ambassador of Ecuador, Señor Galo Plaza, upon the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence, July 12, 1944, follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: It is a singular privilege for me to be the bearer of the cordial salutation which the people of Ecuador send to your people as homage to their heroism on the battle-fronts and to their wisdom and steadfastness on the home-front and as producers of the armament and food which so decidedly contribute to the triumph of culture and liberty, in which undertaking we are all passionately engaged.

It is no mere formula of protocol nor a commonplace statement when I say to you that I bring for your people a greeting from the Ecuadoran people. We have eliminated in my country the contradiction which previously rendered this affirmation false or fictitious. We Ecuadorans possess today an integral democracy because the people are in power, the people in enjoyment of their rights and liberties which formed a Government whose democratic vigor is a fine example of politics in its constructive sense. We have liberty at home, we have democracy, and we can speak of it and form with it our international friendships. That people, free and master of its destiny, formed a Government which sent me to you, sir, to place in your hands this message of friendship of which I have spoken to you, being convinced that it is not an exclusive governmental truth but a profound popular truth.

My Government greets your Nation in the person of its illustrious leader, you, Mr. Franklin Delano Roosevelt; yet not only am I the bearer of a greeting of emotion from the Ecuadoran people but my mission is also arranged for these other purposes: to draw together more closely the relations of our Governments and above all to bring about the friendship and understanding of our peoples one for the other to the end that there may exist between our two Nations something of permanent and everlasting value.

I bring then a mission which, if diplomatic terms permit, is double: the friendly voice of my Government and the enthusiastic voice of my people.

Through the voice of the Chancellor of Ecuador, the Government, over which His Excellency Dr. Velasco Ibarra presides, affirmed that it will exert itself to bind together intimately North American interests with ours and that its desire will be satisfied if sympathy towards the United States is consolidated among the people of Ecuador.

This is the greatest guarantee of my mission—that we amplify the limits of our relations, not circumscribing them to official bounds but expanding them to the limitless and eternal domains of the soul of the peoples.

You know well the Ecuadoran contribution toward the war effort and continental defense. As much as was in our hands we have given with alacrity, generosity, and disinterestedness; we have fulfilled our duty in defense of liberty, inspired by the securities proclaimed in the four freedoms whose principles ought to be consecrated as truths of the contemporaneous spirit, perhaps as an addition to those luminous truths which were consecrated in the Bible, where is found the doctrine of two thousand years of our civilization.

In the same spirit we shall continue lending that cooperation in the form which translates itself into mutual material benefits, because that labor of defense today foresees and anticipates the triumph of peace. As we have given for war we wish to give for peace, and to that end we must equip the economy of our people, raise its standard of living, produce more, in short, in order to be able to purchase and sell more. We have been working in Ecuador day and night since the inauguration of the new government to invigorate our economy, to open roads, to establish public hygiene, and to be able to extract from our soil the natural resources at our disposal which will permit our whole population and even ten times as many to live in abundant happiness. We have resources and possibilities for giving bread, dignity, and a future to many more millions of inhabitants.

Victory is near, sir, but as you have said, in order to attain it this generation must make sacrifices greater than those which it has realized up to now. It is almost miraculous what the United States, a people of work and peace, has done, in equipping the legions of democracy with arms which no one would have believed possible to obtain in such a short period of time. Your people

has rendered itself deserving of the thanks of the human race, and for many centuries such an achievement will be remembered with astonishment. It is the example of a free people, master of its destiny, which knows what it desires, what it defends, and what it awaits. It is a people inspired by wise directors capable of guaranteeing their own aspirations and those of all mankind. I pray that the victory of peace may follow the victory of arms creating a world in which may be banished forever new threats of aggression and where there may be respect for peoples and men in their right to life and bread.

Please receive with the letter of retirement from my distinguished predecessor that which accredits me as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ecuador in the United States of America.

The President's reply to the remarks of Señor Galo Plaza follows:

MR. AMBASSADOR: It is a great pleasure for me to receive from you today the letter whereby His Excellency the President of the Republic of Ecuador accredits you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary near the Government of the United States.

I also accept the letter of recall of Captain Colón Eloy Alfaro, your predecessor, whose long and distinguished service will always be remembered with esteem and friendship. During the more than a decade he was here he made a contribution that will long be remembered, not only to the improvement of relations between your country and mine but also to the development of that close and intimate unity and solidarity of the hemisphere that all of us desire.

In welcoming you I am happy in the thought that you have returned with this significant trust placed upon you by your Government to this land where for a number of years you chose to receive your university education and with which you have retained so many ties of friendship.

You enter upon your new duties at a time when this Nation is engaged in the greatest struggle in history for the preservation of that freedom which inspired those great leaders Bolívar and Washington. The victory over our common enemies who would have imposed upon us all a brutal slavery is now a certainty. It is being achieved through unity of purpose, understanding, and sac-

rifice among those nations which seek enduring peace and justice.

I should like at this time again to express on behalf of this Government and people their sincere and deep appreciation for the invaluable contribution of Ecuador to the defense of the hemisphere and the prosecution of this war. The war will be followed by a peace in which we shall labor with all good-will to achieve our aspirations. I am confident that we and all other nations inspired by a deep spirit of friendship may look forward to a future which will provide a solid basis of economic life and that security which will guarantee a happier welfare for mankind.

As you enter upon your new responsibilities, Mr. Ambassador, I wish to assure you that I as well as all of the officials of this Government will consider it a privilege and a pleasure to facilitate the successful accomplishment of your tasks.

In extending you a most cordial welcome, I would ask you to be kind enough to convey to His Excellency President Velasco Ibarra my deep appreciation of the friendly greetings which you have extended to me on behalf of the Ecuadoran Nation and assure him of my most cordial expression of friendship and my best wishes for the prosperity and happiness of the Ecuadoran people.

AMBASSADOR OF NEW ZEALAND

[Released to the press July 12]

The remarks of the newly appointed Minister of New Zealand, Mr. C. A. Berendsen, upon the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence, July 12, 1944, follow:

MR. PRESIDENT: I have the honor to present to you letters from His Majesty the King accrediting me to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America for His Majesty's Dominion of New Zealand. I also present to you letters of recall in respect of my distinguished predecessor the Honorable Walter Nash, who is returning to New Zealand to resume his duties as Deputy Prime Minister.

In following Mr. Nash I know that I will have the advantage of the unstinted good-will that has been extended to him and to New Zealand by yourself, Mr. President, your officers, and the people of the United States.

The events of this war have brought the peoples of our two countries together, in times of

difficulty and danger as in times of joint achievement. In common with our partner nations of the British Commonwealth, New Zealanders have been proud to fight side by side with your forces in many theaters of war. Very many New Zealand homes have been privileged to welcome American servicemen, whom we have found to be close to our own New Zealand people in their sturdy independence of spirit and in their general approach to the problems of our day.

We in New Zealand, whose contribution to this great struggle for the rights of man has, we believe, been not unworthy of the traditions of our country, feel the warmest admiration for the gigantic war achievements of this great Republic.

When my predecessor came to this country the outlook in Russia, in North Africa, and in the Pacific was not encouraging, and I rejoice that in the two and a half years that have elapsed since that time the forces of the United States, of Great Britain and the British Commonwealth, of Russia, and of the other United Nations, have carried the war to a point where the shape of victory can be seen and the problems of peace are beginning to emerge.

My country looks forward to the closest collaboration with the United States, particularly in the Pacific area, not only in achieving final and complete victory but also in meeting and solving the problems of the post-war period. I feel confident that the mutual understanding and cooperation that has developed during the war will continue and increase and will enable us to contribute, in substantial measure, towards the establishment of that world order based on freedom and justice which it is the aim of both countries to create.

I esteem it a great privilege to have the opportunity of working in this country towards these objectives.

I have the honor to be, Mr. President, your obedient servant.

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

MR. MINISTER: I am very happy to welcome you to Washington and to receive from your hands the letters by which His Majesty the King has accredited you Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of New Zealand to the United States. I accept, likewise, the letters of recall of your predecessor, the Honorable Walter Nash, whose distinguished service here as New Zealand's first

Minister to the United States will be long and happily remembered.

We in the United States have a special feeling of friendship and admiration for New Zealand. Our peoples hold common ideals of liberty and justice. Our countries are close neighbors in the Pacific. We have faced the same ruthless enemy, and we share the terrible sacrifices of war. Our soldiers fight together on many fields of battle as valiant defenders of our common faith. Your country by its outstanding contribution to the war has earned a high place among the United Nations.

Thus have been forged eternal bonds of friendship between us.

Great suffering must still be endured, but our final victory over the forces of oppression can no longer be doubted—even by our enemies. We look forward, in the years ahead, to the fullest cooperation and collaboration with New Zealand in helping to build a world in which all nations and all peoples may live in peace.

We are honored by the visits to Washington of your great Prime Minister, my good friend Peter Fraser. His visits have afforded opportunity for fullest consultation and exchange of views on all matters of common concern to our Governments. We have come to know him and admire him and love him. We are happy to have Prime Minister and Mrs. Fraser with us at this moment.

You yourself are no stranger in Washington, Mr. Minister, and I now welcome you in your new high capacity. I hope your stay among us may be a pleasant one, and I wish to assure you that I and all the officials of the American Government stand ready at all times to help you in every way possible to carry out your duties as Minister.

AMBASSADOR OF PERU

[Released to the press July 12]

The remarks of the newly appointed Ambassador of Peru, Señor Don Pedro Beltrán, upon the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence, July 12, 1944, follow:

MR. PRESIDENT: I have the honor to present to Your Excellency the letters by which the Government of Peru has accredited me as its Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary before the Government of the United States of America, after the much regretted loss of my distinguished predecessor, Mr. Manuel de Freyre y Santander, which has been so deeply felt in my country and abroad

by all those who knew him and appreciated his high qualities.

I consider it a privilege to represent my country here. I feel the more so at present when we can well say that the end of this long struggle is in sight. Now the world will be able to set itself to the task of reconstruction. This is a large assignment, for the field is vast. Material damage done to the invaded countries has to be repaired, and their populations have to be saved from starvation. But that is not all. Sure foundations have to be laid for a freer world where not even the weakest nation will have anything to fear from the most powerful one and where the rights of the smallest will be respected as much as those of the strongest. To achieve this some sort of world organization will have to be built to prevent any aggressor from ever again being able to disturb the peace.

But even that is not enough. The world has to be put again on its feet to continue its forward march of progress. Means will have to be sought and found to make possible economic prosperity based on efficient production, freer trade, and better distribution. Only so will it be possible to raise the standard of living of the needy of the different nations, which must be the real goal. To obtain the greatest happiness of the largest number by assuring their welfare, by keeping them free from the fear of unemployment and want—that is the true task to which governments should set themselves above everything else.

Under the leadership of Your Excellency, the United States of America have been in the front in preaching these principles and in trying to see that they are put into practice by setting up the necessary world organizations without which success would be impossible. The days are gone when governments could believe that the welfare of their own people could be realized by independent and isolated action on their part.

The Government of Peru, as Your Excellency is aware, has been side by side with yours ever since the days of Pearl Harbor when it took the lead at the Rio de Janeiro Conference in joining this country in its stand against aggression. And ever since it has not only followed with the greatest interest the strong and enlightened leadership which the Government of Your Excellency has developed in preaching the good doctrine to which I have already referred but has heartily joined in

that work and is determined to further cooperate in every way it can.

The Peruvian Government will continue to pursue these principles with as much earnest as that shown by the Government of Your Excellency, and let us hope that with the help of God the world may at last look forward to an era of peace, of prosperity, and of well-being among all classes in every nation.

For the fulfillment of my mission I feel that I shall be able to count on the valuable cooperation of Your Excellency's Government. The traditional friendship between our two Nations and the present unity of purpose of their two Governments are a sure guarantee that we can be confident for the future of their relationships, which will continue to bring them closer together.

I am the bearer of special greetings for Your Excellency from the President of Peru, who has ever present the pleasant souvenirs of his visit to this country in 1942, which developed strong personal ties of friendship between the chiefs of state of the United States and of my country. In the name of the President of Peru and of the Peruvian people allow me to express my sincere wishes for the welfare of the United States and for the personal happiness of Your Excellency.

The President's reply to the remarks of Señor Beltrán follows:

MR. AMBASSADOR: I have much pleasure in receiving from Your Excellency the letters accrediting you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Peru and in according you recognition in that capacity. In doing so I am privileged to welcome you as a friend of the United States who has often visited our shores and who already has among the citizens of my country numerous friends and admirers.

Your distinguished predecessor was for many years my very good personal friend and his long career as representative of your country at Washington was characterized by an unusual and sympathetic understanding, which enabled him to contribute greatly to the good relations which happily exist between Peru and the United States.

I am pleased that Your Excellency has referred to the titanic struggle in which we and our allies are now engaged. I am more than grateful for this opportunity of expressing the gratitude which the people of my country hold for the people of

Peru and its leaders for the support, encouragement, and comfort which Your Excellency and your countrymen have given us during these recent difficult years. We have not forgotten, nor shall we forget, that Peru was one of the leaders among the other American republics in joining us in our stand against aggression. The most terrible phase of the unparalleled struggle in which we are engaged is still before us, and the United Nations must look forward to great suffering and enormous sacrifices before the inevitable victory is won. In this difficult time I am confident that the United States can count on the sympathetic assistance and support of Peru in the task of winning the war against Fascist aggression just as in the case of our common front at the beginning of the struggle.

A certain distinguished Peruvian, speaking last January of the great difference between Germany and the Anglo-Saxon nations, said that the latter have come to believe in freedom for themselves and other peoples whereas our enemy has not only remained where the world was in past ages but seemed bent on traveling even further back. He added, "We in South America could not be misled. Our own Government here in Peru never had any doubts from the very beginning. From the time of our war of independence, we have owed more to the Americans and to the British than to any other external influence for the preservation of our freedom." I don't think I need tell Your Excellency who spoke those words, nor need I explain the warm feelings which they evoked among us.

You will find among the members of this Government a sincere desire to render ever closer the relations of friendship and understanding that for more than a century have characterized intercourse between the Republic of Peru and the United States. The officials of this Government will at all times be ready and eager to lend you every assistance that may contribute to the successful accomplishment of your mission.

I am indeed thankful for the special greetings which you carry from His Excellency, the President of Peru. Please be so kind as to inform him of the deep pleasure with which I recall his visit here in 1942 and assure him of the appreciation with which I have received his good wishes, and likewise convey to him my sincere wishes for his personal welfare and for the prosperity and happiness of the people of Peru.

AMBASSADOR OF PORTUGAL

[Released to the press July 12]

The remarks of the newly appointed Ambassador of Portugal, Dr. João Antonio de Bianchi, upon the occasion of the presentation of his letters of credence, July 12, 1944, follow:

MR. PRESIDENT: I have the honor to place in Your Excellency's hands the letter by which the President of the Portuguese Republic, General Oscar Fragoso Carmona, has been pleased to accredit me in the capacity of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the President of the United States of America.

The raising to ambassadorial rank of the respective diplomatic missions is a significant and gratifying proof of the ever-closer relations existing between our two countries, so soundly based on those feelings of sincere and mutual friendship that have always prevailed. Coming as it has at a moment when the problems of the post-war world begin to loom boldly in the international horizon, it affords me the opportunity to convey to Your Excellency the warm desire of the Portuguese Government to collaborate in the solution of those issues of mutual interest wherever they may arise.

The Portuguese people, in the reverence for their traditions and in the consciousness of their duties as possessors of extensive colonial territories and far-flung maritime positions—and yet all closely woven into a staunch national unit—are duly conscious of the mission that is incumbent on them in the world of the future. It is our belief that, within the bounds of complete respect for national rights, collaboration between ours and peoples in similar conditions, with those great countries that have attained great technical, industrial, and financial developments, can not only be successfully accomplished but should lead to the most beneficial and fruitful results.

Bordering on the Atlantic Ocean and occupying many positions in its expanse, Portugal can but be aware that the friendships she has maintained across the sea and which have fortunately been so consistently reciprocated among others by the United States of America and our sister nation, Brazil, are a strong and promising link in Portuguese-American relations.

Having been singled out for the high honor of being the first Portuguese Ambassador to the United States, and on bringing to you, Mr. President, the renewed assurances of my desire to carry

out, to the best of my ability, duties so consistent with my own personal feelings, I have at least the advantage of knowing, after 11 years' experience, that I can rely in that spirit of friendliness and understanding which has always marked my relations with you, Mr. President, the members of your Cabinet, and the many officials of the Government of the United States of America and which, I confidently trust, will continue to be extended to me in the future.

The President's reply to the remarks of Dr. de Bianchi follows:

MR. AMBASSADOR: It is with great pleasure that I received from you, Mr. Bianchi, the letters by which His Excellency, the President of the Portuguese Republic, accredits you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Government of the United States. As Ambassador I am assured that the cordial and effective manner in which you have for several years represented your Government as Minister will continue, and I am happy to assure you that you can continue to count on the closest collaboration of the officials and agencies of this Government.

I have noted with interest your comments in regard to the desire of the Portuguese Government to collaborate in meeting the problems which confront the world for which solutions must be found through international collaboration and cooperation. I am sure that the cordial and friendly relations which have so long existed between Portugal and the United States will still serve our united efforts to build a better world.

May I request that you convey to His Excellency, General Carmona, my cordial good wishes for his personal well-being and for the progress and prosperity of Portugal.

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and alternates on committees and subcommittees of the Council." It is also ordered that "All activities of the United States Government pertaining to its participation and membership in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be carried on in conformity with the foreign policy of the United States as defined by the Secretary of State."

The full text of the Executive order appears in the *Federal Register* of July 11, 1944, page 7637.

TREATY INFORMATION

Military-Mission Agreement With Peru

[Released to the press July 10]

In conformity with the request of the Government of Peru there was signed on Monday, July 10, 1944, at 10:30 a.m., by the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, and the Honorable Señor Dr. Eduardo Garland, Minister Counselor, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Peru in Washington, an agreement providing for the detail of a military mission by the United States to serve in Peru.

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 Peru.

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.

Lend-Lease Aid

Supplementing the footnote to the item entitled "Extension of the Lend-Lease Act" on page 478 of the BULLETIN of May 20, 1944, in which Canada is included in the list of countries with which the United States has entered into agreements under the Lend-Lease Act, it should be noted that although Canada is eligible to receive lend-lease aid, the agreement entered into with Canada, containing clauses comparable to certain broad provisions embodied in many of the agreements forming a part of this Government's program under the Lend-Lease Act, does not provide for the furnishing of lend-lease aid. By the agreement, effected by an exchange of notes signed at Washington on November 30, 1942 (Executive Agreement Series 287), the United States and Canada accepted principles relating to post-war economic policy similar to such principles as embodied in article VII of various preliminary agreements relating to mutual aid concluded by the United States with a number of other countries under the Lend-Lease Act.

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HOW TO GET RID OF WARTIME CONTROLS
Address by Charles P. Taft

THE USES OF VICTORY: *Address by Charles Bunn*

LIBERIA'S RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES
By Henry S. Villard

AMERICAN ADVISERS IN PERSIA: *By George V. Allen*



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Recent Developments in Germany

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press July 21]

In reply to a correspondent's request for comment on recent developments in Germany, the Secretary of State said:

"The attack on Hitler and his explanatory speech clearly indicate that a realization of Germany's impending defeat is spreading in the Reich. He and two of his most important military advisers have now denounced as criminal traitors a 'clique of former generals who had to be chased from their posts for a leadership as cowardly as it was incompetent.' Hitler has furthermore been compelled to remove the Chief of the German General Staff and to appoint his chief executioner, Heinrich Himmler, as Commander of the Army in Ger-

many. These frantic attempts to restore the apparent unity of the German Command illustrate the divergence of views between the Army and the party which has developed as a result of the steadily deteriorating military position of Germany. But no amount of internal reshuffling or repression by Himmler can conceal from the German people the fact that many German generals believe that Germany has lost the war.

"We should not let these apparent developments give rise to over-optimism. The fighting ahead will be hard and we should intensify our efforts here at home and make all the sooner and more certain the defeat of our enemies."

Resignation of the Tojo Cabinet in Japan

Statement by JOSEPH C. GREW¹

[Released to the press July 20]

The resignation of the Tojo Cabinet in Japan seems to me to imply three things: First, it is the clearest possible admission of unprecedented defeats sustained by the Japanese armed forces; second, it follows the usual Japanese pattern of the acceptance of personal responsibility for failures; third, it implies the necessity of bolstering a weakening morale on the part of the Japanese people by giving them something in the nature of a new government, although we do not know whether Tojo will reappear in it or not.

In this connection I would express a word of caution. In all probability the change of govern-

ment in Japan will entail no fundamental change of policy in fighting the war to the bitter end, for the old do-or-die fanatical spirit is deeply engrained in the Japanese race. It is also important to bear in mind that Tojo is only one of a group and is not a personal dictator in the European sense. The dictatorship is exercised by a group which is still in power. It would be short-sighted and dangerous to the full prosecution of our own war effort to allow this change to lull us into any wishful thinking or false optimism.

¹ Mr. Grew, former American Ambassador to Japan, is Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State.

International Peace and Security Organization

[Released to the press July 17]

The Secretary of State made the following announcement on July 17:

"The four governments signatory to the Declaration of Moscow are agreed that informal conversations and exchanges of views on the general subject of an international security organization will soon begin in Washington, probably early in August.¹ It has been decided, following discussions with the other governments, that the first phase of the conversations will be between representatives of the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union and that conversations on the same subject between representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, and China will be carried on either at the same time or shortly thereafter. These conversations will be followed by discussions with the other United Nations."

[Released to the press July 19]

The informal conversations on the general nature of an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security will mainly be held at Dumbarton Oaks in Georgetown. The Department of State is gratified that through the courtesy of the trustees for Harvard University adequate facilities have been made available for these important conversations at Dumbarton Oaks during the period of the summer recess now taking place in the University.

Dumbarton Oaks was conveyed to Harvard University in 1940 by the Honorable and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss and now constitutes a research library and collection of Harvard University. It is regularly used during the academic year by resident Harvard research scholars and fellows engaged in advanced study of Byzantine and medieval humanity. Mr. Bliss is a Special Assistant to the Secretary of State and formerly was United States Ambassador to the Republic of Argentina. The Department wishes to express its appreciation to Harvard University and to Mr. and Mrs. Bliss, who associated themselves with Harvard's action, for permitting Dumbarton Oaks to be used in connection with the foreign relations of the

¹ States.

Exploratory Talks on Post-War Rubber Problems

[Released to the press July 18]

The Department of State has accepted an invitation to send officials to meet with officials of the Governments of the United Kingdom and the Netherlands to engage in exploratory talks as to the probable nature of post-war rubber problems, pertaining to both crude and synthetic rubber, with which these Governments may be confronted, and to draft a tentative program of studies to be made by officials of the three Governments as a basis for possible further discussions. Advantage will also be taken of the opportunity to discuss the desirability of establishing a committee to keep the crude and synthetic rubber situation under survey with a view to eventual consideration of post-war problems affecting rubber. The Department expects to send Mr. B. F. Haley, Chief of the Commodities Division, to London the latter part of July for this purpose.

These discussions are to be purely exploratory in character and the Department is prepared to engage in similar discussions with any other interested government as occasion may arise.

Mr. Haley will be accompanied by Mr. W. T. Phillips from his staff and by a group of advisers from the United States rubber industry and from other Government agencies interested in rubber or rubber substitutes. Mr. W. S. Lockwood from the American Embassy in London will participate in the talks as the Embassy's representative on rubber.

The advisers who will accompany Mr. Haley are:

- P. W. Litchfield, Chairman, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company
- John L. Collyer, President, the B. F. Goodrich Company
- Harry E. Smith, General Manager, Manhattan Rubber Manufacturing Division of Raybestos-Manhattan, Incorporated
- H. Clay Johnson, Vice President, Rubber Reserve Corporation
- J. W. Bicknell, Executive Vice President, Rubber Development Company
- R. A. Gordon, U. S. Coordinator, Combined Raw Materials Board

¹ BULLETIN of June 3, 1944, p. 510, and June 17, 1944, p. 552.

How To Get Rid of Wartime Controls

Address by CHARLES P. TAFT¹

[Released to the press July 17]

Our business, industrial, and commercial relations are in a thoroughly planned and tightly controlled economy, organized for total war. The State Department is concerned with the implications for our foreign relations of these controls in so far as they affect our foreign trade. That is my job.

Our industrial production is limited to what is needed for war and basic civilian requirements. To get the maximum of what we have to have, materials are closely controlled, especially those that are strategic and scarce. Many we lacked entirely, and we have built up new industries to provide synthetic substitutes. Rubber is only the most spectacular one of many such samples.

The War Production Board divides up that part of the cake of scarce materials which involves industrial products, while the War Food Administration does the same for the products of agriculture, each covering what comes from the United States and what the United States gets from the outside. But of many foods and raw materials we produce a surplus—a surplus at least sufficient to meet more pressing needs from abroad—and after the American and British supply authorities in the Combined Food Board, the Combined Raw Materials Board, and the Combined Production and Resources Board recommend how much should go to other areas or come from them the United States allocating authorities, the War Production Board and the War Food Administration, allocate export items from our production.

Arms, ammunition, and implements of war are divided up and assigned by another combined United States-United Kingdom group, the Munitions Assignment Boards in Washington and London. This includes all airplanes, military and civilian.

The civilian part of these materials goes abroad only on export license, which may be a broad au-

thority that releases all of a particular kind of thing easily available or it may be an individual license for each shipment of a scarce commodity. Licenses are adjusted not only to allocations but to availability of shipping.

They go abroad for various purposes—either a direct war supply, or for the basic civilian economy of a nation whose production is essential to the war, or for incentive goods to get out some product like wild rubber or palm kernels from relatively backward areas, or as a trading item in economic warfare to induce a neutral to stop some important shipment to the enemy. On the receiving end these exports are usually subject to an import license in the country of destination.

Strategic materials from abroad, when really scarce, are controlled in various ways: by the import orders of the War Production Board which operate like the import license just mentioned, or by an agreement with the government of the country from which they come, which gives us the entire exportable surplus. And, of course, imports are limited by shipping considerations, just like exports. These government-to-government arrangements will also include a price schedule to avoid run-away markets for the buyer or inflation for the seller in its domestic market.

Another necessary result of shipping considerations is that it proves obviously more economical and efficient for the United States and the United Kingdom to ship some products in a different direction from the normal peacetime pattern of trade. New Zealand meat goes to Great Britain; coal takes various directions completely different from pre-war; Britain and ourselves supply the requirements of the Middle East, which used to be supplied from Europe; rubber production around the world is assigned solely on the basis of military needs and best available plants for its processing; and fats and oils are carefully placed where they are most needed.

Price considerations in a scarce article stop the United States and the United Kingdom from bidding against each other, and one or the other is

¹ Delivered before the annual convention of the Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., New York, N. Y., July 17, 1944. Mr. Taft is Director of the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs, Department of State.

given the job. So there you are with assignments of markets, price fixing, government purchasing between monopoly buyers and monopoly sellers, and quotas. We have arrived at a point in many commercial dealings that involve tight shipping or short supply which is straight state trading of a socialized economy. We had to, in order to save our national lives.

One further element is the exchange problem. Great Britain has supplied herself and fought the war with all her resources but also with the resources of the Colonies, the Dominions, and India—in a word, of the British Empire. This has been possible only by paying in pounds sterling and upon the conditions that the pounds shall be used in England only. Some day the creditors will want the blocked sterling pounds. England has a certain amount of dollars which she has to hoard in order to pay for what she has to buy in the United States over and above lend-lease. So that when our exporters want to send goods to some one of the empire areas, they can be paid in dollars only if the British Treasury has any extra. And our exporters, most of them, don't want pounds in London, for they have little they want to buy there.

How do we get out of those controls and back to the kind of free world we all want? When the war ends we know that the cessation of shooting ends the horrible waste that goes into the maw of destruction. In the course of time ships will be free and most shortages will be replaced by surpluses. But the trade controls will not stop automatically—that takes intelligent and directed effort, an effort that is not only essential but whose failure may destroy all our hopes for peace and freedom. In fact, these controls are economic warfare, and, in the end, as with Germany, they help to bring real war.

There is a well-spoken and sometimes bitter dissatisfaction with so much concern and talk about oil and gold and shipping, with factual situations, with so much bickering about trade and commerce and hauling and transportation. An appealing cry arises for a peace of ideas, represented by words like liberty, freedom, and democracy, revolutionary words never usable to protect an evil *status*

2. I can understand that point of view. When we find that Karl Marx took God out of history, we say "No!" and say with Juárez that, while we are not directly affected by the way we earn

our living, great crises in history are decided in the end by ideas of liberty and justice.

But you can't separate ideas and words from the facts of life, especially from the economic status of nations. Nations must be governed through politicians, whose opportunity to govern at all must be dependent on the support of their people. Politicians are the salvage men of government. They come in after revolution and have to rebuild what is left. Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison were that kind of politicians—with ideals, but with a realization that it takes time to achieve them, and a very keen understanding of the place of trade, industry, and finance.

On the other end from the idealistic and insufficiently political poet are the pessimists who say, "Oh, yes, the liberal trade policies of Secretary Hull are all right in theory, but in fact we are in for a world of barter, export and import controls, exchange management, and quotas. The elimination of trade barriers is our goal," they say, "but in the meantime we must have vigorous government protection for our business men abroad in the transition period."

All this is not only a rather condescending pat on the head for my chief, but it is in fact the kind of defeatism that lets the world slide back into the morass from which we are trying to pull ourselves. In addition to that, it contemplates a trade battle of giants between the United States and Great Britain, each government dealing through its traders in a great warfare of trade and commerce.

That program the Department of State cannot accept. The same kind of talk greeted the beginnings of the program of reciprocal trade agreements ten years ago. In spite of the same kind of opposition, the program worked and made the first intelligent and, on the whole, non-political reduction in trade barriers in our history, with a corresponding increase in beneficial exchanges of goods.

Now we need a similar act of faith, and Great Britain is the country whose support we must have in getting away from this economic warfare in trade controls. The rest of the world can manage with one great state trading nation (Russia), but not with two. There are very strong elements in the United Kingdom who feel that England must go to a barter economy after the war to save its very life. Others equally influential support

the trade policies which are the official program of this Government, with strong bipartisan support. But those who support our position are up against real problems in the United Kingdom after hostilities stop. I have spoken of the threatened avalanche of claims for blocked sterling in payment of war debts. Equally serious is the necessity for Britain to export in order to pay for the things they must have to live. Their imports are their lifeblood, which the Germans have tried in two wars to choke off by a submarine blockade, as Napoleon tried nearly a hundred and fifty years ago to choke England by a different kind of blockade. And they can only get that lifeblood by exporting their manufactures and services to pay for it. They are perfectly willing to get that support from us, which we can supply to a considerable degree; but we have to take their manufactures and services to get our pay for it.

The British are exporting now so far as it does not interfere with the war effort, just as we are, in order to reduce their mounting war costs, but what they ship out is 'way below pre-war, much farther below than United States trade. *Our* exporters think the British are jumping the gun, and *their* exporters are equally certain we are making it impossible for them to get back their markets.

Neither view is accurate. Equally wrong is the battle-of-giants theory. The place of governments is to see that their nationals are not discriminated against, but we have no business to make trade competition an argument between governments. One difficulty is that the private enterprisers themselves often want just that—a government intervention that gets them the contract.

Our first objective is to eliminate our trade controls as fast as they are no longer necessary for the prosecution of the war. Immediately that runs us into efforts of foreign countries to prevent wartime or transitional inflation, and their feeling that they must keep or put on new controls for that purpose. And some of the proposals for relaxation of controls mean more United States exports, and run into the dollar-exchange problem of England, who would have to release dollars to pay for this new trade.

So our second objective is to devise a system for prompt and friendly discussion, with the British especially, through which we can work out this basic transitional problem effectively and promptly.

But one of the most important objectives must be for each country to study sympathetically the financial and commercial problem of the other in the light of its own long-time interests and to work out measures in each country which can form the basis for world trade among them and the basis for approaches to the other trading nations for similar measures.

There are two theories of our relation to Great Britain in connection with the war. One is that this war is Britain's war, not ours really. We do want Britain to win, however, and so we give them the extra push, the extra men, the extra equipment and supplies to supplement their effort. We expect them to spend themselves empty—empty of vigor, empty of resources, empty of their young men's lives—while we spend only the supplement we give them that they need. Any surplus comes back to us. That theory seems to me profoundly immoral. It leads to argument about the percentage of Americans on some particular European front compared to British. It leads to demands for the control and domination of British finance after the war because they have used their resources and owe us the balance. It means the end of any Anglo-American friendship and collaboration.

The other theory is that we are partners. That reflects our actual operations. We have pooled our resources and our men and we try to share the destruction and wastage of war, because we are engaged in a common effort to maintain the elements of our civilization, in which we cooperate even in matters of mutual irritability. Yes, there are evil things in our civilization, and certainly there are events in the history of both countries which do not live up to our best ideals. Some of our allies may have a different political tradition. But our two countries have in different ways built up the content of the democratic ideal for human existence, and our common opponents in this war have dragged it down and threatened our own existence. Individuals from each of our nations are short-sighted and irritating to the other nation, but our past and our future are inextricably linked.

We must win this war together, and we must work together in political and economic matters for a peaceful world of commerce and friendship and sound standards of living for ourselves and for all others whom we can help to rise.

American Advisers in Persia

By GEORGE V. ALLEN¹

The American public is not generally aware that at present nearly seventy-five highly qualified American citizens are employed in Persia² by the Persian Government or are lent to the Persian Government by the Government of the United States. These Americans are devoting their full energies to advising and aiding in the administration of that country. At the urgent request of the Persian Government, the present American advisory program in Persia began two years ago; and, in spite of many difficulties, it has been gathering momentum.

For the third time during the past generation the Persian Government, faced with a critical economic and political situation, has turned to the United States for advisers. The reason that the Persians have looked to America for help was clearly expressed in a note, containing the following paragraphs, which the then Persian Minister in Washington, the distinguished statesman Hossein Ala (now Minister of the Court to the Shah) sent to the Secretary of State on February 21, 1924:

"In the first place, my Government reiterate the sentiments expressed in a memorandum I had the honor of handing you shortly after my arrival in Washington on September 15, 1921, namely, that the Persian Government and people have always recognized the altruism and impartiality which distinguish the American Government and people. They particularly appreciate the concern of the United States for fair play, for the respect of the independence of the smaller nations and for the maintenance of the economic open door.

"It was because of their implicit faith in the lofty ideals and trusted friendship of America that my Government, over a year ago, confided the reorganization of their finances to American advisers

and have consistently courted the technical and financial cooperation of this country in the industrial and economic development of Persia."

In 1911 Americans were invited for the first time to serve as advisers to the Government of Persia. The difficulties which Persia faced at that time resulted from events which followed the revolution of 1906, when absolutism in Persia was overthrown and a popular demand for a constitution and an elected parliament was granted.

Close on the heels of the establishment of a constitutional monarchy came the famous Anglo-Russian treaty of 1907 which, in effect, partitioned Persia into British and Russian spheres of influence. Its first provision contained a declaration of mutual respect, on the part of Russia and of Great Britain, for the integrity and sovereignty of Persia. The British Government agreed not to support the efforts of any British subject to obtain concessions in the northern part of Persia; the Tsarist Government agreed, in similar manner, with regard to the obtaining by Russian subjects of concessions in the southern portion of the country.

During this time Persia was struggling to make her newly created democratic institutions function. Buffeted by strong internal and external pressures, the Persian officials turned to the United States for help. Reorganization of the government finances was the most important need. Mr. W. Morgan Shuster, a well-known American economist and financial expert, was employed for this purpose. Late in 1911 he left the United States for Persia, accompanied by his wife and four or five well qualified assistants. Mr. and Mrs. Shuster made the arduous voyage by the way of Odessa, across the Black Sea to Batum, across the Caucasus to Baku, down the Caspian by boat, and overland from the southern shores of the Caspian to Tehran.

The Persian Government and people accorded Mr. Shuster and his group of advisers an enthusiastic welcome, but the foreign diplomats in Tehran regarded them with skepticism and even with hostility. The experienced British Legation thought that Mr. Shuster's announced program of creating a strong and stable Persia was impossible. The

¹The author of this article is Chief of the Division of Middle Eastern Affairs, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, Department of State.

²Shortly after Shah Reza assumed power in 1925, he decreed that the country should be known as Iran. Following the return of the constitutional government in 1911, the Sign Office announced that the name Persia would be permitted. This terminology has been used throughout the present article to avoid confusion.

Tsarist Legation definitely opposed any measures designed to strengthen the Government.

Mr. Shuster's actions from the first were those of a man who considered himself an official of the Persian Government and responsible to no one else. This attitude greatly displeased the diplomatic corps. The legations of Great Britain and Russia were frequently more powerful than the Persian Government itself, not only in influence but also in actual physical force. Large numbers of legation guards were maintained, and additional foreign troops were within call. It was the custom that any distinguished foreigner who visited Persia should call first at the foreign legations. Mr. Shuster, by refusing to make the initial call, defied convention in order to demonstrate his attitude as an official of an independent Persian Government.

He soon found, on entering upon his duties, that the principal necessity that would bring any sort of order to Persian finances was the development of a strong rural police force, or gendarmerie, to maintain order in the provinces and to collect taxes and grain. Although many difficulties beset Mr. Shuster during the eight months he remained in Persia, the quarrel over the gendarmerie proved the ultimate cause for his being forced out of the country.

For the work of training the gendarmes Mr. Shuster decided to use an experienced British soldier, a Major Stokes, who had seen much service in India and in Persia and who could speak Persian well. Mr. Shuster insisted that the gendarmes must operate throughout Persia. The Russian Minister insisted that the employment by the Persian Government of a British subject who would have authority in the northern zone was contrary to the spirit of the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1907. Mr. Shuster referred to the provision in the treaty respecting Persian sovereignty and asked the British Government to support the Persian claim that a British or any other foreign officer could work for Persia anywhere in the country. Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Minister, had other fish to fry at the moment. His country's foreign policy, in preparation for defense against the rising power of Germany in Europe, called for a friendly Russia. To Mr. Shuster's great astonishment, Sir Edward not only declined to support the Persian interpretation of the treaty but also declared in the House of Commons that he likewise regarded the employment of a

British subject in northern Persia as contrary to the spirit of the 1907 treaty. With this green light, the Tsarist Minister in Tehran delivered an ultimatum to the Persian Government, demanding Mr. Shuster's expulsion within 48 hours. Tsarist troops promptly moved into northern Persia and a Cossack regiment shortly reached Tehran. Mr. Shuster and his party were forced to leave the country. Thus ended ingloriously the first American advisory program in Persia.

Following the first World War, during which Persian soil was a battleground between Russian and Turkish troops, the Persian Government again reached the stage of near collapse. About one third of the Persian people are said to have starved during the period from 1915 to 1921. Again the Persians called on America for advisers. Dr. Arthur C. Millspaugh, Economic Adviser to the Secretary of State, and a group of seven or eight assistants were employed. Dr. Millspaugh was designated Director General of Persian finances and was given wide powers of control. His group remained in Persia for five years, 1922-27. Although facing many vicissitudes and often seemingly insuperable difficulties, they served admirably to bring order out of chaos and strength to the Persian Government. If it had not been for the organization set up by the Millspaugh mission during these years, it is doubtful whether Persia could have constructed the expensive trans-Persian railway over which hundreds of thousands of tons of supplies have been sent to Russia during the present war.

When Dr. Millspaugh first went to Persia, the most important figure in the Government was the Minister of War, Reza Khan. Although Reza was imperious by nature and strongly nationalistic, he sent a prompt welcome to the Americans and gave full support to Dr. Millspaugh. With Reza's assistance, Dr. Millspaugh organized a gendarmerie which could be used to collect taxes and grain and to suppress fraud and corruption.

In 1923 Reza became Prime Minister; in 1925 he crowned himself as Shah-in-Shah. Following this event Reza's policy became more and more nationalistic. Along with many westernized reforms, he instituted a program of opposition to all foreigners. His official designation of the name of the country as Iran was merely one indication of this policy. Only a very limited number of Persian officials were permitted to have any social

relations with foreigners. Reza continued, however, to rely on the help of Dr. Millspaugh and his American group for two more years. An eventual difference of viewpoint between a strong-willed dictator and an American citizen was inevitable. The quarrel came over the allotment of funds for the Army: Reza wanted to devote a very high percentage of the revenue to the Army, while Dr. Millspaugh felt that the needs of health and education should be respected. In 1927, after five years of strenuous effort on behalf of Persia, the Americans, by mutual consent, withdrew.

The present advisory program in Persia dates from January 1943. The situation which caused the Persians once again to request American advisers resulted from the political and economic impact of the present war on Persia. During 1941 the Soviet and British Governments found it necessary, in the face of German threats to the Suez Canal, to send troops into Persia to expel German agents and to open a corridor between the two Allies. Reza Shah's increasingly tyrannical methods during the last years of his reign made him highly unpopular with his own people. When foreign troops were able to enter the country practically unopposed by the Persian Army, the Persians realized that Reza's Government had become a hollow shell. Amid the rejoicing of his subjects, Reza's power collapsed. He was expelled from the country, and his 22-year-old son, Mohammed Reza, was placed on the throne. After almost two decades of one-man rule, constitutionalism returned to Persia. The Persians had to start over again in their efforts to develop democratic institutions. The Persian Government, whose treasury cupboard was again bare, requested the Department of State to recommend Americans who might be employed as advisers.

FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC MISSION

Dr. Millspaugh was working at the Brookings Institution in Washington, but, at the age of 62, he accepted the Persian Government's request to return to Persia to resume the work interrupted in 1927.¹

Before undertaking the assignment Dr. Millspaugh insisted upon being given specific operational authority, not only in the financial but also in the economic sphere. He urged strict governmental regulation of grain collection, prices, transportation, and distribution; he demanded the en-

actment of a high, graduated income tax to combat inflation and other wartime evils. He pointed out that Persia, like all other belligerent countries, would have to take drastic economic measures to meet the situation. After strenuous debate the Majlis² agreed to his full program, including authorization for the employment of 60 Americans to supervise its implementation. Most of these officials, who include many highly experienced men, have been recruited and are now in Persia.

The Majlis conferred on Dr. Millspaugh plenary powers that give him authority over the more important governmental activities involving finance and economy. In his capacity as Administrator General of Finances, Dr. Millspaugh directs the financial operations of the Government, draws up budgets, supervises the operations of the Ministry of Finance, controls the inspection department, and governs the activities of the Americans and Persians who represent the Ministry of Finance in the provincial capitals. His principal assistants in this field are Mr. W. K. LeCount as Treasurer General, Mr. Harold Gresham as Director General of Customs, Mr. Rex A. Pixley as Director General of Internal Revenue, and Mr. William Brownrigg as Director General of Personnel.

In the economic field Dr. Millspaugh is responsible for varied and demanding governmental functions, one of the most important of which is performed by the Cereals and Bread Section of the Ministry of Finance, headed by Dr. Albert G. Black, who was until recently Governor of the Farm Credit Association in Washington. This Section has charge of the collection of the harvests and of furnishing the supply of bread for the urban centers.

Another function is carried on by a department, headed by Mr. George T. Hudson of Wenatchee, Washington, which controls the Government's public domains and the operation and disposition of the vast estates that the Shah Reza at the time of his abdication ceded to the Government. Control of the Government's factories and industrial establishments, many of which the Shah Reza on his departure similarly ceded to the Government, is under Mr. Rex Vivian as Director General of Industrial Supervision.

In the realm of the purchase, distribution, and control of goods, the duties of the Millspaugh mis-

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 5, 1942, p. 984.

² The Persian Parliament.

sion are no less wide and exacting. The principal Departments that have charge of this kind of work are the Section of Price Stabilization, headed by Mr. Bernard I. Lamb of New Jersey, the State Supply and Service Corporation, whose chief is Mr. C. Irving Hansen of Washington, D.C., and the Section of Distribution, in charge of Mr. Esmond S. Ferguson of New Jersey.

Because road transport is the key to a large part of Persia's supply problem this field has also come under Dr. Millspaugh's jurisdiction. The Road Transport Department, headed by Mr. Floyd F. Shields of Chicago, controls the movement of all kinds of goods over Persian highways. In this work Mr. Shields has had the assistance of some 50 British and American army officers and men lent to him by the military authorities. Another Department of the Millspaugh mission, the Transport Priorities Office, which is headed by Mr. Fred A. Schuckman of New Jersey, determines priorities for all goods moved by road, rail, or other means of transport.

Unfortunately, the Millspaugh mission has recently been under attack in the Persian press and Majlis. Accusations have been made that the American advisers have not accomplished the results expected and that Dr. Millspaugh's powers are too extensive for any individual to execute. Dr. Millspaugh has pointed out that he has had insufficient opportunity to bring the full program into force. An agreement, however, was reached late in June 1944 under which the mission will continue to function for a further period of three months, in order that measures already instituted may have an opportunity to take effect.

GENDARMERIE

In addition to the large Millspaugh mission, several other groups of Americans are assisting the Persian Government in various fields of activity. Col. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, former director of rural police for the State of New Jersey, popularly known in America for his outstanding work in the Lindbergh kidnaping case and recognized in the profession as a leading American authority on rural police, has been in Persia for the past two years as director of the Persian gendarmerie. Lt. Col. P. T. Boone of the United States Army and several other Americans assist Colonel Schwarzkopf. They are attempting to create an elite corps of rural police that will be able to enforce the police powers of the central govern-

ment throughout the rural and tribal areas of Persia.

MILITARY

The young Shah is particularly interested in strengthening the Army and is supporting it strongly. The United States Army has lent Maj. Gen. C. S. Ridley to the Persian Government to reorganize the supply services of the Persian Army. Eighteen United States Army officers are attached to his staff. Under wartime conditions their job is a slow and difficult one. Shortages of military supplies and the demands of the war fronts add to the difficulties of equipping and reorganizing an army whose principal task is not to fight the Axis (although Persia has declared war on Germany and on Japan) but to get ready to take over in Persia when American, British, and Russian troops leave the country.

POLICE

Two years ago the responsibility for reorganizing the city police of Tehran and the other principal municipalities was entrusted to Mr. L. S. Timmerman, an experienced police official who established a high reputation for police administration in New York and in other American cities and who was recommended to Persia by the American Institute of Public Administration. Mr. Timmerman's death in Tehran on May 20, 1944 seriously impaired the American advisory program in Persia.

PUBLIC HEALTH

Dr. Bennett Avery, an American public-health specialist, former professor at the American University at Beirut and more recently Dean of the Medical School at Boston University, has recently arrived in Tehran to serve as adviser to the Persian Ministry of Public Health. His task, directed generally toward raising the health standards of the country, is a particularly heavy one that involves control of epidemic and endemic diseases and the establishment of clinics—of special interest is the establishment of motorized units in rural areas. In this work he has had the strong support of the Shah and of the Persian Government, which has long recognized the extreme importance of public-health work and which in recent years has made considerable progress in this field. One of Dr. Avery's most immediate tasks is the control of typhus which, while endemic in the country, has broken out in the last two years

in serious epidemic form. It is encouraging that the incidence of this disease has greatly decreased in recent months. In the general field of public-health work another American adviser, Mr. Harvey V. Stokely, formerly a Parke-Davis representative in China, is head of the Iranian Pharmaceutical Institute, which supervises the import, warehousing, and distribution of pharmaceutical supplies. His efforts and the support of the Middle East Supply Center have assured Persia of its pharmaceutical needs.

Professor Luther Winsor, of Utah, a prominent authority on soil erosion and irrigation, is an adviser to the Persian Government on irrigation matters. The importance of his work can hardly be exaggerated in view of the fact that nearly all agriculture in Persia depends on irrigation. Professor Winsor, whose work has taken him all over Persia, is devising new methods of irrigation and is also endeavoring to revive the age-old irrigation systems which once supported a much more populous country and which have over a period of centuries fallen into decay. He is interested in increasing the flow of the unique *ganat* systems of the country, which furnish water for cities as well as for irrigation. A *ganat* is an underground stream fed in the foothills by deep mother wells, the channel of which is constructed so that it comes to the surface where the water is required.

PETROLEUM

The Persian Government recently requested the American authorities to recommend experts who could advise Persia on petroleum matters. Two distinguished American petroleum engineers, Mr. Herbert Hoover, Jr., and Mr. A. A. Curtice, have been employed by the Persian Government for this purpose and have departed for Persia to undertake this work. They will give immediate attention to the question of applications pending for petroleum concessions in Persia and will subsequently make recommendations regarding basic petroleum legislation and administration.

EDUCATION

The Persian Ministry of Education is endeavoring to obtain a group of four or five leading American educators to make a survey of Persia's educational institutions and methods and to make recommendations for their improvement. Dr. Paul Monroe, of Columbia University, was requested to head the mission, but he will not be able to under-

take the task. He and the Persian Government have been fortunate, however, in eliciting the interest and cooperation of Dr. Edward C. Elliott, president of Purdue University, who has consented to head the mission whenever it may be possible to undertake the project. Dr. Harold B. Allen, of the Near East Foundation, was expected to be a member of the educational mission, but the need for prompt action in his field, agricultural experimentation, was so pressing that he went to Persia in the fall of 1943 to survey the agricultural education and experimentation needs. That survey has now been completed.

The various American advisory missions in Persia are an important implementation of the American Government's policy of assistance to that country. At the Tehran Conference President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill, and Marshal Stalin signed, on December 1, 1943, a declaration assuring Persia of the intention of the three powers to aid in strengthening Persia's economy and to overcome to the extent feasible the internal disruptions caused by the impact of the war.¹

American advisers in Persia are serving both a wartime and a peacetime purpose. They are aiding in the orderly and stable administration of an area which has been and still remains vital to the Allied war effort, since Persia is the pivotal sector of the route over which passes a large part of the American supplies to Soviet Russia. Considerable numbers of American, Russian, and British troops are stationed in Persia to facilitate the passage of these supplies. Only in Persia do the troops of the three principal Allied nations associate daily with each other. The stability of the country and the development of its food and other resources has a direct bearing on the functioning of Allied troops and on the efficiency of their operations. Our advisers to the Persian Government are contributing notably both to the orderliness and to the productivity of this military supply area.

Our advisers, furthermore, are aiding the Persians to place on a solid foundation for peacetime purposes their administrative machinery, their army and gendarmerie and their health and agricultural services, in preparation for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Persia after the war and the assumption by the Persian Govern-

(Continued on next page)

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 11, 1943, p. 409.

Petroleum Questions

UNITED STATES AND UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATIONS

[Released to the press July 21]

Conversations on petroleum between the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom will be initiated in the Department of State on Tuesday, July 25, 1944 with a joint session of a Cabinet Committee under the chairmanship of Secretary Hull representing the Government of the United States and a Ministerial Committee headed by Lord Beaverbrook representing the Government of the United Kingdom.¹

UNITED STATES DELEGATION:

- The Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, *Chairman*
- The Honorable Harold L. Ickes, Petroleum Administrator for War, *Vice Chairman*
- The Honorable James V. Forrestal, Secretary of the Navy
- The Honorable Robert P. Patterson, Under Secretary of War
- The Honorable Leo Crowley, Foreign Economic Administrator
- Mr. Charles E. Wilson, Vice Chairman, War Production Board
- Mr. Ralph K. Davies, Deputy Petroleum Administrator for War
- Mr. Charles Rayner, Petroleum Adviser, Department of State

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- Mr. Harry C. Hawkins, Director, Office of Economic Affairs, Department of State, *Adviser to the United States Delegation*
 - Mr. James C. Sappington, Assistant Chief, Petroleum Division, Department of State, *Executive Secretary of the United States Delegation*
 - Mr. John A. Loftus, Petroleum Division, Department of State, *Recording Secretary of the United States Delegation*

UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION:

- The Right Honorable Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Privy Seal, *Head of Delegation*
- The Right Honorable Richard Law, Minister of State
- The Right Honorable Geoffrey Lloyd, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Fuel and Power.
- Mr. Ralph A. Ashton, Financial Secretary to the Treasury

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- Sir William Brown, *Chief Technical Adviser to the United Kingdom Delegation*
 - Mr. Victor Butler, *Secretary of the United Kingdom Delegation*

The British Delegation arrived in Washington on July 21.

It will be recalled that petroleum discussions, preliminary to the conversations which will begin July 25, were held in Washington from April 18 to May 3 between groups of experts representing the two Governments.²

MEETING OF PETROLEUM INDUSTRY REPRESENTATIVES AND STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS

[Released to the press July 19]

Representatives of the petroleum industry interested in the production of butadiene, a basic material for making synthetic rubber, have been invited to meet with State Department officials in connection with the forthcoming exploratory rubber talks with the British and Dutch. The meeting scheduled July 19 was designed to acquaint members of the petroleum industry with the Department's plans with regard to the rubber talks so that they may be kept informed of current rubber developments.

The industry representatives who were invited to attend the meeting are:

- Mr. M. J. Rathbone, Standard Oil Company of New Jersey
- Mr. H. A. Traver, Phillips Oil Company
- Col. J. F. Drake, Gulf Oil Corporation
- Mr. E. W. Isom, Sinclair Refining Company
- Mr. W. S. S. Rodgers, the Texas Corporation
- Mr. W. R. Boyd, Jr., Petroleum Industry War Council
- Mr. W. D. Crampton, Director, Foreign Division, Petroleum Administration for War

PERSIA—Continued from p. 92

ment of full responsibility for internal security and public welfare.

The situation in Persia today is in one striking respect better than it has been for many years: close collaboration is maintained among the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, and Russia in Tehran. British and Russian policies are similar to the American one in that all three desire to see a strong Persia, capable of maintaining peace and order in the country after the war.

¹ BULLETIN of July 16, 1944, p. 62.

² BULLETIN of Apr. 22, 1944, p. 372.

Award of Distinguished Citizen Medal to the Secretary of State

[Released to the press July 18]

The text of a letter dated July 18, 1944 to the Secretary of State from the Commander in Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States follows:

"DEAR MR. HULL:

"In recognition of your outstanding service as Secretary of State, and your long and illustrious career in the Congress of the United States and the Tennessee Legislature, as well as your service with the Fourth Regiment Tennessee Volunteer Infantry during the Spanish-American War, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States has awarded you the highest decoration within its power to confer, the V. F. W. Citizenship Medal.

"Your devotion to duty, your deep sense of responsibility of the trust imposed in you, your practical wisdom, and your human sympathy and kindness have been an inspiration to all Americans.

"As Commander-in-Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, it is my honor and privilege to herewith present to you this Citizenship Medal, and let me convey to you the earnest wishes of the membership of our organization for your continued good health and success.

"Sincerely yours,

CARL J. SCHOENINGER"

The remarks of the Secretary of State, upon being presented the United States Distinguished Citizen Medal of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, follow:

"I deeply appreciate the honor of having been selected by the Veterans of Foreign Wars to receive their Distinguished Citizen Medal. This honor I doubly cherish as it comes from an organization of former soldiers who have gallantly served their country. Although the ties which bind your members were formed by sharing the experience of war, you have long been interested

in methods for protecting our country and keeping it at peace.

"The American people do not glorify war. We do not embrace it as a way of life. But if our freedom is threatened, we will fight hard and gloriously and with all our resources for its preservation. In this hour of war it is highly fitting that we look ahead to the days of peace and to ways and means of insuring against the outbreak of another world catastrophe.

"Your action in bestowing this medal is in effect an expression of confidence in the Department of State, which bears a large share of responsibility for advancing plans to maintain peace and security. I am grateful to you and your associates for the confidence which your action bespeaks."



Visit of Chilean Educator

Señor Oscar A. Gacitúa, specialist in industrial education, who is also vice president of the Rotary Club at Concepción, Chile, and who was Mayor of that city when Vice President Wallace visited it on his South American trip last year, has arrived in Washington to begin a tour of observation of industrial and trade schools. Señor Gacitúa, a guest of the Department of State, is Assistant Director of the Industrial School at Concepción, a post which he had held since 1938. He is interested especially in seeing some of our most modern technical high schools and advanced trade schools, including those operated as private enterprises by factories.

Industrial education in Chile, according to Señor Gacitúa, is constantly growing in importance and usefulness. About 10,000 students are enrolled in the industrial schools and schools for artisans. The Government offers a trade-school course after the completion of the sixth grade. This may be followed by courses in technical training and then by studies that lead to the degree of industrial engineer.

The Uses of Victory

Address by CHARLES BUNN¹

[Released to the press July 21]

The main prize of an Allied victory will be a limited and temporary power, shared with the other members of the United Nations, to establish the kind of world we want to live in.

The power will be limited by what exists, by what can be agreed on, and by what has already been done during the war. Human institutions are conservative, only within limits can they be moved by conscious choice; for the most part statesmen have to function, like the judge described by Mr. Justice Holmes, within the interstices of what is possible.

The power of major change is also temporary, and if not used wisely it may not recur. Mr. Churchill has described in moving words what happened to the influence of the Big Four during the progress of the peace conference of 1919 at Paris. Apparently omnipotent when they sat down, before they rose they had been weakened by the demobilization of the armies, by the scrapping of the common war controls, by their own disagreements with each other, and by withdrawal of political support at home. It is essential this time that the leaders of the United Nations, when the great chance comes, be able to act promptly, in agreement, and with wisdom.

Preparation is much better this time than it was in 1918. President Wilson's Fourteen Points were not an Allied program. They had not even been much discussed in the United States before they were announced. This time discussion has been very active, important United Nations meetings have occurred, things looking to the peace have been done during the war, and a large body of agreement on the basis of the future already exists within the partnership of the United Nations.

The main things that the United Nations want are clear, and are agreed on. They want national independence, a reliably secure peace, and a widely shared prosperity and liberty. The main debate from here on in is how to make these things come true.

Part of that debate is over. The four-power declaration of Moscow, October 30, 1943, the al-

most unanimous resolution of the United States Senate six days later, and the Fulbright resolution in the House of Representatives a month before have recorded an agreement on some of the main points. Paragraph 4 of the four-power declaration, and the corresponding paragraph of the Senate resolution, read as follows:

"4. 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, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

Clearly this represents decision on four major propositions:

First. Peace and security are no longer to be sought by each nation acting for itself. There is to be a "general international organization" for that purpose.

Second. The organization is not to be regional in character, but "general". This of course does not exclude European or American or other regional sub-groupings within the larger framework.

Third. The organization is not to be limited to the big powers. It is to be "open to membership by all such (that is, all peace-loving) states, large and small". The hope obviously is that all will ultimately wish to join.

And *Fourth.* The organization is not to be a supergovernment. It is to be "based on the principle of the sovereign equality (that is to say, the independence) of all peace-loving states". President Roosevelt made this even more clear in his statement of June 15 last. "We are not thinking", he then said, "of a superstate with its own police forces and other paraphernalia of coercive power. We are seeking effective agreement and arrangements through which the nations would maintain, according to their capacities, adequate forces to meet the needs of preventing war and

¹ Delivered before the Foreign Policy Association, Atlanta, Ga., July 21, 1944. Mr. Bunn is Consultant in the Division of Commercial Policy, Office of Economic Affairs, Department of State.

of making impossible deliberate preparation for war and to have such forces available for joint action when necessary."

The proposition is, in short, to maintain peace and security in a world of many independent nations by the common action of those nations working together in a partnership. The remaining questions are the proper structure of the partnership, the jobs which it will have to undertake, and the action which is needed by individual countries, including our own, to give the agreed program the best hope of success.

Structure I shall not discuss. It is, I think, more useful at this stage to talk about the jobs which the partnership of many nations will have to undertake. When the jobs are clearly seen, the organization most appropriate to work at them will follow in due course.

The stated purpose of the partnership is to maintain security and peace. How is peace maintained in every city? By the police of course, but back of the police by the acceptance of the rules by the very great majority of citizens. If that did not reliably exist we could not live together.

Why do we accept the rules? Because we think that they are generally fair, because we have a hand in making them, because we trust the judges to give justice, and because the things we do together through our governments—the streets and schools and fire protection and the rest—are of great practical importance to us all.

Over independent nations there is no police in the sense we know it in our cities. There is no armed force, that is, responsible to the community alone, and obviously greater in its power than anything that can be brought against it. There is in fact *no international* armed force at all; the armed forces that exist obey their independent national governments. This being so, the other forces and the other institutions that bring peoples together in cooperative effort are even more important between independent nations than they are within each nation.

To bring this down to earth, it is quite clear that if a partnership of independent nations is to work it will have to have effective institutions of justice under law, of fair and equal settlement of all kinds of disputes, of peaceful change, and of practical cooperation on all kinds of useful projects. Unless we work together with success in practical affairs of everyday importance, and keep on doing so for

a long time, there is very little chance that we will trust each other well enough to stand together and to work together in a crisis. The common use of independent forces to prevent a new aggression 25 years hence depends on men's wills then; and the presence of the necessary unity of will, so far as one can see ahead, depends mostly on how well we work together in the meantime.

Working together among the United Nations upon practical affairs has got off to a remarkably good start during this war, much better than it did in 1917–1918. The United Nations commanders and their staffs in many theaters, the common planning by the chiefs of staff, the common work on communications and supply, the great programs of lend-lease and mutual aid in all directions, the partnership in ocean transport, all have taught us and are teaching us to work together. And we are starting the same thing on peacetime projects. The United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture at Hot Springs, Virginia, more than a year ago; the organization of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration last November; and the first session of its Council at Atlantic City in the same month; the more recent general meeting of the International Labor Organization in Philadelphia; and the United Nations Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods just coming to a close—these are important milestones of practical cooperation. Anyone who will examine the proceedings and results of those four meetings will discover a wide measure of agreement, among the experts of the United Nations as a whole, upon the general principles for dealing with an imposing list of important practical affairs, and will find also the beginning, and in some cases much more than the beginning, of actual and substantial work together on a common program. Nothing at all like this existed during the last war. Its presence now, with the obvious support of many governments and peoples, is the best hope we have that we shall be able to do a better job this time than we did last.

The Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods is a first-rate practical example of the United Nations partnership at work.

The Conference is called to deal with the relations between different moneys. There are of course many kinds of money in the world; there have been for a long time and there no doubt will be as far as we can see ahead. Therefore, every

transaction across national frontiers, every deal of any kind between two business men in different countries, means that one of them or the other must contract in a kind of money that is foreign to his ordinary operations. If the foreign money has a value that is stable with his own, this is not a serious matter. He must merely make the necessary computations. But if the foreign money is not stable with his own, if he has no way of knowing whether the relationship when settlement falls due will be the same as at the date of contract, then it is impossible to figure with assurance; and if he tries to figure, and contracts on the basis of the best guess he can make, he may run into staggering losses. All of us know people who in the years between the wars, trying not to gamble in exchanges, but merely to conduct legitimate transactions across national frontiers, found themselves with gamblers' gains or gamblers' losses.

We had a very similar situation here in the United States a hundred years ago. You will remember—I mean in the history books—that at that time our currency consisted chiefly of the circulating notes of individual State banks, backed in each case by the assets of the bank that issued them. Some of the banks were sound and were well known, and the money that they issued was very good indeed; other banks were not so sound or not known at a distance, and their notes might take a discount. And the discounts varied, both with time and place.

Let us say that under those conditions a merchant in Atlanta sold a bill of goods, say, in Milwaukee, and got paid in good Milwaukee dollars, issued by a good Milwaukee bank. If he wanted to spend the dollars in Milwaukee, well and good, they were worth 100 cents. But if he sought to spend them in Chicago he might find that they were not worth more than 90, in St. Louis 85, in New Orleans 63, and so on and so on. And the rates of discount varied, for each bank, from one week to the next. It is hard to see how anyone could carry on much business at a distance under any such conditions.

The system was intolerable. Fortunately we had a National Government, with a Congress that had power, under the Constitution, "to coin money and regulate the value thereof". Congress finally took action. First, it taxed State bank notes out of existence. Second, it created a uniform system of national currency which, in various forms, we

have had ever since. Under that single system we can travel, or make contracts, or loan or borrow money, or sell goods, or rent an apartment or a building anywhere in the United States, without looking up the local money, and without constant worry about its exchange relation with our own. It *is* our own, the same we use at home. Nothing has made a greater contribution to the business greatness of this country.

Congress could do this for us, by a law, because it is the legislative organ of a single National Government and is superior, upon this subject, to the legislative bodies of the States. Between independent nations there is no single Government and no single and overriding legislative power. Therefore, between independent nations, what Congress did for us by law can be done only by agreement. Hence the conference at Bretton Woods. What emerges from that conference cannot be an overriding law. The conference has no such power. And it cannot be a single money. Independent nations will each continue to issue their own money. What should emerge, if we are lucky, is a workable agreement and an effective institution designed to keep our several moneys stable with each other and interchangeable at rates which do not vary much with time. Then if I sell a bill of goods in London I can spend the proceeds, if I want to, in Shanghai or in Rio or leave them in a bank in London without running gamblers' chances.

The technical proposals of the Conference will be published very shortly. It will then be for governments, in this country for the President and Congress, to consider and act on them. Laymen like myself may find it hard to judge between the various proposals. But even a layman can see clearly that the job has to be done.

But the agreement upon money and investment, however technically perfect, is only the first step. We can't eat money or wear it or build houses of it. Money is to buy things with, and if the international stability of money is to do us any good the other things that hamper trade across national frontiers must equally be dealt with.

In this also our own history is not without instruction. You will remember that one of the things that brought about the Constitutional Convention was the hostile action of several of the States against each others' commerce. The framers clearly saw that if this kind of thing went on there was little chance for general pro-

perity, and a good chance for open war. Accordingly the new National authority which they proposed was given power, to the exclusion of the States, not only over commerce with foreign nations but over commerce between the States themselves. The Commerce Clause of the Constitution, and its vigorous enforcement by the Supreme Court of the United States for the last hundred years and more, has done as much as any act of Government to make us a united nation and to permit us to grow prosperous. It is quite true that the Commerce Clause has not ended all State-created barriers to trade. But the fact remains that in most lines, under the Commerce Clause and its enforcement, we have achieved a truly national market with great resulting benefit to all of us. We have accomplished this, by law, because the creators of our Constitution were intelligent enough to provide for a single National authority, supreme within this field. The United Nations are not so fortunately situated. They have no central Government; and no one of them is willing—certainly we are not willing—to surrender our control of tariffs and the like to any international authority. What our ancestors did for the United States by constitutional provision the United Nations must attempt—so far as it is practical and wise—by negotiation and agreement. The next economic item on the working program of the United Nations peacetime partnership must be a thorough going-over of the whole complicated system of government-created barriers to trade, with a view to their reduction all around.

It must be emphasized that no country and no single Government can do much about this job alone. The barriers to be reduced are imposed by many countries. Common action is essential to reduce them. In the years between the wars a good many individual countries worked hand in hand with the United States under the Trade Agreements Act of 1934 toward their reduction. But those were years of deepening struggle, not of economic peace, and the great work was hampered by a thousand troubles. Now that the chief exponents of peacetime economic warfare are on the way to their defeat it is time for the United Nations to embark on a new effort.

This is agreed United Nations policy. Point Fourth of the Atlantic Charter speaks of "access, on equal terms" to trade and raw materials. Article VII of the agreements made between the

United States and many countries under the Lend-Lease Act promise "agreed action . . . open to participation by all other countries of like mind, directed to the expansion . . . of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods, which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples; to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers; . . ." and Resolution 24 of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture unanimously recommends "coordinated action . . . as an integral part of this program, to reduce barriers of every kind to international trade and to eliminate all forms of discriminatory restrictions thereon including inequitable policies in international transportation, as effectively and as rapidly as possible."

Agreement is thus present as to principle and policy. It remains to translate it into practice. That is not so easy as it sounds. Every country has its own kind of protection. Some, like ourselves, employ in peacetime chiefly import tariffs but with a great variety of rates. Others use embargoes, or quotas of various varieties, or restrictions on the purchase of exchange, or export taxes and restrictions. Some permit no private foreign trade at all; others have government monopolies for certain products. The restrictions that exist sometimes apply without discrimination to all foreign countries; sometimes there are preferences and differential rates. Fair common bases for reduction of so many sorts of burdens and restrictions are difficult to state and will no doubt be even harder to agree on. But it is quite important to deal with most of them at once, for each country has its own kind of protection resulting from its own peculiar problems and can hardly be expected to throw off its own peculiar armor, unless the other kinds of armor employed by other countries are thrown off at the same time. What is needed is a broad and yet detailed agreement, between at least the chief commercial nations, dealing at one time with many different sorts of trade restrictions and reducing all of them on a balanced and equitable basis. Such agreement is not reached in thirty minutes.

Clearly no substantial general reduction of wartime government controls of private commerce overseas can be expected until victory is won. We

still have a war to fight, and men and ships and goods are all still scarce. But the immediate future may well be the most auspicious time that we shall have to work towards positive arrangements, to take effect after the victory, for a general reduction of many of the standing peacetime barriers. Firms everywhere are working on war orders. They will have to reconvert to peace in any case. The way they reconvert will necessarily depend, in an important part, on the then present and prospective public regulation. If it is clear that barriers are coming down, and that foreign commerce will be freer from restrictions than it was before the war, investments will be made with that in mind, and we can properly expect a great increase in foreign trade in all directions all around the world. But if when the

war ends business sees nothing before it but restrictions, it will have to act accordingly. New infant industries, new vested interests, will then grow up behind the barriers, and we shall all be back in the old chains. The time to strike the shackles off is now.

The United Nations have found out that working together in the conduct of the war is the best way to victory. They are perfectly aware that working together in the peace is equally worth while. On a large part of the necessary program they have achieved not only agreement upon principles, but a considerable body of parallel action and of common institutions. In the matter of trade barriers agreement in principle exists. The next step is to translate it into a thorough-going common action.

Emergency Powers: Safeguards Through Police Standards

Address by ASSISTANT SECRETARY BERLE¹

[Released to the press July 22]

GENTLEMEN: The end of professional training, and entry into professional life, is a milestone in any man's career. In your case, you have just completed a postgraduate course in law enforcement. This is one of the great professions of the world. As its possibilities are increasingly recognized and developed by capable and far-seeing men, law enforcement will be seen to take its place as one of the great safeguards of American life.

It has sometimes been remarked that there is one American institution which is almost incomprehensible to any non-American. This is the institution of the American policeman. In most countries (a notable exception is Great Britain) the police system is quite usually an object of fear. Traditionally in Europe the police system was supposed to be the representative of a dominant ruler or state; and peoples steered clear of anyone connected with that system so far as they could. One of the difficulties we had with immigrants reaching our shores was to convince them that police systems here were designed to help you out of trouble rather than to get you in.

The experience of the world in the last few years has not helped to dissipate the old fears. The police, especially the secret investigating police,

became and were the principal agents in building up the Axis totalitarian despotisms. Their part, in fact, was so large that countries like Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany are frequently called "police states". The police systems became a combination of internal spy organizations, political agents, economic oppressors, and meddlers even in the intimacies of family life. The methods of law enforcement which should mean justice and regulation of the not-too-easy business of living together in a crowded world were perverted into sadistic instruments of ruthless terror.

Against that background the American picture of a police system primarily interested in discovering the facts, in acquitting the innocent quite as much as in convicting the guilty, enforcing law in the common interest, and never oppression in anyone's political interest—this American picture may be held as a proud achievement of our common democracy.

It is worthwhile emphasizing, now, that the procedures of American police and investigation are really a part of the maintenance of American civil liberties. They are allied to the ideas underlying the Bill of Rights. In one sense they are even

¹ Delivered at the graduation exercises of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, July 22, 1944.

more important. The integrity and honesty of police work have to be guaranteed chiefly by the high professional standards of the men and organizations engaged in it. The courts can and do supply a great safeguard. But the primary responsibility for maintaining the American system of justice and law, as contrasted with oppression and despotism, rests on the police organizations themselves. They have to know the law to interpret its spirit faithfully. They have to do this often under great difficulties, and sometimes great provocation. They have to hew to the line, enforcing law and preventing abuses of power.

American police systems generally, and especially the Federal Bureau of Investigation, have the right to be proud of their record and especially of their record in recent years. They are living through a time now which tests to the utmost the integrity of their professional standards and their faithfulness to the American system of democratic government. This is because, in wartime especially, government has very wide powers, and officers have very wide discretion. The power and the discretion are easy to abuse, and the abuses are hard to discover and harder still to correct. But by comparative standards I think the record will show that the police system of the Government of the United States has handled these powers in general wisely and well and has been backed up in its action and in its restraint by the competent officials of this Government.

This was not easy to do. The United States is composed of many races. Nearly a quarter of the country is of German extraction. There are many millions of Italian extraction. There are at all times some millions of aliens. A specific objective of our enemies in this war was to split the United States into race blocs and particularly to organize race blocs friendly to enemy powers and hostile to the United States. From the point of view of Hitler or Mussolini, this was all to the good. If internal disturbance could be created, splendid! But a good deal would have been accomplished even without that if great blocs of the population of this country could have been induced to hate or fear or suspect their fellows in the community. The more the confusion, the better our enemies like it. If the police were unable to control the situation, this was a score for the Axis. But equally, if the police acted hysterically and, while controlling the situation, created a general

atmosphere of panic and fear, that was all to the good too, from an enemy point of view. We all of us remember that the situation was quite adequately controlled and that there was no wave of panic or fear, and that up to the present there has been far less either of sabotage or internal disturbance on the one hand, or of hysteria and panic on the other, than was the case in World War I. Some of us particularly remember the night of Pearl Harbor when, with information previously gathered, the Federal Bureau of Investigation systematically cleaned up the groups which had been organized to conduct espionage and fifth-column activities in the United States, and, in a single swift and brilliant campaign, paralyzed the Axis machinery on this continent.

This was done by sound use of emergency powers. Limits and controls over those powers could not have been set in advance. The guiding control, to prevent this power from becoming mere despotism, lay, in those tragic days, in the professional standards, wise training, and sound common sense of the men who used the powers.

Even more severe was the burden imposed by the continuing administration of war powers—administration which cannot be ended until final victory. The degree of power has to be as great as the dangers to the security of the United States, for wars are no respecters of persons; and enemies in general, and the Axis in particular, have no scruples as to the means they use. But certain principles were worked out, which have been faithfully adhered to; and these principles, generally adhered to throughout the country, deserve permanent recognition in our system.

The first principle was that war powers should be used only for war purposes—that is, for the common defense. In censorship, it has been generally agreed that that difficult and dangerous institution, admirably handled by an extremely able administrator, should be invoked only for the purpose of forwarding war aims and preventing the enemy from getting information of aid or comfort to him. So, it was justifiable to use information taken from a letter to trap a spy, but it was not justifiable to use that information for the purpose of collecting an income tax. So, it was justifiable to intern an alien for the purpose of preventing threatened communication with the enemy, but it was not justifiable to intern him because you had reason to believe he was engaged

in bootlegging. Many examples could be given. The point is that the enforcement of civilian law was handled according to civilian peacetime standards. The extraordinary war powers were used for the purpose of frustrating the enemy and nothing else.

The second was the principle that the use of war powers should be proportionate to the degree of danger; that, as the country became increasingly secure, greater caution was needed in working under war powers. The ideal of the United States is a government of laws and not of men; and the police are an instrument of law and not of individual men. Accordingly, in general, sweeping use of war powers for security purposes was made only when there was sweeping danger—as there most certainly was during the dark days following Pearl Harbor and the months when submarines torpedoed ships and landed men on our very coasts. As the strength of our armed forces pushed the enemy back to the farther side of the Pacific and to the distant opposite shore of the Atlantic, the wise discretion of American administrators, among whom I am glad to name Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, reduced the scale of action so that the measures taken were not out of proportion to the dangers which had to be met.

When victory brings peace, and as safety is at length restored, we should be able to abandon the use of these extraordinary powers, leaving the American system of enforcement of law intact and strong, with its constitutional safeguards and its guiding concern for the freedom and dignity of individuals.

This is no mean achievement, and those who have contributed to it have every right to believe that they have served their country well in the time of its greatest danger.

While the problem of direct danger from the enemy will diminish as we move toward victory, certain other problems will arise which are not easy to solve. At the close of wars the nationalist spirit in all countries is usually at its highest. Old controversies are apt to be reopened, and passions tend to run high. In the United States, there is sometimes a tendency to transfer quarrels from the Old World to the cities of this country, in which are represented almost every race and national group. Sometimes these quarrels are spontaneous; sometimes they are stimulated from abroad. The policy of the United States, as it

appears in the Federal statutes, has naturally been to try to reduce these quarrels and, if possible, to avoid them altogether. That is why, under Federal law, foreign propaganda agents are obliged to register with the Department of Justice, and foreign propaganda is supposed to be labeled so that its source can be known. That is why the Government has never recognized that any foreign country had any vested right to set up claims upon groups in the United States who were affiliated with that country by ties of blood or race. That is why the American public has generally reacted against political movements in the United States based on race blocs. And that is why, with great good sense, the overwhelming mass of Americans of recent immigration have adopted the sound principle that they should be appealed to as Americans, and not as hyphenates. These groups do not wish to be dropped back into the sterile quarrels of previous generations; still less do they wish to have any police state reach out and attempt to find them here.

For all of us this is important, because America's war effort is powerful only if it is unified. We have no interest in divisions based on accusations and counter-accusations or in movements aimed at strengthening, through direct influence on American groups, the fortunes of factions in other countries. Those disputes can best be settled before the forum of public opinion in the countries in which they belong, or, in the case of international controversies, in the greater forum of world public opinion as a whole.

In your work as law-enforcement officers you will encounter all of these problems. No one knows better than you the difficulties of holding the scales true and just and at the same time thoroughly safeguarding the internal security of the United States and the safety of several million Americans who are fighting overseas. Happily, you have had the best training this country can offer, and you have the support of a great tradition. You are waging war against crime, but you are also protecting the peaceful and the innocent. You are maintaining the security of the United States, but you are likewise repelling any who might wish to abuse the powers given you for ulterior ends. Your primary objective must be to discover the truth and not to be diverted from that essential task by any pressure. As officers, and as teachers, you have an unexampled opportunity to protect and forward the American way of life.

Liberia's Relations With the United States

By HENRY S. VILLARD¹

The traditional ties between the United States and the Republic of Liberia were brought to the fore when, on January 27, 1944, the Liberian Legislature, in recognition of the ideals for which Americans are fighting today, declared war upon Germany and Japan.² On April 10, 1944 Mr. Walter F. Walker, Liberian Consul General in New York, affixed his signature to the Declaration of the United Nations in Secretary Hull's presence, thus making his country the thirty-fifth to range itself in the common front against Axis aggression.³

Liberia's strategic position on the west coast of Africa has brought it inevitably into the orbit of modern warfare. Directly athwart the vital sea and air routes of the world, it was evident in the early phases of the conflict that the small negro republic could not escape the consequences of its geographic position. Although Liberia proclaimed a state of neutrality, it was clear where its sympathies lay. Numerous sinkings off the Liberian coast by Axis submarines led to the signing of a defense agreement with the United States and the expulsion of German nationals from the country. In the latter part of 1942 the German Consulate General was closed and its officers were requested to leave Liberia. After due consideration of Liberia's future interests and the apparent opposition of its people to Axis ideology, President Barclay submitted a recommendation to the legislature which led finally to formal entry into the struggle.

History has thus repeated itself, for in the last war, after a period of neutrality, Liberia followed the lead of the United States in joining hostilities against Germany. At that time it expelled Germans from the country, and it sent Liberian soldiers to France. In the present war the aid that Liberia has given to the Allies has taken the material form of providing landing facilities for the

steady flow of aircraft across the South Atlantic from Brazil, without which the defense of the African continent would have been virtually impossible. One of the finest airports in Africa has been constructed in Liberia, and the seaplane terminal at Fisherman Lake has become familiar to hundreds of wartime travelers between the continents.

Another factor which has contributed to Liberia's prominence in this war and one which was not present in the last war is the tangible supply of rubber. Soil and climate in Liberia are practically ideal for the production of rubber, which is more than ever an essential commodity as the needs of war increase. Plantations of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, started in 1926, took on immediate significance after Pearl Harbor. These plantations, which employ 25,000 native laborers and which yield, under intensive cultivation, 20,000 tons of rubber annually, form a basic part of Liberia's economy.

When the defense agreement was signed on March 31, 1942, the Government of Liberia not only granted the United States the right to operate strategic airports but it also admitted American forces to guard the installations and assist in protecting Liberian soil for the duration of the emergency.⁴ American negro troops, until recently under the command of Brigadier General P. L. Sadler, have played an active part in this task and have helped to train and strengthen Liberia's own frontier force. A direct result of their presence has been the implementation of a national road-construction program in Liberia which has a strategic military purpose and which will open the interior of the country and assist in its economic development. Such products as palm oil, palm kernels, ground nuts, wild rubber, and possibly iron ore—all of great use in the war effort—will become accessible in hitherto little-known and unexplored regions.

American money has been declared legal tender in Liberia and has officially replaced British currency, which has long been in use in the Republic.

¹ The author of this article is Chief of the Division of African Affairs, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, Department of State.

² BULLETIN of Feb. 5, 1944, p. 151.

³ BULLETIN of Apr. 15, 1944, p. 346.

⁴ Executive Agreement Series 275; 56 Stat. 1621.

In that way Liberia has forged a new link with the United States.

Because of the African Republic's role in the war as a part of the vital defense of the United States, Liberia was declared eligible to receive lend-lease assistance. On June 8, 1943 the two Governments signed a mutual-aid agreement in New York that gave effect to that decision.¹

The terms of this agreement have made possible the authorization of a port project which is now in its initial stages and which is destined to be of major importance to the country.² At a point to be determined by the surveys of an American company, a harbor is shortly to be constructed on Liberia's difficult coastline, and thus a dream of the Liberian Government since its declaration of independence in 1847 will be on the way to realization. The project will undoubtedly accelerate the economic progress of Liberia, and the United States stands to benefit by the acquisition of certain rights in the area designed to contribute to the security of the Western Hemisphere.

President Roosevelt's visit to Liberia following the historic Casablanca Conference early in 1943 awakened extraordinary interest on the part of Liberians, and his invitation to President Barclay to pay a return call in Washington was promptly accepted. President Barclay, whose term of office expired in January 1944, came to the United States by clipper in the spring of 1943 accompanied by President-elect W. V. S. Tubman. As guests of this Government they were entertained at the White House and were taken on a tour of some of the industrial centers of the country. During his stay in Washington President Barclay addressed a joint session of Congress.

The inauguration of President Tubman on January 3, 1944 was attended by Vice Admiral William A. Glassford, Special Representative of President Roosevelt at Dakar, and by the Honorable Lester A. Walton, American Minister in Monrovia.

Liberia is now preparing to observe a new chapter in its history to be marked in 1947 by its centenary as a nation. The wartime foundations of cooperation between the United States and Liberia in the defense of this Hemisphere will be, as time goes on, on an even firmer footing.

¹ BULLETIN of June 12, 1943, p. 515.

² BULLETIN of Jan. 8, 1944, p. 38.

THE DEPARTMENT

Laurence Duggan To Leave Government Service

[Released to the press July 18]

Mr. Laurence Duggan, Director of the Office of American Republic Affairs, is leaving the Government service shortly. Mr. Norman Armour will take charge of the Office of American Republic Affairs in an acting capacity.

The Secretary of State has addressed the following letter, dated July 17, to Mr. Duggan:

DEAR MR. DUGGAN:

I realize that at my request and at considerable personal sacrifice you have remained in the Department for some months after you had informed me that you wished to leave the service of the Government in order to take up private work in which you have a particular interest. In the face of your recent renewed request, I do not feel that I can ask you to remain for a longer time. I greatly regret your departure. You have served the Department for many years with outstanding success as Chief of the Division of the American Republics, Political Adviser and Director of the Office of the American Republics. You have been of the greatest assistance to me in building up and maintaining relations of close friendship and confidence with the other American Republics. I am most appreciative of your valuable services and in expressing to you my sincere thanks I wish to add my very best wishes for your future success and happiness.

Sincerely yours,

CORDELL HULL

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Consular Offices

The American Consulate at Hull, England, was opened to the public on July 1, 1944.

The American Consulate at Kweilin, China, was officially closed on June 25, 1944.

The American Vice Consulate at Nueva Gerona, Cuba, was closed to the public July 8, 1944.

TREATY INFORMATION

Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic

Guatemala

The Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State by a letter of July 12, 1944 that the instrument of ratification by the Government of El Salvador of the Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on December 15, 1943, was deposited with the Pan American Union on July 6, 1944. The instrument of ratification is dated June 7, 1944.

Protocol on the Regulation of Whaling

Great Britain

The American Embassy in London transmitted to the Department of State, with a despatch of July 10, 1944, a copy of a note of July 7, 1944 from the British Foreign Office in which the Government of the United Kingdom informs the Government of the United States, in accordance with article 7 of the Protocol on the Regulation of Whaling signed at London on February 7, 1944, of the deposit on June 28, 1944 in the archives of the British Foreign Office of the instrument of ratification of that protocol by the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences

Costa Rica

The American Embassy at San José transmitted to the Department, with a despatch of June 15, 1944, a copy of Decree No. 29 of June 13, 1944, of the Government of Costa Rica, approving the convention for the establishment of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on January 15, 1944. The decree is printed in the Costa Rican *La Gaceta* of June 14, 1944.

Guatemala

The Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State by a letter

dated July 12, 1944 that the instrument of ratification by the Government of Guatemala of the Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences was deposited with the Pan American Union on July 6, 1944. The instrument of ratification is dated May 16, 1944.

Treaty of Amity, China and Liberia

The Embassy of the United States at Chungking transmitted to the Department by a despatch of April 28, 1944 a copy of the English text of a treaty of amity between the Governments of China and Liberia signed at Paris on December 11, 1937.

PUBLICATIONS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Diplomatic List, July 1944. Publication 2149. ii, 123 pp. Subscription, \$1.50 a year; single copy, 15¢. Publications of the Department of State (a list cumulative from October 1, 1929). July 1, 1944. Publication 2150. iv, 31 pp. Free.

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

The articles listed below will be found in the July 15 and 22 issues of the Department of Commerce publication entitled *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, copies of which may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, for 10 cents each:

"Mexico in 1943", prepared in the American Republics Unit, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, on basis of report from L. B. Clark, Senior Economic Analyst, United States Embassy, Mexico City (issue of July 15).

"Canadian Dairy Situation Today", by Irven M. Eitreim, American Vice Consul, United States Embassy, Ottawa (issue of July 22).

LEGISLATION

Investigation of Political, Economic, and Social Conditions in Puerto Rico: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, 78th Cong., 2d sess., pursuant to H. Res. 159. Part 16, Washington, D.C., March 14, 15, 21, and 23, 1944, pp. 1371-1520. Part 17, Washington, D.C., March 24 and April 18, 1944, pp. 1521-1637. Part 18, Washington, D.C., May 11, 1944, pp. 1639-1680.

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., 2d sess., on H.R. 3777. A bill to assist in relieving economic distress in the Virgin Islands by providing work for unemployed persons, and for other purposes. Part 4, Washington, D.C., May 16 and 17, 1944, pp. 335-417.

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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JULY 30, 1944

In this issue

NON-RECOGNITION OF ARGENTINE REGIME ☆ ☆ ☆

SPECIAL WAR PROBLEMS DIVISION: *By Graham H. Stuart* ☆



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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Information, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest is included.

Publications of the Department, cumulative lists of which are published at the end of each quarter, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

The BULLETIN, published with the approval of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., to whom all purchase orders, with accompanying remittance, should be sent. The subscription price is \$2.75 a year; a single copy is 10 cents.

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Non-Recognition of Argentine Regime

[Released to the press July 26]

I. THE BASIC ISSUES

1. The American republics jointly with all of the United Nations are engaged in a war of unprecedented magnitude for the protection and preservation of the liberties of each and all of them against the most powerful aggressors in history. In this war the United States has over eleven million of its own men under arms. Our men are fighting the enemy on every battle-front in the world, and tens of thousands of them will never return to partake of the privileges of that liberty for which they are now fighting. For generations to come our people will be called upon to discharge a debt of over two hundred billion dollars which represents our material contribution to the defeat of the enemy. To this common cause all but one of the American nations have been giving full and whole-hearted support.

2. At this most critical moment in the history of the American republics, the Government of one great Republic, Argentina, has seen fit to take two steps which have resulted in tremendous injury to the Allied cause, to wit: (1) it has deliberately violated the pledge taken jointly with its sister republics to cooperate in support of the war against the Axis powers, and in thus deserting the Allied cause has struck a powerful blow at the whole system of hemispheric cooperation; (2) it has openly and notoriously been giving affirmative assistance to the declared enemies of the United Nations.

3. These are the fundamental issues which are now brought to a head by the actions of the present regime in Argentina. They relate immediately to the prosecution of the war. The enemies of American cooperation and the friends of Axis aggression would of course wish, and are indeed recommending, that the Argentine course of action be approved by the American republics through the establishment of full and normal relations with

the Farrell regime. This would have the effect of a public proclamation of complete approval of the Argentine action. For the American republics to take such a course would be seriously to damage the Allied cause and to undermine the principles which the united organization of the nations of this hemisphere has been resolutely supporting in the war against the Axis powers. The free republics of America are honor-bound to preserve the integrity of those principles and that organization, and to do so they must stand firm in their common fight against the Axis enemy.

II. MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE HEMISPHERE

During the eight years prior to Pearl Harbor the American republics devoted their best efforts to perfect and strengthen the system of inter-American cooperation, so that if the wave of world aggression should reach this hemisphere they would be ready to act together for the common defense of their heritage. Great progress was achieved and a spirit of solidarity and unity was developed which justified the hope that any external threat to the peace and security of the hemisphere would meet a common and united resistance.

At the Eighth International Conference of American States in Lima in 1938 the American governments reaffirmed their solidarity and proclaimed their intention to make that solidarity effective in the event that the peace, security, or territorial integrity of any American nation were threatened. By so doing they provided the spiritual foundation for the belief that in the event of aggression, the supreme test of unity would be fully met by each one of the 21 republics. The Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics at Panamá in 1939, upon the outbreak of war in Europe, was animated by the same spirit. Immediately following the occupation of France by Germany, the determination of the American

republics to maintain their solidarity and unity of action in the face of the threatened spread of Axis aggression to this hemisphere were unanimously proclaimed by the Foreign Ministers at Habana in July 1940 in the solemn pledge:

"That any attempt on the part of a non-American State against the integrity or inviolability of the territory, the sovereignty or the political independence of an American State shall be considered as an act of aggression against the States which sign this declaration."

On the binding bases for continental defense thus established, the American Foreign Ministers, meeting at Rio de Janeiro in January 1942, after Axis aggression had reached this hemisphere, were enabled quickly to agree on uniform measures to be taken by each nation in the political, economic, and military fields for the collective security of all of them. The measures adopted at Rio provided for an integrated total defense against the total attack of the Axis aggressors.

Firm adherence to the principles of these inter-American agreements by all of the republics would have created an unshakable tradition of hemispheric unity the benefits of which would have been felt for generations to come by all of our peoples. But when the real test came, the Government of one of those republics, Argentina, chose to pursue a divergent and separate course. The fact that even the most urgent considerations of the national security and independence of each of the American republics, including Argentina itself, have not influenced the Argentine Government to practice unity in time of war, completely invalidates any suggestion that the other American governments should recognize it on the assumption that such action would contribute to hemispheric unity after the war.

Efforts have been made to confuse the issue by charging that the policy followed by the American republics and their associates among the United Nations constitutes a departure from the normal rules and procedure with regard to recognition and amounts to intervention in the internal affairs of Argentina. This contention disregards completely the foundation on which the policy of non-recognition rests, namely, the defense and security of the hemisphere. Furthermore, it overlooks the fact that this policy was adopted after full and free consultation among the American

republics and that it is the logical outgrowth of the multilateral agreements which all of them accepted in order to make that defense effective. The American republics have expressly declared that this policy does not affect, and has nothing to do with, the ordinary rules and procedure for recognition in time of peace. The problem involves the fundamental question of whether the American republics are to endorse the action of one republic which has undermined their unity and strength and given aid to the Axis enemy. It is not, as has sometimes been asserted, merely a question of relations between the United States and Argentina.

III. DEVELOPMENTS DURING FOUR MONTHS BETWEEN OVERTHROW OF RAMÍREZ GOVERNMENT AND RECALL OF AMBASSADOR ARMOUR

The government of General Ramírez announced the break of relations with Germany and Japan on January 26, 1944. It based its action on the criminal espionage activities which it declared were directly chargeable to the Axis governments and which, it asserted, "infringe the national sovereignty, compromise the foreign policy of this Government, and threaten the security of the continent". Repeated assurances were given by President Ramírez, the Foreign Minister, General Gilbert, and other responsible members of the Argentine Government, in public statements as well as private conversations, that immediate, energetic measures would be taken to suppress subversive Axis activities and in other ways to give effect to the severance of relations. Very soon, however, it became clear that powerful forces within the Government were determined to oppose those measures and render the break valueless. General Gilbert, who had played a leading role in the decision to break relations and the efforts thereafter to implement it, resigned as Foreign Minister on February 15. Ten days later General Ramírez "delegated" his authority as President to General Farrell and a few days thereafter submitted his resignation.

In view of these sudden developments nearly all of the American governments determined to abstain from normal relations with the Farrell regime in order to ascertain the reasons for this change and the attitude of the new regime toward the Axis. It has since been established that extremist, pro-Axis elements were responsible for the elimination of General Ramírez and his principal collaborators from the Government because

of their decision to break relations.

The Farrell government firmly refused to commit itself to implementation of the break with the Axis. It implicitly disavowed any intention to honor the rupture with the Axis by insisting repeatedly that it was due to foreign pressure.

This attitude was confirmed by its actions. The freedom of the country was extended to Axis diplomatic and consular officers. Affirmative assistance was given to Axis firms, both through large official contracts and through requisitioning of critical materials from firms friendly to the democratic cause. Immediately following the break of relations police activity and arrests of Axis agents were briefly stimulated by the Ramírez government, but under the new regime numerous Axis spies and agents were set at liberty. As a result Axis espionage again flourished. Such pro-Axis newspapers as *El Federal*, *Cabildo*, and *La Fronda* enjoyed governmental support and assistance in obtaining newsprint and carried on a bitter propaganda campaign against the United Nations and on behalf of the Axis. A commentary by *La Fronda* on the Allied landings in France exemplified this propaganda:

"It is most comforting that all the peoples of the Continent are closely grouped under the brilliant leadership of Hitler, who has been supernaturally transformed by developments into . . . more than an intrepid defender of Germany, he is the defender of Europe."

Nevertheless, from time to time certain elements in the Farrell government professed a desire to see the rupture implemented. Were such an attempt to be made, however, these same elements admitted that they would be eliminated as were Ramírez and Gilbert by the extremist forces within the Government. That the dominant power in Argentina was, and continues to be, in the hands of pro-Axis elements determined to impose their desires is strikingly revealed by this situation. Furthermore, it is significant that these same elements control the most important ministries and agencies of the National Government as well as the governments of the provinces and have rapidly and energetically implanted a domestic totalitarian system that fully complements and supports their pro-Axis foreign policy, through control of the press, the courts, the schools, and other key institutions. The basic civil rights have been either nullified or so modified as to have no

real meaning. Every effort was made to stamp out democratic opposition to the Government's totalitarian program. A striking demonstration of the nature of this program was afforded in the declarations of the Minister of War on June 10 when he said that military re-armament is the objective to which the entire economy of the country and the life of all of its people must be dedicated. The Minister admitted in so many words that the keystone of Argentina's international policy is to be military force, when he stated that in addition to the use of diplomacy to achieve political objectives it possessed the power of its armed forces.

Shortly after the Farrell regime came into power various of its members undertook to arrange interviews with members of the diplomatic corps in Buenos Aires through intermediaries. Ambassador Armour participated in two informal discussions of this kind, one with the Foreign Minister and the other with the Ministers of Foreign Relations, War and Navy. The Ambassador reported to this Department, and likewise informed his colleagues of the American diplomatic corps, that little or nothing was accomplished at either meeting, since the Foreign Minister insisted that recognition be accorded before implementation of the break with the Axis on the basis of Argentine promises of future action. Ambassador Armour was recalled, and a full statement of this Government's position was transmitted to the other American republics and to the Government of Great Britain on June 22.

IV. DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE RECALL OF AMBASSADOR ARMOUR

We have reexamined the entire Argentine situation in the light of developments since our recall of Ambassador Armour.

Practically all of the other republics have expressed unqualified agreement with the position and statement of facts set forth in the Department's communication of June 22. The chiefs of mission of most of the American republics as well as the British Ambassador have been recalled for consultation.

The Chilean Chargé in Washington has informally made available to the Department two memoranda by the Farrell government, one dated June 30 and the other July 10, which profess to summarize the action taken by the Castillo administration, the government of General Ramírez

and the present regime, ostensibly in aid of the United Nations and in implementation of the break in relations with the Axis. The memorandum of July 10, which is the more comprehensive of the two documents, convincingly establishes the principal conclusion of our statement of June 22. That memorandum demonstrates that potentially significant anti-Nazi measures were adopted as incidents of the break in relations by the Ramírez government and that almost immediately after these measures were adopted the government was overthrown in circumstances and for reasons which are now well known. A mere notation of the dates of the decrees cited in the memorandum demonstrates that as soon as the new regime took power the program of implementation was sharply stopped. Save for the departure of the German diplomats, who enjoyed the freedom of the country for almost six months (and thus had ample time and opportunity to reorganize the Nazi espionage system), the sentencing of four Germans for espionage, and the suspension for a few days of one of several pro-Nazi papers, the Farrell regime has done little or nothing to implement the action of the Ramírez government. Thus the memoranda reinforce the conclusion that the extremist pro-Nazi elements of the present regime, which were largely responsible for the overthrow of the Ramírez government, have been able to block any efforts that might have been made to proceed vigorously and adequately against Axis activities. The basic facts with regard to political and economic defense measures remain as set forth in our statement. Furthermore, extremely important problems of Axis control were either not mentioned in the memoranda or were touched upon by carefully qualified promises of future action.

The net effect of the position of the Farrell regime is firm adherence to the thesis that recognition should be accorded on the basis of a few acts of the overthrown Ramírez government and mere promises of future performance. A declared determination to collaborate fully and decisively with the rest of the hemisphere has been and continues to be studiously avoided. The memorandum of June 30 states that, "At the proper time the Argentine Government will take the necessary steps to make public the measures which it may adopt in consequence of its position of rupture." This is precisely the position of procrastination

and evasion adopted by the Argentine Government immediately after the Conference of Rio de Janeiro in January 1942 and maintained ever since.

At the very time that the Farrell regime was protesting its intention to collaborate with the United Nations this Government was receiving reports of actions conclusively establishing that a contrary policy was being pursued. The Department is in possession of irrefutable evidence that as late as the middle of June of this year the Argentine authorities required firms friendly to the United Nations to receive bids as subcontractors from Nazi firms on contracts calling for materials imported from the United Nations. It is definitely established that during the past three months large government contracts for public works were given to firms that were either of enemy origin or actively cooperating with the enemy. At late as July 4 the Ministry of Finance placed display advertisements in Axis papers *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, *Il Mattino d'Italia*, *El Federal*, and *La Frontera*. The June issue of the scurrilous Nazi publication *Clarivada* contained a full-page advertisement by the Ministry of Interior. Within the past two weeks newsprint imported under grant of Allied navicerts has been supplied with the aid of the Farrell government to the four papers mentioned, which day after day have been viciously attacking the United Nations while enthusiastically supporting the Axis cause and furthering Axis propaganda.

Although the Argentine memoranda refer to economic defense measures, the irrefutable fact is that internal controls over Axis firms are non-existent and that the Farrell government has in truth been aiding those firms. During the past three years representative Axis firms in Argentina have been able to double, and in some cases to treble, their normal peacetime profits. The prosperity of these powerful commercial firms, which have been geared according to the well-known pattern into the espionage and propaganda machine of the Nazi party, is the result not merely of passive failure of the Argentine Government to implement the Rio agreements but of positive aid from that Government.

There is, of course, nothing new in these developments. They merely demonstrate the futility of any effort to decide the issue of recognition by reference to isolated acts of apparent implementation of the break in relations. Since the day of

Axis aggression against this hemisphere Argentina has protested its solidarity and unity with its sister republics. But during two and one-half years it has persisted in an open, notorious, and contrary course of action which has given constant aid and comfort to the enemies of those republics. Spasmodic token gestures of cooperation have been made. In almost all instances, however, they have been designed to do no more than foster the false hope that Argentina might yet be prepared to honor her solemn pledge of hemisphere solidarity.

In the same manner, the superficial anti-Axis gestures of recent weeks have been calculated to weaken the collective determination of the non-recognizing governments. They have been part of an effort to induce those governments to accord recognition in exchange for promises of action which Argentina has long been pledged to take. Expediency in a desperate effort to achieve recognition, rather than a change of Argentine foreign policy to support the Allied cause in good faith, has inspired these actions of the Farrell regime.

The suggestion has been made that the recent gestures of the Farrell regime offer a basis for negotiation. Bargaining or negotiating with regard to action which Argentina has long since agreed to take would be a serious error. The principles for which the free nations of the world are today contributing the full measure of their human and material resources cannot be the subject of a bargain. The controlling issue is support in good faith of the Allied cause.

The injury to the solidarity of the Continent and to the war effort of the United Nations by the continuing acts and utterances of the Farrell regime is abundantly clear. It is the judgment of this Government that the American republics and their associates among the United Nations should firmly adhere to the present policy of non-recognition of the Farrell regime until by unequivocal acts it is conclusively demonstrated that there has been a fundamental change of Argentine policy in favor of the cause against the Axis and in support of inter-American unity and common action.

The United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference

ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY¹

[Released to the press by the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference July 22]

I am gratified to announce that the Conference at Bretton Woods has successfully completed the task before it.

It was, as we knew when we began, a difficult task, involving complicated technical problems. We came here to work out methods which would do away with the economic evils—the competitive currency devaluation and destructive impediments to trade—which preceded the present war. We have succeeded in that effort.

The actual details of an international monetary and financial agreement may seem mysterious to the general public. Yet at the heart of it lie the most elementary bread-and-butter realities of daily life. What we have done here in Bretton Woods is to devise machinery by which men and women everywhere can freely exchange, on a fair and stable basis, the goods which they produce through their labor. And we have taken the in-

itial steps through which the nations of the world will be able to help one another in economic development to their mutual advantage and for the enrichment of all.

The representatives of the 44 nations faced differences of opinion frankly and reached an agreement which is rooted in genuine understanding. None of the nations represented here has altogether had its own way. We have had to yield to one another not in respect to principles or essentials but in respect to methods and procedural details. The fact that we have done so, and that we have done it in a continuing spirit of good-will and mutual trust, is, I believe, one of the hopeful and heartening portents of our times. Here is a sign blazoned upon the horizon, written large upon the

¹Delivered at the closing plenary session of the Conference, July 22, 1944. Mr. Morgenthau was President of the Conference and Chairman of the Delegation of the United States of America.

threshold of the future—a sign for men in battle, for men at work in mines and mills, and in the fields, and a sign for women whose hearts have been burdened and anxious lest the cancer of war assail yet another generation—a sign that the peoples of the earth are learning how to join hands and work in unity.

There is a curious notion that the protection of national interests and the development of international cooperation are conflicting philosophies—that somehow or other men of different nations cannot work together without sacrificing the interests of their particular nations. There has been talk of this sort—and from people who ought to know better—concerning the international cooperative nature of the undertaking just completed at Bretton Woods. I am perfectly certain that no delegation to this Conference has lost sight for a moment of the particular national interests it was sent here to represent. The American delegation, which I have had the honor of leading, has at all times been conscious of its primary obligation—the protection of American interests. And the other representatives here have been no less loyal or devoted to the welfare of their own people.

Yet none of us has found any incompatibility between devotion to our own countries and joint action. Indeed, we have found on the contrary that the only genuine safeguard for our national interests lies in international cooperation. We have come to recognize that the wisest and most effective way to protect our national interests is through international cooperation—that is to say, through united effort for the attainment of common goals. This has been the great lesson taught by the war and is, I think, the great lesson of contemporary life—that the peoples of the earth are inseparably linked to one another by a deep, underlying community of purpose. This community of purpose is no less real and vital in peace than in war, and cooperation is no less essential to its fulfilment.

To seek the achievement of our aims separately through the planless, senseless rivalry that divided us in the past, or through the outright economic aggression which turned neighbors into enemies, would be to invite ruin again upon us all. Worse, it would be once more to start our steps irtraceably down the steep, disastrous road to war. That sort of extreme nationalism belongs to an era that is dead. Today the only enlightened

form of national self-interest lies in international accord. At Bretton Woods we have taken practical steps toward putting this lesson into practice in the monetary and economic field.

I take it as an axiom that after this war is ended no people—and therefore no government of the people—will again tolerate prolonged and wide-spread unemployment. A revival of international trade is indispensable if full employment is to be achieved in a peaceful world and with standards of living which will permit the realization of men's reasonable hopes.

What are the fundamental conditions under which commerce among the nations can once more flourish?

First, there must be a reasonably stable standard of international exchange to which all countries can adhere without sacrificing the freedom of action necessary to meet their internal economic problems.

This is the alternative to the desperate tactics of the past—competitive currency depreciation, excessive tariff barriers, uneconomic barter deals, multiple currency practices, and unnecessary exchange restrictions—by which governments vainly sought to maintain employment and uphold living standards. In the final analysis, these tactics only succeeded in contributing to world-wide depression and even war. The International Fund agreed upon at Bretton Woods will help remedy this situation.

Second, long-term financial aid must be made available at reasonable rates to those countries whose industry and agriculture have been destroyed by the ruthless torch of an invader or by the heroic scorched-earth policy of their defenders.

Long-term funds must be made available also to promote sound industry and increase industrial and agricultural production in nations whose economic potentialities have not yet been developed. It is essential to us all that these nations play their full part in the exchange of goods throughout the world.

They must be enabled to produce and to sell if they are to be able to purchase and consume. The Bank for International Reconstruction and Development is designed to meet this need.

Objections to this Bank have been raised by some bankers and a few economists. The institutions proposed by the Bretton Woods Conference would indeed limit the control which certain pri-

vate bankers have in the past exercised over international finance. It would by no means restrict the investment sphere in which bankers could engage. On the contrary, it would greatly expand this sphere by enlarging the volume of international investment and would act as an enormously effective stabilizer and guarantor of loans which they might make. The chief purpose of the Bank for International Reconstruction and Development is to guarantee private loans made through the usual investment channels. It would make loans only when these could not be floated through the normal channels at reasonable rates. The effect would be to provide capital for those who need it at lower interest rates than in the past and to drive only the usurious money-lenders from the temple of international finance. For my own part I cannot look upon this outcome with any sense of dismay.

Capital, like any other commodity, should be free from monopoly control and available upon reasonable terms to those who will put it to use for the general welfare.

The delegates and technical staffs at Bretton Woods have completed their portion of the job. They sat down together, talked as friends, and perfected plans to cope with the international monetary and financial problems which all their countries face. These proposals now must be submitted to the legislatures and the peoples of the participating nations. They will pass upon what has been accomplished here.

The result will be of vital importance to everyone in every country. In the last analysis, it will

help determine whether or not people have jobs and the amount of money they are to find in their weekly pay envelopes. More important still, it concerns the kind of world in which our children are to grow to maturity. It concerns the opportunities which will await millions of young men when at last they can take off their uniforms and come home and roll up their sleeves and go to work.

This monetary agreement is but one step, of course, in the broad program of international action necessary for the shaping of a free future. But it is an indispensable step and a vital test of our intentions.

Incidentally, tonight we had a dramatic demonstration of these intentions. Tonight the Soviet Government informed me, through Mr. Stepanov, chairman of its delegation here in Bretton Woods, that it has authorized an increase in its subscription to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to \$1,200,000,000. This was done after a subscription of \$900,000,000 had been agreed upon unanimously by the Conference. By this action, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is voluntarily taking a greatly increased responsibility for the success of this Bank in the post-war world. This is an indication of the true spirit of international cooperation demonstrated throughout this Conference.

We are at a crossroads, and we must go one way or the other. The Conference at Bretton Woods has erected a signpost—a signpost pointing down a highway broad enough for all men to walk in step and side by side. If they will set out together, there is nothing on earth that need stop them.

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press July 24]

The successful completion of the important work of the Bretton Woods Conference is another step toward the goal of the United Nations and nations associated with them in the war for a peaceful, secure, and happy world in which all peace-loving nations will cooperate for their mutual benefit. Once again these nations have met and discussed in a most friendly spirit problems vital to the economic security of each and every one of us. The faith expressed in my address to Congress on the Moscow Conference has never diminished. I was

therefore not surprised by the splendid cooperation of the U.S.S.R. and all the other countries in the work of the Conference and by their willingness to contribute to its success. The results of the Bretton Woods Conference are another demonstration of the fact that the nations which love peace are working together, every day and every hour, without fanfare or drums, to provide opportunities and create facilities for the attainment by all of an increasing measure of security and prosperity.

SUMMARY OF AGREEMENTS,

This Conference at Bretton Woods, representing nearly all the peoples of the world, has considered matters of international money and finance which are important for peace and prosperity. The Conference has agreed on the problems needing attention, the measures which should be taken, and the forms of international cooperation or organization which are required. The agreement reached on these large and complex matters is without precedent in the history of international economic relations.

I. THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

Since foreign trade affects the standard of life of every people, all countries have a vital interest in the system of exchange of national currencies and the regulations and conditions which govern its working. Because these monetary transactions are international exchanges, the nations must agree on the basic rules which govern the exchanges if the system is to work smoothly. When they do not agree, and when single nations and small groups of nations attempt by special and different regulations of the foreign exchanges to gain trade advantages, the result is instability, a reduced volume of foreign trade, and damage to national economies. This course of action is likely to lead to economic warfare and to endanger the world's peace.

The Conference has therefore agreed that broad international action is necessary to maintain an international monetary system which will promote foreign trade. The nations should consult and agree on international monetary changes which affect each other. They should outlaw practices which are agreed to be harmful to world prosperity, and they should assist each other to overcome short-term exchange difficulties.

The Conference has agreed that the nations here represented should establish for these purposes a permanent international body, *The International Monetary Fund*, with powers and resources adequate to perform the tasks assigned to it. Agreement has been reached concerning these powers and resources and the additional obligations which the member countries should undertake. Draft Articles of Agreement on these points have been prepared.

II. THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

It is in the interest of all nations that post-war reconstruction should be rapid. Likewise, the development of the resources of particular regions is in the general economic interest. Programs of reconstruction and development will speed economic progress everywhere, will aid political stability and foster peace.

The Conference has agreed that expanded international investment is essential to provide a portion of the capital necessary for reconstruction and development.

The Conference has further agreed that the nations should cooperate to increase the volume of foreign investment for these purposes, made through normal business channels. It is especially important that the nations should cooperate to share the risks of such foreign investment, since the benefits are general.

The Conference has agreed that the nations should establish a permanent international body to perform these functions, to be called *The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development*. It has been agreed that the Bank should assist in providing capital through normal channels at reasonable rates of interest and for long periods for projects which will raise the productivity of the borrowing country. There is agreement that the Bank should guarantee loans made by others and that through their subscriptions of capital all countries should share with the borrowing country in guaranteeing such loans. The Conference has agreed on the powers and resources which the Bank must have and on the obligations which the member countries must assume, and has prepared draft Articles of Agreement accordingly.

The Conference has recommended that in carrying out the policies of the institutions here proposed special consideration should be given to the needs of countries which have suffered from enemy occupation and hostilities.

The proposals formulated at the Conference for the establishment of the Fund and the Bank are now submitted, in accordance with the terms of the invitation, for consideration of the governments and people of the countries represented.

¹ Annex C of the Final Act.

Special War Problems Division

By GRAHAM H. STUART¹

REPRESENTATION OF FOREIGN INTERESTS

Establishment of the Representation Section

In accordance with the so-called comity of nations or international courtesy a state may upon request make available its representational facilities to a third state, not possessing such facilities, to serve as a channel of communications and to furnish, if requested, such services as financial assistance, passport services, and protection of prisoners of war and internees. For example, the Foreign Service regulations of the United States provide that "Diplomatic and consular officers may, upon request and with the approval of the Department of State, temporarily assume the representation of foreign interests", and the United States has permitted Panama and Cuba, upon almost a semi-permanent basis, to utilize our foreign service in various places where they have no consular representation. Since 1908 this Government has also extended good offices for China in some South American countries.

Such representation may take place in times of peace, but it is upon the outbreak of war that the representational activities of a neutral state are particularly in demand. During the second World War, before December 8, 1941 when the United States became a belligerent, this country was serving as the protecting power at Berlin for Great Britain and the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, as well as for France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Egypt, and the Caribbean states of Panama, Haiti, and Costa Rica. In fact, after Great Britain became a belligerent, the United States took over the interests of Great Britain, not only in Germany but also in all German-occupied Europe: Bulgaria, Denmark, unoccupied France, Finland, Hungary, Italy, Rumania, and in many other countries. This Government carried on that representation until it entered the war. Since the United States did not enter into a state of war with Finland, it continued to represent the British Commonwealth interests in that country until the Legation at Helsinki was closed this summer.

In peacetime such representation from the standpoint of administration was normally a function of the Division of Foreign Service Administration, but because of the vast increase of such work brought about by war conditions the representation of foreign interests was taken over by the Special Division, which had been set up in anticipation of such a situation. Representation of the interests of a belligerent government imposes a considerable amount of work both upon the State Department and upon its representatives in the other belligerent countries. The protecting power must take custodial charge of the represented government's official property, protect its nationals, and be responsible for the receipt and payment of funds provided by the represented government to its nationals for their subsistence and repatriation, when possible. Protection of prisoners of war and civilian internees subsequently became one of the most important duties of the Division.

Before the Representation Section of the Special Division was established in May 1940, the Division's Executive Section carried on all previous activities in this field. The United States had been asked, immediately upon the outbreak of the war, to assume the representation of the interests of many of the belligerent countries. For example, the United States took over the interests of France, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand in Germany and indicated its willingness to assume the representation of the interests of certain other governments in Europe in the event the war should spread. At the end of 1941 when the United States entered the war, the American Government was representing 18 countries and informally extending its good offices to several others. The drafting of mail and telegraphic instructions to the field offices of the Department of State, of notes to the diplomatic missions of foreign governments, and of memoranda

¹This is the third in a series of articles on the Special War Problems Division by Dr. Stuart. For the first two articles on the Welfare Section and the Internees Section, see the BULLETIN of July 2, 1944, p. 6, and July 16, 1944, p. 63.

for the information of other divisions of the Department reached a total of over 2,500 a quarter. Many of the drafts were highly technical and complicated and required much thought and effort. The extent of the task thus assumed necessitated a steady increase in the staff of the Representation Section.

In the handling of foreign-interests funds, the Division had been receiving advances of over \$2,000,000 yearly from the governments represented. This money, which had to be strictly accounted for, was used for the payment of financial assistance to protected nationals; for the upkeep of the buildings that represented governments had used as embassies, legations, and consular offices; for the packing, storage, and shipping of the effects of the official staffs of the represented governments; and for administrative expenses in connection with representation and other functions of a similar nature.

In the present war the United States has pursued the following practice in the representation of foreign interests: (1) The United States Government will expend funds in representation of foreign interests only after deposit of funds against which to charge such expenditures; (2) in representing foreign interests the United States Government provides free the services of officers and all other personnel at Washington and the services of officers abroad. Clerical and administrative expenses abroad are charged to the government whose interests are represented.

The Division prepared estimates to support requests for funds which had to be made periodically to the governments represented. In this connection the freezing of funds by a number of countries placed an additional burden on the Division, since it increased the difficulties of supplying badly needed funds to some of the Government's missions abroad and in some instances required complicated exchange transactions involving several foreign currencies.

When the United States entered the war, it could no longer continue to represent the interests of other belligerents in enemy and enemy-occupied territory. An announcement was made on December 18, 1941 stating that the foreign interests represented by the United States missions in Berlin, Rome, Budapest, Sofia, and Bucharest and by various consulates in the Far East would be entrusted provisionally to the Government of

Switzerland.¹ Although this action lessened the representation work abroad it placed a greater burden on the Special Division of the Department, which now became the operating channel for an immense increase in the work with the protecting powers' missions in Washington representing enemy interests in the United States. Furthermore, the United States now had the difficult task of bringing back to this country hundreds of American Foreign Service officers, clerks, and miscellaneous personnel and their families from enemy territory and of returning enemy official personnel to their countries. Much additional work also had to be done through duties relating to the exchange of prisoners of war and internees.² To meet the war situation the Representation Section was now reorganized upon a somewhat different basis into four units: The Friendly Interests Unit, the Enemy Interests Unit, the Repatriation Unit, and the Administrative and Clerical Unit.

A. THE FRIENDLY INTERESTS UNIT

Since every belligerent must carry on certain relations with the enemy which are not acts of warfare but which stem from normal international relations and since the normal channels of communication are closed to belligerents in times of war, neutral powers are utilized to carry on during the war these limited but necessary peacetime functions. In the second World War the number of neutrals is exceedingly limited, and, as a result, the function of protection of the interests of belligerents in the territory of opposing belligerents has become a real burden. This is particularly true of Switzerland, which currently is representing the interests of 48 belligerents, and in some instances, as in the case of its representation of the interests of the United States, that representation is carried on in 28 different enemy or enemy-occupied states.

International law is exceedingly sketchy in this field of representation; and therefore it is not strange that the pre-war Foreign Service regulations of the United States, based as they were on the comparatively limited experience gained during former wars confined to small areas instead of the global surface, are entirely inadequate to meet the existing situation. As a result, one of the duties of the Friendly Interests Unit is to pre-

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 20, 1941, p. 541.

² BULLETIN of July 16, 1944, p. 63.

pare a complete revision of these regulations to accord more nearly with present conditions and to be based upon the numerous precedents and procedures which date from the second World War.

The Foreign Service regulations contain no information regarding the initiation and coordination of policy and action in matters pertaining to the representation by a third power of the interests of the United States in enemy countries. Since diplomatic relations are essentially a procedure of peace the failure of the regulations to cover this subject adequately is understandable. Nevertheless, wars do break out and the United States continues, from time to time, to participate in them. The problem of representation therefore must be faced, and it is the responsibility of the Friendly Interests Unit to deal with it. With no guiding precedents on which to base procedure it must be developed as cases arise; and since most of the cases are of an urgent nature the right decisions must be arrived at quickly.

The represented government, although it cannot specifically instruct the agent of the representing government, nevertheless may indicate its wishes in any given matter for the guidance of the agent. For example, when the German Government required the Swiss Government to close its consulates at Amsterdam and Salonika, the United States sent a strong protest to the German Government, through the Swiss Government, on the ground that such action materially interfered with the effectiveness of Swiss representation of American interests in the areas concerned. Since Switzerland was also protecting German interests in the United States, it was made evident that unless Germany permitted a fair representation of American interests in Germany the United States would have to reconsider its existing policy of imposing no restrictions upon the representation by the Swiss Government of German interests in the United States.

Other instances of German restrictions which the Friendly Interests Unit had to consider and attempt to remedy were the following: The limitation that Germany imposed on the Swiss consular staff at Paris; the involuntary delay by the Swiss consul in assuming the representation of American interests in Tunis, which was attributable to the German military authorities; the involuntary transfer of Swiss consulates from Marseilles and Nice to Montelimar and Grenoble upon German

orders (in which case it was found, however, that the effectiveness of Swiss representation was not impaired sufficiently to warrant protest); and restrictions imposed by the German authorities upon the quantity of gasoline permitted to representatives of the protecting power, which circumscribed their effectiveness in protecting United States interests by throttling its motor transportation at a time when the occupation immobilized public transportation facilities.

The Japanese Government likewise imposed unwarranted restrictions upon the Swiss representatives who had undertaken the protection of the interests of the United States in the occupied regions of the Far East. For example, the Swiss consulate at Hong Kong was arbitrarily closed by orders of the Japanese authorities; the Swiss representatives were all but prevented from making allowances of American Government funds to American nationals; and the Japanese imposed restrictions upon visits by Swiss authorities to places in Japanese-occupied areas where American nationals were detained, and in some places they permitted no visits at all.

Protection of property

One of the fundamental rights of a belligerent is that his diplomatic and consular properties and archives remain inviolate and that they be given adequate protection by the enemy government. It is the duty of the protecting power to see that this right is respected. In accordance with normal procedure the seal of the protecting power is placed upon such properties. Although consular properties do not possess so definite a claim to immunity as do diplomatic properties, the United States, on its part, places them in the same category and accords them full protection. Several flagrant violations of international law and usage in this field have been perpetrated both by the Germans and the Japanese. German officials entered the former American Embassy at Vichy, before the Swiss representative was able to place it under his protection, and removed certain archives and certain personal property belonging to officials of the Embassy. Later, on March 21, 1943, the German police entered the quarters at Baden-Baden of the former American Assistant Naval Attaché at Vichy, searched him and the quarters, removed certain documents from his briefcase, and kept him in solitary confinement for three and one-half days. The Friendly Interests Unit prepared and

sent protests to Bern to be presented to the German Government.

In the case of consular archives the Italians at Monaco refused to allow the Swiss consul at Nice to assume charge of the archives of the American consulate before the archives had been subjected to a minute examination by the Italian secret police. In Tunis both the American and British consular offices and residences were completely sacked and made uninhabitable. Safes were broken open and none of the archives remained. Consul General Doolittle's household goods and even clothing belonging to his family completely disappeared. Examples of failure of the Japanese Government to respect our diplomatic and consular properties in Japanese-occupied territories are even more flagrant, although treatment of corresponding property in Japan proper has apparently been correct.

A somewhat different problem has arisen in determining whether official protection can be extended to American semi-private property, such as the American Academy and St. Paul's Church in Rome. The criteria determining the American policy regarding such institutions are as follows: The property must not be utilized for profit; it must be devoted to public or semi-public use; and the protecting power must be permitted by the enemy government to protect the property as though it were official property of the United States Government. In these circumstances the State Department is disposed to permit such semi-public institutions to be given a measure of protection and to permit remittance of funds to enemy territory to meet minimum maintenance charges. The basic problem here is the decision of the Treasury Department not to license remittances of funds necessary to conserve such property in enemy territory against loss through war-conditioned legal process or confiscation for failure to meet fiscal or other obligations.

In the case of strictly private property, the Department has not been in a position to act other than to suggest that all available information be furnished to the Department so that every possible assistance might be given to the American owners of such properties as soon as such assistance might become practicable. Furthermore, the Swiss have been asked to do what they can toward conservation, short of paying charges on private property.

However, in conjunction with other United Nations, the United States issued on January 4, 1943 a warning of its intention to do all in its power to nullify the methods of dispossession practiced by the enemy governments and to hold them responsible for restitution and indemnification.¹

Private transfer of funds to enemy territory, whether used for maintenance of citizens or their properties, is not permitted. The Department sees no objection, however, to private sale of perishable property in the case of estates or to payment of local obligations due by the decedent when funds are available for the purpose. In general, the authorization given to the Swiss representatives is approximately the same as granted to officers of the Foreign Service in similar matters.

Transmission of private messages and documents

As a fundamental means of self-protection, the United States curtails by any means whatsoever communications between private persons in the United States and those in enemy territory. The restriction includes private correspondence by open or diplomatic mail, telegraph, telephone, and radio—every sort of document, even birth, marriage, and death certificates.

Upon purely humanitarian grounds, however, certain exceptions are allowed with respect to messages, and it is the function of the Friendly Interests Unit to inform the protecting power and all American diplomatic and consular officers and diplomatic missions in the United States of these regulations. For example, subject to censorship, brief personal messages, such as welfare and whereabouts inquiries, may be sent to or from enemy territories by mail or telegraph through specially licensed channels, such as the Red Cross and the Vatican, or if it is impossible to use those channels and if the inquiries are sufficiently important, they may be sent through official channels. In the latter case the messages must be in behalf of nationals of or nationals protected by the country serving as channel of communication.

The Unit must make sure that the representatives of the power protecting the interests of the United States in enemy territory forward information to the United States essential to its records in connection with the protection of its nationals. Such information includes notices of births, deaths, marriages, and divorces of its nationals.

¹ BULLETIN of Jan. 9, 1943, p. 21.

In addition, the United States has asked the protecting power to furnish, when possible, information concerning the status of private American property, real and personal, commercial and financial, in enemy territory. Information regarding semi-public American institutions of an educational, religious, or philanthropic character is also solicited.

It is a function of the Unit to see that these restrictions are not construed so that they limit in any way the transmission of documents, letters, postal cards, and telegrams by prisoners of war in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention of 1929, which has also been extended, so far as it is adaptable, to civilian internees.

Representation by the United States of foreign interests

The Friendly Interests Unit is also responsible for the representation by the United States of the interests of numerous foreign powers in countries where the represented powers have no diplomatic or consular representation. Our entrance into the war as a belligerent necessarily reduced the number of countries represented, but on January 1, 1944 the United States was still representing a dozen different countries in various parts of the world as well as performing, when requested, consular functions for several others and extending its good offices for China, Colombia, Iceland, the Netherlands, and Switzerland in various countries.¹

In the representation of foreign interests during the present conflict the United States has been faced with certain problems never before encountered. As a result of our maintaining the so-called Hoover-Stimson policy of non-recognition of the acquisition of territory by force, this Government has refused to be represented in or to permit the representation of the interests of any country, such as Slovakia, which was established in violation of that principle.

In the performance of the actual functions of representation the work is primarily carried on by the Foreign Service personnel which has charge of such representation. The Representation Section must supervise such representation with great care, must draft instructions, diplomatic notes, and letters, and must serve as the channel of communication with represented governments.

Miscellaneous duties

The Friendly Interests Unit performs miscellaneous duties, such as maintaining a channel of communication between certain of the American republics which have no diplomatic representation in Switzerland and the Swiss Government, which is in charge of the interests of those countries in enemy areas; making arrangements to give financial assistance to American seamen who are not American citizens but who are detained by the enemy; defining the eligibility of certain persons, particularly alien wives and dependents of American citizens in the Far East, to receive financial assistance from the funds of the United States Government; establishing policy concerning the collection of consular fees for represented governments; drafting instructions governing the performance of passport, visa, notarial, invoice, and shipping services on behalf of represented governments; and establishing standards of treatment for personnel employed abroad in connection with the representation by the United States of foreign interests.

The Unit, basing its position upon the final act of the Inter-American Conference on Systems of Economic and Financial Control, held in Washington in 1942,² is responsible for preparing and dispatching communications to the International Red Cross Committee at Geneva and instructions to the American diplomatic officers in the other American republics covering restrictions applicable to the transmission of funds from enemy territory to the Western Hemisphere, and from the Western Hemisphere to enemy territory through the facilities of the International Red Cross.

B. THE ENEMY INTERESTS UNIT

Those powers which are at war with the United States are represented at Washington by certain neutral powers, namely, Switzerland, Sweden, and Spain. It is the duty of the Enemy Interests Unit to initiate and coordinate such policy and action as are required in the supervision of such representation. Furthermore, these policies should correspond, as far as possible, to those followed in the territories of the other United Nations and in areas that our armed forces occupy.

¹ BULLETIN of Mar. 18, 1944, p. 265.

² BULLETIN of July 4, 1942, p. 581.

International law very specifically provides that foreign diplomatic representatives of enemy states shall be given full protection and shall be permitted to return home at the earliest possible time. The law regarding consular establishments is less specific, but modern states have generally given consuls approximately the same considerations in regard to protection as diplomats receive. In both cases the protecting power must see that proper treatment is accorded. The Enemy Interests Unit of the Representation Section was made responsible for negotiations relating to the proper treatment of Axis representatives that the State Department carried on with the protecting power. This included the securing of proper housing in the United States for the enemy diplomatic representatives and consuls in case of detention and the arranging for their early repatriation.

The United States Government was correctly liberal toward the German diplomatic staff—all the members of the Embassy staff were allowed to remain in their private houses until they could liquidate their personal affairs and pack their belongings. They were permitted free and continuous access to the representatives of the Swiss Legation, which had assumed representation of German interests. They were given continuous police protection, both in the Embassy and in going back and forth to their homes. When this Government decided that the Axis representatives should be segregated it made efforts immediately to find adequate hotel accommodations in the proper environment for the entire staff commensurate with their former official station. Similar correct treatment was accorded the representatives of the other Axis powers, Italy, Japan, Rumania, and Bulgaria.

The staffs of the German Embassy and of the Hungarian Legation and Consulates were housed at the Greenbrier Hotel at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia. Arrangements were made for them to communicate by direct wire with the Swiss and Swedish Legations, which were their respective protecting powers. Similar arrangements were made for the Japanese diplomatic and consular staffs at the Homestead Hotel, Hot Springs, Virginia.

About the middle of January 1942, at the request of the Attorney General, the Italian, Bulgarian, and Rumanian Missions were, for security reasons, also assembled at White Sulphur Springs. The

State Department had, up until that time, accorded these diplomats the privilege of remaining in their homes, since American diplomats were given the same courtesy in their capitals.

At the hotels in the United States where the enemy representatives were detained, some perplexing problems arose. The Federal Bureau of Investigation thought all arms in possession of members of the official groups should be removed. Since international law forbids search of diplomatic persons or premises, the State Department opposed any attempt at forcible action. The Secretary of State, as a compromise, asked the representatives of the protecting powers to request the members of the diplomatic and consular corps to turn over voluntarily to the Department's representative at the hotel all firearms in their possession. The Department returned such articles at the time of the general exchange of American, German, Italian, and Bulgarian nationals.

The United States Government assumed all expenses attached to such detention, and the Special Division assisted in the arrangements. Within the Division all arrangements for repatriation were assigned to the Representation Section, which distributed the task between the Repatriation Unit and the Enemy Interests Unit. The latter had charge particularly of negotiating with the German, Italian, and Japanese Governments through the protecting powers concerning conditions of the exchange, such as vessels to be used, safe-conducts to be obtained, and the amount of funds and baggage to be taken by the exchanged personnel.

Some idea of the problems may be understood when one considers that at the town of Lourenço Marques, where the exchange with Japan was to occur, thousands of persons arrived without funds and exchange facilities had to be provided to furnish the American repatriates with local and dollar currency both for their expenses at the port awaiting embarkation and in the vessel proceeding to the United States.

The following arrangements for funds were made: The State Department, under a Treasury license, made provision for the American consul at Lourenço Marques to advance to nationals of the United States and the other American republics escudos against promissory notes and to receive in return unused escudos when the party sailed. An officer was sent on the exchange vessel from New York to Lourenço Marques to advance dollar cur-

gency under such Treasury license to passengers against promissory notes. He had \$100,000 in currency which was sufficient to advance about \$50 to \$100 to each passenger. That amount would cover the needs of the passengers while they were on the vessel.

Temporary provision for food and shelter was necessary, as well as quarters for the personnel to handle the work of carrying out the exchange. The Representation Section had to solve these problems through correspondence with the American consul at Lourenço Marques.

Restrictions imposed upon baggage and funds

All aliens exchanged were permitted to take with them a certain amount of their personal property, including money. In the first two exchanges at Lisbon, Portugal, on the *Drottningholm* in 1942 all German nationals were permitted to take with them an amount not exceeding \$300 for each adult. On the third exchange German repatriates having an official character could take out \$300, but, since Germany had not reciprocated our liberal provision, non-officials were restricted to \$60.¹ The departing aliens could also take personal effects, including jewelry, clothing, and household goods, except furniture. Inclusion of such articles as cameras, radios, typewriters, and firearms was not permitted. The Enemy Interests Unit carried on the negotiations with the Foreign Funds Control and the Bureau of Customs to make the necessary arrangements.

Several interesting incidents arose in connection with the recent repatriation of the representatives of the Vichy-French Government. The French Ambassador to Japan had sent to Ambassador Henry-Haye six cases of vitamins for his personal use. The boxes had arrived in New York in July 1941, but the French Ambassador had not claimed them before his departure early in 1944. As a result, the question arose whether these cases could be properly claimed as personal property. When the French Ambassador declared that the vitamins were his personal property and agreed to distribute them under his own personal supervision to the children of France, permission to include them in his personal luggage was granted.

In 1942, in the case of non-official persons who were being repatriated, a careful search was made of their persons and baggage at New York, but later in 1943 and 1944 the complete customs examination took place before departure from the in-

terment camps. Strip-search was waived except in unusual cases.² The non-official persons were permitted to take no papers or documents except passports and birth certificates, which were needed for identification.

Loss of baggage in the exchange of nationals is likely to occur, and the Unit has upon numerous occasions made exhaustive efforts to find lost articles and turn them over to the protecting power.

Safe-conducts

In order to travel in times of war, in addition to the normal papers such as passports or certificates of identity, one must have a safe-conduct issued by the belligerent Government through whose blockade, or, less often, territory, a national of an opposing belligerent will pass. As prescribed by the United States Government the safe-conduct is a document giving the name, nationality, age, and occupation of the person, authorizing him to travel without molestation on a designated vessel sailing on a certain date from a port which is named and bound for a declared destination. If ports of call are made they must be noted. Such safe-conducts when authorized by the Department are issued by American diplomatic and consular officers, rarely by the Department.

The Enemy Interests Unit is charged with all negotiations pertaining to the granting of safe-conducts for the travel of all enemy belligerents. It determines whether those who are returning to the countries of which they are nationals are acceptable for repatriation. The greater number of these requests have come from persons in South America who are proceeding to Europe.

A unique case of safe-conduct, which seems to have established a precedent, was the issuance in September 1943 on the part of the United States of a documentary safe-conduct for the Swedish motor vessel *Gripsholm*, which was being employed on the voyage from New York to Mormugão and return to exchange nationals of the United States and certain Latin American republics for nationals of Japan. Before it issued this document the State Department obtained assurances of safe-conduct from all the United Nations and,

¹ This was the amount permitted to American repatriates from Germany.

² Individuals repatriated to Europe in 1942 were subjected to strip-search.

through Switzerland, obtained assurances of safe-conduct from the Japanese Government for itself and for all its co-belligerents. Although numerous exchange vessels, Red Cross vessels, and others had previously traveled under assurances of safe-conduct from all belligerents, no comparable document, so far as is known, had ever been issued reducing the assurances to certificate form. The inauguration of this practice, which is important historically, is therefore attributable to the initiative and foresight of the Special War Problems Division.

The Enemy Interests Unit in connection with these exchanges of belligerent nationals for Americans has various other duties to perform. In order to facilitate the mechanical operation of the exchange, involving the discharge and taking on board in a single day of hundreds of passengers, the Swiss representatives with the aid of designated repatriates were requested to prepare information which would be helpful in the berthing of officials on the exchange vessel. A complete alphabetical list, in 20 copies, of all persons reaching the exchange port is required as well as an alphabetical list of those persons who should have preferential berthing because of age, physical condition, or of the fact that they are accompanied by small children.

But before the exchange groups can be embarked, weeks of work are necessary after conclusion of the exchange agreement to find and assemble at railheads throughout the continental United States the hundreds of individuals to be included. Transportation schedules must be carefully planned so that on the day of sailing railway cars will reach the dockside at regular 45-minute intervals, the time required to process each group for embarkation. In this work the Special War Problems Division is ably assisted by the officials of the Chief Special Agent's staff, the Coast Guard, and officers of the Security Agencies. To make sure that the entire operation at the dock proceeds not only with dispatch but also in a measure which will not give rise to any legitimate complaints from the enemy nationals being embarked or from their Government, the Division

makes a complete pictorial record, including both still and motion pictures, of the operation. This record is kept in the Division's confidential file for use to refute any claims of mismanagement or ill-treatment that the enemy government may subsequently make. In addition, a 30-minute interval running report of the progress of the operation is telephoned by direct line from the pier to the Division from the moment the first group of exchangees arrives at the pier until the exchange vessel's whistle blows announcing the departure of the boat from the United States to the exchange port.

Hospital ships

By the terms of the tenth convention of the Hague Conference of 1907, the principles of the Geneva convention concerning the rules of land warfare were adapted to maritime warfare, and all hospital ships were given protection against attack or seizure. The convention, although it is being observed, is not legally in force in the present conflict because all of the belligerents have not adhered to it. A duty of the Enemy Interests Unit is to give notification of enemy hospital ships to the military authorities of the United States, and of United States hospital ships to enemy governments through the Swiss Government in accordance with the spirit of the pertinent international conventions. It also coordinates replies to enemy governments' complaints regarding alleged attacks upon enemy hospital ships by units of the United States armed forces, or on United States hospital ships by units of the enemy armed forces. Hospital ships have special markings and are illuminated¹ at night, but in airplanes from high altitudes or in foggy weather it is sometimes difficult to distinguish such markings. For that reason efforts are sometimes made to give notification of the presence of hospital ships in certain areas so that belligerents may take every precaution to respect them.

The United States Government has made every effort to comply with the principles of the Hague convention concerning the immunity of hospital ships and has investigated all protests made by the enemy through the protecting powers. Switzerland presented numerous complaints in behalf of the Italian Government. In every case a careful investigation followed and appropriate action was taken. In the case of an alleged attack upon

¹Blackout equipment may be carried and utilized in convoys according to a unilateral interpretation by the United States Government. The Hospital Ship Convention, which is generally observed, provides that hospital ships proceeding without illumination at night do so at their own risk.

the Italian hospital ship *Aquilaia* on April 26, 1943, it was found that no American aircraft were operating in the vessel's vicinity. In the case of the *Toscana*, attacks by American craft ceased as soon as the markings were observed. No hits were made, but the United States Government offered apologies.

On several occasions the United States associated itself with the British Government in protesting attacks upon British hospital ships by German and Italian planes in the Mediterranean area. A German dive bomber sank the hospital ship *Talamba* although it was clearly marked and was engaged at the time in embarking casualties. On other occasions the United States and Great Britain discussed their respective attitude regarding Japanese hospital ships which were not clearly marked or had not been officially notified to this Government or which had assumed the risks of being anchored or proceeding in close proximity to enemy war vessels.

Another policy which received consideration in the Department, but approval of which was not considered advisable, was the utilization of hospital ships to transport internees or repatriates under a safe-conduct. A careful consideration of these and similar problems was a part of the work that the officers of the Enemy Interests Unit of the Special Division transacted.

At the present time the United States has in commission some twenty hospital ships.¹ Considerable work is required, after receipt of all necessary information from the War and Navy Departments, in notifying enemy governments of the names and characteristics of their hospital vessels and in obtaining acknowledgments. Follow-up work is often necessary because, although not provided for in the convention, it is desirable for the safety of these vessels that acknowledgments be obtained before the vessels are cleared for humanitarian duties.

Control of funds

It is not the policy of the United States to permit the use of existing blocked funds of enemy governments in this country for expenditure on behalf of such enemy governments in the United States. Nevertheless, since the protecting powers must have money to carry on their functions, the United States has been willing to agree to an arrangement by which the protecting powers may

obtain funds for the representation of the interested enemy governments in the United States. Under Executive Order 8389, as amended, the protecting power may engage in financial transactions on behalf of enemy governments or their nationals pursuant only to license. Licenses have been issued authorizing the protecting powers to open and operate bank accounts.

The United States has been willing to agree to an arrangement by which the interested enemy governments will pay Swiss francs to the Swiss Foreign Office, which, in turn, will deposit such funds to the credit of the Special Swiss Franc Account which the American Legation at Bern maintains with the Swiss National Bank. Upon receipt of telegraphic advice that such funds have been deposited, the State Department will make available to the protecting power concerned, for deposit in the appropriate bank account in the United States, the counter value in dollars to be used in the representation of the interests in the United States of the respective country.

The United States has on numerous occasions remitted funds to Switzerland, which are deposited in the Special Swiss Franc Account with the Swiss National Bank in favor of the American Legation in Bern. From this account Swiss francs are supplied to the Swiss Government for purchasing other currencies necessary to represent the interests of the United States in third countries.

Many problems have arisen pertaining to the distribution of funds to enemy aliens detained in the United States. All funds belonging to enemy aliens are blocked; therefore this Government must resort to an exceptional procedure. For example, the Treasury Department has issued licenses to the representatives of the various protecting powers authorizing them to receive funds remitted from the other American republics and Canada for the benefit of aliens interned in the United States or Jamaica and to pay their funds to the officers in charge of the camp where the alien is interned. Such funds promote good morale and facilitate camp administration. The Friendly Interests Unit, on its own initiative, negotiates the issuance of the licenses permitting these remittances, in an effort to meet an evident need and terminate hopeless confusion.

¹This is about the same as the number possessed by the Axis powers: Germany, 24; Japan, 21. When Italy was ranged with the Axis, it possessed 22 hospital ships.

The Enemy Interests Unit carried on long negotiations with the Treasury Department and with the Japanese Government regarding funds to be taken by Japanese and American exchanged nationals. It finally made an arrangement that permitted each adult evacuee to take with him or her 1,000 yen, or \$300, for use on board ship until arrival at the place of exchange. Amounts of money unused were to be returned by the representative of the protecting power and used for representation purposes in the country from which the evacuee came. Numerous individual cases of transfer of funds, in instances where funds arrived at the last moment, to Japanese and Germans embarking on the exchange vessels were checked at the pier by Mrs. Hawley of the Enemy Interests Unit to see that the \$300 limit was maintained. In the case of 60 Japanese coming from Santiago, Chile, to embark on the vessel at Rio de Janeiro, Mr. Castle of the Unit arranged with the Treasury Department to have the Federal Reserve Bank of New York authorize the Santiago Branch of the National City Bank of New York to sell traveler's checks up to but not exceeding the amount of \$300 a person, provided the total amount sold did not exceed \$18,000. In the event that the bank had insufficient traveler's checks it was authorized to issue the balance in drafts. Each such draft and traveler's check was marked to the effect that it was payable only on board the M.S. *Gripsholm*.

An interesting situation in funds control arose over the annual sum of the proceeds of sales of fur-seal skins from the Pribiloff Islands that the Government of the United States paid to Japan in accordance with the North Pacific Sealing Convention of July 7, 1911. The sums sent annually to Japan varied from approximately \$10,000 to \$40,000. When the act of October 9, 1940 froze such disbursements the funds were held to the credit of Japan. In October 1940 Japan gave notice of termination of the treaty which, therefore, was abrogated as from October 1941. The United States was under obligation to pay the final installment of \$33,552.97 to the Japanese Government. It thought first of depositing this amount, minus certain sums due the United States, to the credit of Japan and notifying the Spanish Ambassador in charge of Japanese interests in the continental United States, but it finally decided merely to earmark the amount for payment to Japan and to make disposition of the funds following the close of the war.

Miscellaneous

One of the problems which required a considerable amount of attention and correspondence on the part of the Unit was the action to be taken regarding a collection of French paintings which had been on exhibit in Argentina and had then been sent to the United States. That collection, entitled "From David to the Present Day", included eight paintings lent by owners for a tour at the request of the French Ambassador to Argentina, with the understanding that they were to be returned within a few months. When the United States froze French assets the whole exhibit came under the control of the United States Government. The owners of the paintings on March 12, 1941 made applications for the return of the eight paintings, but the applications were rejected upon the basis of the information given. When Vichy broke relations with the United States, the question arose whether the United States should block these exhibits as articles of value blocked with other French funds and property or whether they might be excepted and returned to France with the members of the Embassy staff. A third possibility was to place the exhibit in the custody of the Swiss Legation as protecting power. The situation was complicated by the fact that the eight paintings added to the collection at the request of the French Ambassador to Argentina were privately owned by various individuals or collectors in Argentina and the United States. The Argentine Ambassador at Washington intervened personally to secure the return of one of these eight paintings which belonged to a citizen of Argentina. In this particular case the Treasury Department was willing to grant license upon proof of ownership for the return of this painting to its Argentine claimant.

Another aspect of the situation was raised when M. Batigne, previously curator of painting and later curator of French paintings at the National Gallery of Art and a member of the French Military Mission, requested that he be authorized to exhibit the collection known as "From David to the Present Day" as well as other paintings lent by the French Government and at present on exhibit in various museums or stored in New York.

The Enemy Interests Unit of the Special Division suggested that the United States Government, through the National Gallery, might act for the duration of the war as trustee for all French works of art and retain M. Batigne as curator.

This proposal was submitted to the trustees of the National Gallery with the assurance that the Foreign Funds Control of the Treasury Department would be disposed to issue the necessary authorization placing these various works of art in the custody of the National Gallery and that provision would be made for sufficient funds to defray the storage, maintenance, and insurance charges. The proposal was eventually broadened to cover the various French exhibition articles, including works of art, sent to the United States. Foreign Funds Control agreed, and the Treasury Department on March 13, 1944 issued a license to that effect.

A survey of the Repatriation Unit of the Representation Section will appear in the next issue of the BULLETIN.

Luxembourg Civil-Affairs Agreement

[Released to the press July 27]

Agreements in identical terms have been concluded by the United Kingdom and the United States of America with the Government of Luxembourg concerning the arrangements to be made for civil administration and jurisdiction in Luxembourg territory when it is liberated by the Allied expeditionary force under the Supreme Allied Commander.

These agreements, which are on the same model as the agreements concluded by the United Kingdom and the United States of America with the Governments of Belgium, the Netherlands, and Norway, are intended to be essentially temporary and practical in character.¹ They are designed to facilitate the task of the Supreme Allied Commander and to further the common purpose of the Governments concerned, namely, the speedy expulsion of the Germans from Allied territory and the final victory of the Allies over Germany.

The agreements recognize that the Supreme Allied Commander must enjoy *de facto* during the first or military phase of the liberation of Luxembourg such measure of supreme responsibility and authority over civil administration as may be required by the military situation. It is laid down

that, as soon as the military situation permits, the Luxembourg Government shall resume their full constitutional responsibility for civil administration on the understanding that such special facilities as the Allied forces may continue to require on Luxembourg territory will be made available for the prosecution of the war to its final conclusion.

The Soviet Government have been consulted regarding these arrangements and have expressed their agreement.

Mission for Restoration of Trade to Commercial Channels

[Released to the press July 26]

Under the sponsorship of the Department of State a special group comprising Government officials and representative businessmen temporarily in the Government service for the purpose will conduct a survey in North Africa and possibly in other areas to investigate the possibility of restoring trade to normal commercial channels. For this purpose the Foreign Economic Administration has secured the services temporarily of four outstanding representatives of firms with long foreign-trade experience. To this group will be added representatives of the Departments of State and Commerce, the Foreign Economic Administration, and perhaps the Bureau of the Budget.

At the request of the Secretary of State, the War Department has made available the services of the Honorable William S. Culbertson, Lt. Col., G.S.C., to serve as the chairman of the mission. Colonel Culbertson is now serving as Assistant to the Commandant of the Army Industrial College. He is an authority on trade and finance and has had wide public experience in the United States Tariff Commission and the diplomatic service, having served as Minister to Rumania and Ambassador to Chile.

The specific objectives of the mission are to review on the ground the problems involved in returning trade to normal channels as rapidly as wartime conditions permit and to recommend procedures which would insure the fullest possible participation of private business in such Government transactions as may be required in view of wartime exigencies.

¹ BULLETIN of May 20, 1944, p. 479.

Concurrent Resolution of Congress on the Establishment of the Republic of Iceland

[Released to the press July 26]

The Secretary of State delivered on the afternoon of July 26 to the Honorable Thor Thors, Minister of Iceland, an enrolled copy of the Concurrent Resolution recently adopted by unanimous vote of the Congress congratulating the Icelandic Althing on the establishment of the Republic of Iceland.¹

The text of the resolution is given below:

"WHEREAS the people of Iceland in a free plebiscite on May 20 to 23, 1944, overwhelmingly approved the constitutional bill passed by the Althing providing for the establishment of a republican form of government; and

"WHEREAS the Republic of Iceland will be formally established on June 17, 1944: Now, therefore, be it

"RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES (THE SENATE CONCURRING): That the Congress hereby expresses to the Icelandic Althing, the oldest parliamentary body in the world, its congratulations on the establishment of the Republic of Iceland and its welcome to the Republic of Iceland as the newest republic in the family of free nations."

The appreciation of the Althing for this action by the Congress was conveyed to the American Legation at Reykjavik through the Icelandic Ministry for Foreign Affairs in a note dated June 22, 1944, the text of which follows:

"The Ministry for Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the Legation of the United States of America and has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the Legation's note dated June 16, 1944 in which the Ministry is informed of a resolution passed manimously by the Senate and the House of Representatives concurring in which the Congress of the United States expresses to the Althing its congratulations on the establishment of the Republic of Iceland and its welcome to Iceland as the newest Republic in the family of free nations.

"This very friendly greeting, for which the Icelandic Government wishes to express its deepest appreciation, was immediately forwarded by the Ministry to the President of the United Althing and at the first meeting of the Althing thereafter the President read the greeting to the United Althing.

"Thereupon the President of the Althing stated, that the supreme authorities of the United States of America, the President and the Government, had been the first Power (being one of the greatest nations in the world) to promise in advance their recognition, should the independence of Iceland be fully solved in this year. Secondly he stated that this Power had been the first in sending a special representative of the highest standing from the President and the Government of the United States to be present and bring their felicitations on the great day of Iceland at the inauguration of the Constitution of the Republic on June 17, 1944. In addition to this, he said, the Althing now receives furthermore the greetings, felicitations, and blessings from the sister parliament of the Althing, the United States Congress, and that this would be a great source of joy to everybody, which the people of Iceland would most certainly remember, as well as the whole attitude of this great Power in every respect during the period that Iceland had had closer dealings with the United States than with any other country.

"The President of the Althing then concluded his speech with the following words: 'I shall in the name of the Althing take the liberty to bring in an appropriate manner the greetings of the Althing to the Congress of the United States and its wishes of wellbeing and especial thanks. Those members who support this will rise from their seats'.

"Whereupon the members rose from their seats.

"The Ministry for Foreign Affairs would appreciate if the Legation would kindly have the aforesaid greeting of the Althing forwarded to the United States Congress.

"MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
"Reykjavik, June 22, 1944."

¹ BULLETIN of June 17, 1944, p. 557.

TREATY INFORMATION

Agreement With Canada Regarding Certain Defense Installations

The following notes were exchanged by the Canadian Ambassador in Washington and the Secretary of State:

No. 238 WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 23, 1944.*
 SIR.

I have the honour to refer to the exchange of notes between the Governments of Canada and the United States dated January 27, 1943, regarding the post-war disposition of defence projects and installations constructed in Canada by the Government of the United States.¹ These notes approved the 28th Recommendation of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, which said in part:

“The Board considered the question of the post-war disposition of the defence projects and installations which the Government of the United States has built or may build in Canada. The Board noted that the two Governments have already reached specific agreements for the post-war disposition of most of the projects and installations thus far undertaken. It considers that such agreements are desirable and should be made whenever possible.

“The Board recommends the approval of the following formula as a generally fair and equitable basis to be used by reference whenever appropriate in the making of agreements in the future and to cover such defence projects, if any, the post-war disposition of which has not previously been specifically provided for:

“A: All immovable defence installations built or provided in Canada by the Government of the United States shall within one year after the cessation of hostilities, unless otherwise agreed by the two Governments, be relinquished to the Crown either in the right of Canada or in the right of the province in which the same or any part thereof lies, as may be appropriate under Canadian law.”

2. As hereinafter explained, the two governments have agreed that special arrangements should be made relating to permanent United States air installations in Canada and to the telephone line from Edmonton to the Alaska boundary built by the United States Government.

3. In note no. 643 of December 18, 1943, I informed you that the Canadian Government “will not accept payment from the United States Government for the construction of any permanent facilities or improvements made by the Canadian Government on United States Government account on airfields in Northwest Canada, and will make payment to the United States Government for all construction of a permanent nature carried out by the United States Government on air routes in this area.”

4. It was subsequently agreed between the two Governments that, in addition, the Canadian Government should assume the cost of permanent air installations elsewhere in Canada and at Goose Bay (Labrador) built by or on the account of the United States Government, the cost of the telephone line from Edmonton to the Alaska boundary built by the United States Government, and the cost of the proposed improvement program on the Northwest Staging Route.

5. Discussions have recently taken place between representatives of the two Governments regarding the details of the decisions and arrangements referred to in the two preceding paragraphs, with a view to listing the installations involved and their costs, and to settling the exact amount of money to be paid by the Canadian Government to the United States Government.

6. It is my understanding that the following has been agreed as a result of these discussions. The Canadian Government will pay to the United States Government the following amounts in United States dollars for construction carried out by the United States Government:

Northwest Staging Route (including contracts not yet completed)	\$31,311,196
Flight strips along the Alaska Highway	3,262,687
Flight strips along the Mackenzie River	1,264,150
Hudson Bay Air Route	27,460,330
Airfield at Mingan, P. Q.	3,627,980
Airfield at Goose Bay, Labrador	543,000
Telephone line from Edmonton to Alaska boundary	9,342,208

TOTAL 76,811,551

¹ Executive Agreement Series 391.

7. The details of the costs of construction are shown in the attached appendices¹ marked "I", "II" and "III", which have been prepared by the United States War Department. The appendices show that costs of \$90,683,571 were actually incurred by the United States Government in construction but \$13,872,020 of this amount was for installations which, although of value to joint defence during the war, have no permanent value. It has been agreed that the Canadian Government should pay that part of United States construction costs which represents installations having a permanent value, namely \$76,811,551.

8. The costs incurred by the Canadian Government on United States Government account which the Canadian Government will assume pursuant to the decisions reached are as follows:

Northwest Staging Route	\$18,359,953
Northeast Canada	1,290,010
Airfield at Goose Bay, Labrador	9,950,000
TOTAL	\$29,599,963

In addition the Canadian Government will pay \$5,161,000 for the projected improvement program on the Northwest Staging Route. Details of the four items mentioned in this paragraph are given in the attached appendix marked "IV".

9. It is understood that all the items mentioned in the four appendices, whether or not of permanent value, will be relinquished to the Canadian Government pursuant to the Exchange of Notes of January 27, 1943, hereinbefore referred to. However, such relinquishment does not affect existing arrangements for the maintenance, operation and defence of these facilities for the duration of the war. In this connection, it is relevant to quote the following extract from the Journal of the meeting of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence held April 12-13, 1944:

"In noting this decision of the two Governments, (i. e. the decision of the Canadian Government to assume the costs of the installations), the Board observed that it relates only to the financial aspect of the facilities in question and has no bearing on existing arrangements for the maintenance,

operation and defence of the facilities for the duration of the war. It is the Board's understanding that the existing arrangements will remain in effect for the duration of the emergency as previously agreed upon unless modified by mutual agreement between the two Governments."

10. If the foregoing is acceptable to the Government of the United States, this note and your reply thereto shall be regarded as placing on record the understanding arrived at between our Governments.

Accept [etc.]

LEIGHTON MCCARTHY

JUNE 27, 1944.

EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to refer to your note of June 23, 1944 in regard to a decision of the Canadian Government to reimburse the United States Government for the expenditures on certain defense installations in Canada and at Goose Bay (Labrador). The proposals set forth in Your Excellency's note are acceptable to the Government of the United States. It is agreed that your note and this reply thereto shall be regarded as placing on record the understanding arrived at between our Governments.

Accept [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:

A. A. BERLE, Jr.

Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic

Panama

The Director General of the Pan American Union, by a letter of July 21, 1944, informed the Secretary of State that on July 13, 1944 His Excellency the Ambassador of Panama in the United States, Señor Don Enrique A. Jiménez, 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 on December 15, 1943.

¹Not printed.

Protocol on Pelagic Whaling

The American Embassy in London transmitted to the Department of State the following information received from the British Foreign Office regarding deposits of instruments of ratification of and notification of accession to the protocol relating to pelagic whaling operations, signed at London on February 7, 1944:

Ratifications:

United States—instrument of ratification deposited in the archives of the Government of the United Kingdom on July 10, 1944

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland—instrument of ratification deposited in the archives of the Government of the United Kingdom on June 28, 1944

Accession:

Mexico—notification of accession placed on record in the archives of the Government of the United Kingdom on June 29, 1944

The Norwegian instrument of ratification of the protocol was deposited on March 31, 1944 (see BULLETIN of Apr. 29, 1944, p. 400).

Agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

Guatemala

The Ambassador of Guatemala transmitted to the Secretary of State, with a note of July 11, 1944, the instrument of ratification of the agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration signed in Washington on November 9, 1943. The instrument of ratification, signed by the President of the Republic of Guatemala, is dated June 7, 1944.

The Proclaimed List

[Released to the press July 29]

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 the Foreign Economic Administration, and the Acting Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, on July 29, 1944, issued Cumulative Supplement 5 to Revision VII of the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals, promulgated March 23, 1944.

Part I of Cumulative Supplement 5 contains 55 additional listings in the other American republics and 62 deletions. Part II contains 156 additional listings outside the American republics and 59 deletions.

Visit of Brazilian Director General of Posts and Telegraphs

[Released to the press July 26]

Major Landry Sales Gonçalves, Director General of Posts and Telegraphs of Brazil, has arrived in this country for the purpose of studying censorship, postal and telecommunications operations and facilities of the United States. Major Landry Sales is accompanied by two of his principal assistants, Hamilton Scholl and Demosthenes Braga, postal and telegraphic experts, respectively.

Major Landry Sales is expected to remain in this country approximately three weeks, during which time he plans to visit various cities to observe the operation of the postal and telegraph systems as well as telecommunication manufacturing centers.

Mr. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State, will act as host at an official luncheon at the Carlton on Monday, July 31, given by the Department in honor of Major Landry Sales and his party.

Visit of Mexican Rural-Education Specialist

Professor Guillermo Bonilla Segura, head of the Department of Cultural Missions of the Mexican Ministry of Education, is in the United States as a guest of the Department of State. During his visit he will observe rural-education and agricultural-extension programs.

The cultural missions in Mexico, which were organized nearly a quarter of a century ago, were suspended in 1939. They were resumed, however, in 1942, under a new plan which provided for the following types: Missions designed to improve educational standards and living conditions among the Indians, who form a large part of the population of Mexico; missions for workers, especially those in mines and textile factories; and missions for the training of teachers.

THE DEPARTMENT

Appointment of Officers

Raymond L. Zwemer as Chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation With the American Republics, Office of American Republic Affairs, effective June 17.

Emile Despres as Adviser on European Finance in the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs, Office of Economic Affairs, effective July 4.

Wayne G. Jackson and Eugene V. Rostow as Advisers in the Supply and Resources Division, effective July 8.

Elmer G. Barland as Adviser in the Liberated Areas Division, effective July 8.

Hallett Johnson and Orsen N. Nielsen as Advisers in the Eastern Hemisphere Division, effective July 8.

Robert P. Terrill as Acting Assistant Chief of the Commodities Division, effective July 8.

Charles Bunn as Consultant to the Division of Commercial Policy, effective July 8.

Vernon E. Bundy as Special Assistant to the Chief of the Division of Commercial Policy, effective July 8.

Robert R. Wilson as Consultant on Commercial Treaties to the Division of Commercial Policy, effective July 8.

John M. Cabot as Chief of the Division of Caribbean and Central American Affairs, effective July 1.

Philip O. Chalmers as Acting Chief of the Division of Brazilian Affairs, effective July 1.

Abbot Low Moffat as Chief of the Division of Southwest Pacific Affairs, effective July 1. Mr. Moffat will continue as an Adviser in the Liberated Areas Division.

Richard W. Morin as Chief of the Division of Public Liaison, effective July 14.

Norman Burns as Assistant Chief of the Commodities Division, effective July 17.

PUBLICATIONS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Publications of the Department of State (a list cumulative from October 1, 1929). July 1, 1944. Publication 2150. iv, 31 pp. Free.

The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 5, July 28, 1944, to Revision VII of March 23, 1944. Publication 2153. 60 pp. Free.

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

The articles listed below will be found in the July 29 issue of the Department of Commerce publication entitled *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, copies of which may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, for 10 cents each:

"Synthetic Organic Chemicals in Republic of Panama Today", by C. William Cowles, American vice consul, American Embassy, Panamá.

"Dominican Republic in 1943", based on a report from James G. McCargar, third secretary and vice consul, American Embassy, Ciudad Trujillo.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

VOL. XI, NO. 267

AUGUST 6, 1944

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SPECIAL WAR PROBLEMS DIVISION: *By Graham H. Stuart* ☆ ☆



BULLETIN



August 6, 1944

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Information, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest is included.

Publications of the Department, cumulative lists of which are published at the end of each quarter, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

The BULLETIN, published with the approval of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., to whom all purchase orders, with accompanying remittance, should be sent. The subscription price is \$2.75 a year; a single copy is 10 cents.

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Position of British Government on Argentine Problem

Statement by THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press August 2]

Requested to comment on the British Prime Minister's statement of August 2 on Argentina in the House of Commons, Acting Secretary Stettinius said:

"The statement by Prime Minister Churchill in the House of Commons today in which he expressed regret that the Government of Argentina 'has chosen to dally with evil' and 'has not seen fit

to declare herself wholeheartedly, unmistakably and with no reserve and qualification on the side of freedom' is truly of great importance.

"The Prime Minister's statement goes to the very heart of the Argentine problem. He has clearly and forcefully expressed the common position of the British Government and of all of the governments which have refrained from recognizing the Farrell regime."

International Peace and Security Organization

[Released to the press August 1]

The Acting Secretary of State on August 1 made the following announcement:

The informal conversations on international organization for peace and security between representatives of this Government, representatives of the United Kingdom, and representatives of the Soviet Union will begin on the morning of August 14 at Dumbarton Oaks. After the conclusion of these conversations representatives of this Government, representatives of the United Kingdom, and representatives of China will conduct similar conversations on the same subject at the same place.

As has already been indicated in prior announcements, the forthcoming conversations will be exploratory and informal in

nature. Those who will from time to time participate with me in different phases of these conversations will be drawn from the following list of persons who have been assisting the Secretary of State on the subject of international organization and security: Messrs. Isaiah Bowman, Benjamin V. Cohen, James Clement Dunn, Henry P. Fletcher, Joseph C. Grew, Green H. Hackworth,

Stanley K. Hornbeck, Breckinridge Long, Leo Pasvolosky, and Edwin C. Wilson; Lt. Gen. Stanley D. Embick, Maj. Gen. George V. Strong, Maj. Gen. Muir S. Fairchild, Admiral Arthur J. Hepburn, Vice Admiral Russell Willson, and Rear Admiral Harold C. Train. This Government will furnish whatever secretariat may be needed for the efficient conduct of the conversations.

Severance by Turkey of Relations With Germany

[Released to the press August 2]

This Government welcomes as a step toward full cooperation with the United Nations in their struggle against Nazi aggression the decision of the Turkish Grand National Assembly on August 2 to sever diplomatic and economic relations with Germany.

Death of Foreign Minister of Spain

[Released to the press August 4]

The following message has been sent to His Excellency Don José Pan de Soraluce y Español, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain, by Acting Secretary Stettinius:

On behalf of my Government and on my own behalf I wish to express my deep regret at the untimely death of Count Jordana. Please convey to Comtess Jordana and to her family my sincere condolences. The Secretary, who is away from the Department for a few days, has personally asked that his deepest sympathy be included in this message.

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, JR.

Acting Secretary of State

[Released to the press August 4]

The news of Count Jordana's death has been received with great regret by officials of this Government.

Count Jordana became Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain for the second time in September 1912, two months prior to the Allied landings in North Africa. He took a leading part in bringing about prompt acceptance by the Spanish Government of Allied guarantees to Spain conveyed by President Roosevelt to General Franco and communicated to the latter by Ambassador Hayes in Madrid.

When the Spanish Government failed to obtain equivalent guarantees from the Germans, Count Jordana likewise took a leading part in warning the Germans that Spain would resist any effort on their part to cross the Spanish territory in an attempt to close the Straits of Gibraltar to our forces.

This Government conducted a series of important negotiations with Count Jordana which brought great benefits to the Spanish people as well as to the United States and its Allies. The recent wolfram negotiations were outstanding in this category.

With Count Jordana's cooperation many thousands of Allied and stateless refugees who had escaped from Nazi oppression and entered Spain, most of them clandestinely, were evacuated with American assistance to destinations of their choice.

Meetings on Post-War Telecommunications Problems

[Released to the press August 4]

The Department of State has issued invitations to meetings to be held on August 11 and 12, 1944 in Washington to consider certain problems involving post-war telecommunications, particularly with a view to international telecommunications conferences, some of which it is anticipated may be held within a year, and others immediately following the conclusion of the war.

The Department has circulated documents about which the meetings of August 11 and 12 will primarily revolve. They include possible revision of the International Telecommunications Convention of Madrid, 1932, and of the International General Radio Regulations of Cairo, 1938, as well as a proposed revision of the frequency spectrum.

These documents are not put forward as having approval of all United States Government agencies concerned but rather are designed for use as a basis of discussion between government and industry at the forthcoming meetings. It is the hope of the Department that proposals will also be submitted by members of industry and by other United States Government agencies looking toward the most complete collaboration between Government and industry and toward appropriate international conferences, so that the plans ultimately worked out will be in the best interest of all the public and private American agencies involved.

Death of President Quezon

Statement by THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press August 1]

I have learned with profound regret of the death of President Quezon. His passing is a great shock to all of us in the Department and is a very great loss both to the Filipino people and the people of the United States. Throughout his life President Quezon was a staunch friend of the United States and gave this country unstinted loyalty and cooperation. His passing at this moment is especially sad when he was working in connection with the post-war planning for the independence of the Philippines and when he was counting upon his early return to his native land.

World Affairs in Three Dimensions

Address by ASSISTANT SECRETARY BERLE¹

[Released to the press August 3]

This talk tonight is merely to set out some of the new problems which modern science is throwing up to the Department of State. They can be summed up in a sentence. They are the problems of a world of three dimensions instead of the old problems of the flat map we knew in our school days. We are seeing, today, the end of the flat map.

When most of us were in school, practically all international problems were on the surface of the earth or the surface of the sea. You could stop intercourse between nations by putting up a fence on any boundary. Many boundaries, in fact, literally did have fences, with gates where the roads crossed from one country to another.

The greatest gift a government can give its people is to keep war away from their soil. Accordingly, these boundaries or fences were protected. Sometimes protection consisted of a line of fortresses, like the line between France and Germany, or still later the Maginot Line by which, we all remember, France hoped to keep Hitler out. Where a country had the sea as a boundary, it defended there, too, with naval fleets, coast guns, and so forth. In World War I, in which I served as second lieutenant, the entire strategy was built on national boundaries and how to fortify and defend them.

But in our own time that whole situation has changed. It began, I suppose, when the Wright brothers first flew their experimental plane, the *Kitty Hawk*; one wonders whether they knew what changes they were going to make in the world's history and the fate of empires.

Now there is no fence high enough or strong enough to keep out aircraft; the aeronautical engineers have learned how to fly to the upper reaches of the air itself. No gun has range enough to shoot that high. And there are not airplanes enough in the world to stop all the enemy aircraft at the borders.

This is simple to say. What this is doing to world affairs is not so simple.

The strongest and biggest power in the world

can no longer guarantee that an enemy shall not cross its border and bomb its cities. You can make it dangerous and expensive for the other fellow to do it, because you can cross the border in his country, too; and if you have more planes and more bombs than he does you can see that he gets the worst of the exchange. But that is not the same thing as being able to tell your country that no one can touch it. There are, of course, limits to what airplanes can do. But we now have robot bombs, which are really flying torpedoes. They are harder to shoot down than airplanes, though a good many are being shot down by British, Canadian, and American fighter planes on the English coast. But if you really want to stop them you have to get back into your enemy's country and smash the emplacement from which he shoots them.

What that means is that an enemy can sit deep in his own country, building these machines, and without moving can shoot them across his boundary, and perhaps across two or three small countries in between, hitting you or some other country a great many miles away.

The old flat map is still there. There may still be a fence on the national boundary. But the robot never heard of a map and wouldn't know a frontier if it met one.

During the same period in which the airplane and the robot bomb are making international fences look old-fashioned another scientific development is going on which is making even more trouble for the flat map. This is the science of using electric wavelengths, like the wavelengths which are bringing this broadcast to you tonight. Being no scientist, I don't try to explain how it is done; but we all know, fairly well, what is being done, and we can guess some more things that will be done in the future. You can, by using electricity, set up electric waves which will go all over the earth. A national boundary is just nothing in their lives. These waves go straight through most fences, just as some of your radios have no

¹ Delivered on the "World Statesmen" program over the facilities of station WMCA and the Atlantic network, Aug. 3, 1944.

aerials and yet the wavelengths come right into your room. Development along this line has fortunately been mainly peaceful: wireless messages, radio, and radiotelephones, with television coming along. Yet in international affairs the flat map took its worst and biggest beating at this point. You can be sovereign of the air if you like; but the most sovereign country can no more stop a radio wave from coming into its borders than King Canute in the old legend could order the tide to stop rising.

These waves could carry music, speeches or commercial messages, and pictures. They also can carry propaganda and signals to the fifth columns.

Can they do anything else? We don't yet know. They can tell a good distance away whether an airplane or ship is coming toward you. At present this use of radio waves—now called "radar"—is still in its infancy.

There are other scientific experiments going on today which will add still further to our problems; but they can wait for another time. The two sets of questions raised by the air and the wavelengths through the earth are enough to keep us busy for a while. What will they do to your life and mine—and still more to the lives of the children who are just coming along? What happens when the flat map of our school days begins to crumple up?

Well, the first thing that happens is that you begin thinking about other countries. You have to. If a fellow far outside your country can build a concrete rigging from which he can land a rocket contraption loaded with high explosive in your backyard, you become somewhat interested in that other fellow. You want to know whether, when he starts building something out of concrete, it is a football stadium or a rocket-bomb emplacement.

You can have a fair guess as to what he is thinking. You can listen in on his radio to what his government is saying and what his news-people are saying. He and his friends are perhaps listening in on you and your friends, wondering, just as you are, what the international weather looks like.

You no longer feel quite so sure that safety depends on a couple of oceans. You probably know

that planes already in existence—the *Constellation*, for instance—can cross the Atlantic in about seven hours. If you had the luck to look on some of the drawing-boards in some of the laboratories you would see designs for planes which probably could cross the Atlantic in far less time. A few years from now the Atlantic Ocean will no more save the United States from trouble than the English Channel saves the British Isles tonight.

And so you begin to think, perhaps, of world organization. The boys on the beachheads in Normandy are fighting to smash this present attack. But it will take something more than victory to stop this from happening again. The United States has not seen a foreign foe on its soil for more than a century and a quarter, thanks to the flat map. But the flat map is no longer a going concern. So we have to start working at the business of keeping the peace, at the business of helping to work with other nations so that no one of them shall break the peace, so that everyone can be reasonably sure at all times that the men in all the countries working with the concrete mixers are building dwelling-houses or peaceful factories, not rocket emplacements.

Practically everyone in the world wants a system of international peace. But not everybody has made up his mind to do the things that have to be done if war is going to be prevented. The maintenance of peace does mean use of force from time to time. It does mean that while looking out for yourself you give the other fellow a chance to live and sell his goods. It does mean settling quarrels by law instead of by fifth columns and rocket bombs. It means making international agreements about a lot of things—air and communications and commerce and trade. Some of these were not agreements you thought you had to make in earlier days; but those were the days when you could put up your fence on your flat map and forget about the man on the other side of it.

You are living with that man now: at long distance, but at close range. You and he, and millions of people like us and like him, are neighbors, whether they like it or not. We cannot escape the task of building a system of good neighbors.

Allied Control Commission for Italy¹

The armistice with Italy provided for a Control Commission to regulate and execute the terms of the armistice under the direction of the Supreme Allied Commander. On November 10, 1943 General Eisenhower announced the establishment of the Allied Control Commission for Italy to assume "the duty of carrying out the terms of the armistice and of aligning Italian economy in complete support of the United Nations fight against Germany". The president of the Allied Control Commission is the Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean Theater, Gen. Sir Henry Maitland Wilson. General Wilson has delegated his authority as president of the Control Commission to General Alexander, the Allied Theater Commander in Italy. The active head of the Control Commission, however, is the deputy president or chief commissioner, as he is more commonly referred to, who was, until his recent resignation for reasons of health, Lt. Gen. Noel Mason-MacFarlane, former Governor of Gibraltar. General Mason-MacFarlane's immediate assistant, Capt. Ellery Stone, U.S.N.R., is acting chief commissioner until the appointment of General Mason-MacFarlane's successor.

The Control Commission is divided into four sections, headed by vice presidents of the Control Commission, and six independent subcommissions:

1. Political Section
2. Economic Section
3. Administrative Section
4. Regional Control and Military Government Section
5. Navy Subcommission
6. Army Subcommission
7. Air Subcommission
8. War Material Subcommission
9. Telecommunication Subcommission
10. Prisoners of War and Displaced Persons Subcommission

The Economic Section and the Administrative Section are further divided into subcommissions, as follows:

ADMINISTRATIVE SECTION

1. Interior
2. Public Safety
3. Public Health
4. Legal
5. Education

6. Property Control
7. Monuments and Fine Arts

ECONOMIC SECTION

1. Industry and Commerce
2. Labor
3. War Factories
4. Agriculture
5. Food
6. Public Works and Mines
7. Finance
8. Internal Transportation

The Political Section is headed by joint vice presidents, one American and one Englishman: Samuel Reber and Harold Caccia. The Economic Section is headed by Col. William O'Dwyer, American, with the title of Vice President of the Control Commission and personal rank of Minister. The Administrative Section is headed by Air Commodore Lord Stansgate, a British officer, with the title of Vice President of the Control Commission. The Regional Control and Military Government Section is headed by Brig. Maurice Lush, an English Army officer, with the title of Vice President of the Control Commission.

The personnel of the Control Commission is roughly 50 percent American and 50 percent British, the only exceptions being a Soviet and a French representative on the Control Commission attached to the staff of the chief commissioner. The personnel of the Commission was originally entirely military except for the members of the Political Section and a limited number of experts in the Economic Section. It is present policy, however, to assign civilian experts of both nationalities to the Control Commission to relieve the increasing personnel problem and to provide for the time when the Allied military authorities may wish to turn over the function of the Control Commission to civilian agencies of the Allied Governments.

The chief commissioner of the Allied Control Commission is also chief civil-affairs officer for Allied Military Government. Originally Allied Military Government and the Allied Control Com-

¹Prepared in the Division of Southern European Affairs, Office of European Affairs, Department of State.

mission were separate entities: the former under the direct command of the Theater Commander in Italy, the latter under the Supreme Allied Commander in Algiers. In the reorganization of the Control Commission in January 1944 the headquarters and general staffs of the two organizations were combined and made identical. They are now known as AMG/ACC in Italy. The distinction between the two branches of the now combined organization is briefly that the Allied Military Government functions in territory in the forward areas behind the Allied lines where administration of Allied forces is necessary, while the Allied Control Commission functions in that territory more remote from the front line which it has been possible to restore to Italian administration. Since the beginning of the Italian campaign the Supreme Allied Commander has, upon the recommendation of the Advisory Council for Italy, withdrawn Allied Military Government from and restored to Italian administration the Islands of Sicily and Sardinia and the 15 southern Provinces of the mainland (with the exception of the port of Naples); that is, all territory south of the northern boundaries of the Provinces of Naples and Campobasso. It is contemplated that on August 15 the Provinces of Littoria, Frosinone, and Rome (including the city of Rome) will be added to that territory already restored to Italian administration. The remaining areas behind the Allied lines will be administered directly by Allied Military Government. The Supreme Allied Commander will, however, continue to exercise supreme authority in all of liberated Italy through the Allied Control Commission of which he is president *ex officio*. The relationship of the Control Commission to the Italian Government and to Italian administration in liberated areas is one of supervision and guidance rather than one of direct administration as in the case of Allied Military Government.

The Allied Control Commission for Italy is the organ through which relations between the United Nations and the Italian Government are conducted. Consequently, the relations of the United Nations, including the United States and Great Britain, with the Italian Government are on a military basis.

The Allied Control Commission established itself in Rome on July 15, 1944 at the time the Italian Government returned to the capital.

Mission of Educators

[Released to the press August 5]

A mission of three North American educators leaves on Monday, August 7, by plane for La Paz, Bolivia, at the invitation of the Bolivian Government.

The mission consists of Roy Tasco Davis, director of the Inter-American Schools Service; E. Duncan Grizzell, chairman of the Executive Committee on the Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards; and John Jacob Seidel, Assistant State Superintendent of Education of Maryland. They will spend six weeks in surveying the public-school system in Bolivia and will make a report on their findings, with appropriate recommendations.

According to the Bolivian Minister of Foreign Affairs, the work of this mission of educators is "in keeping with the full spirit of continental cooperation which permeates the policy of the American nations." The visiting experts, he says, will "put themselves in contact with the Ministry of Education of Bolivia" in order to study jointly the present educational needs in that country and to "decide how many experts and in what different fields should lend their service to Bolivia." The most pressing immediate problems have to do with educational administration, the organization of normal schools, and the organization of pre-vocational and vocational institutions.

Inter-American Coffee Board

[Released to the press August 5]

Reference is made to the Department's press release 199 of May 30, 1944 concerning the Inter-American Coffee Board which administers the Inter-American Coffee Agreement.¹

The President has now approved the designation of Mr. James H. Wright, Assistant to the Director of the Office of American Republic Affairs, Department of State, as this Government's alternate delegate to the Board. Mr. Wright succeeds Mr. Walter N. Walmsley, Jr., in this capacity. Mr. Walmsley, who was formerly Chief of the Division of Brazilian Affairs, has now been assigned to duties away from the Department.

¹ BULLETIN of June 3, 1944, p. 512.

Agreement With Canada Regarding Certain Defense Installations

Statement by THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

[Released to the press August 11]

A statement by the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King, regarding reimbursement to the United States for defense facilities constructed in Canada, follows:

"I wish to lay on the table an exchange of notes dated June 23, 1944 between the Canadian Ambassador in Washington and the Secretary of State of the United States, constituting an agreement under which the Canadian Government undertakes to reimburse the United States Government for certain works which the latter have constructed in Canada. It covers also certain United States expenditures at the base constructed by Canada at Goose Bay in Labrador.¹

"The Minister of Munitions and Supply informed the House in February of the Government's decision to reimburse the United States Government for permanent improvements which they had made to airfields on the northwest staging route and in the northwest generally. Then in April the Minister of Finance stated that as part of an understanding which he had reached with the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States in connection with The Hyde Park Declaration, the Canadian Government would reimburse the United States Government for permanent improvements which they have made to other airfields in Canada and for the telephone line from Edmonton to the Alaska boundary which was also built by the United States. The exchange of notes which I have tabled is an agreement between the two Governments on this subject and, with its appendices, goes into considerable detail as to the amounts spent in various localities.

"It has been agreed that Canada will reimburse the United States to the extent of 76.8 million dollars (United States funds). This covers construction costs incurred by the United States Government on works of permanent value on the northwest staging route, the flight strips along the Alaska Highway, the flight strips along the Mackenzie River, the airfields in northeastern Canada, the airfield at Mingan, Quebec, the airfield at Goose Bay, Labrador, and the telephone line from Ed-

monton to the Alaska boundary. An additional 13.8 million dollars spent by the United States on these projects is not being repaid by Canada since, while necessary for the prosecution of the war, it represents wartime expenditure for United States purposes and provides nothing of permanent value—for example, temporary barracks and other housing facilities. However, all these works, whether of permanent or non-permanent value, are relinquished to the Canadian Government and it is I am sure a source of satisfaction to both Governments that a specific agreement has been reached regarding the disposition of these facilities.

"I should also point out that in addition to reimbursing the United States for the outlays under reference Canada has assumed substantial expenditures for the construction of wartime facilities which were originally made on the understanding that we would be reimbursed by the United States. Our expenditures under this head in Canadian funds will total 34.7 million dollars. Thus including our reimbursements to the United States and the expenditures which we are making ourselves the amount expressed in Canadian dollars which the Canadian Government is spending on the airfields and related projects mentioned in the exchange of notes is of the order of 120 million dollars.

"Members will observe that all of the foregoing expenditures were incurred in connection with defence installations in northwestern and northeastern Canada. Both are vital areas in the joint defence plans of the United States and Canada. Through the permanent joint board on defence far-reaching defence measures have been taken to close these back doors of the continent against attack by Germany and Japan. In concept and in execution the defence plans for these areas represent one of the most effective examples of co-operation among the United Nations. At the same time these facilities have become links in the offensive plans of the Allies. Planes fly across the north-

¹ BULLETIN of July 30, 1944, p. 127.

west to the Pacific theatre of war and across the northeast to Europe.

"Considerable information has already been given to the House and to the public about the Northwest staging route, but for reasons of security little information about the northeast staging route has so far been made available.

"The need for a northeast staging route was originally suggested to Canada by the United Kingdom Government in August 1940, with the suggestion that the matter be discussed with the United States. Long-range bombers were already being ferried across the Atlantic through the Newfoundland Airport at Gander, but this airport was congested and there were no facilities for ferrying short-range bombers or fighters which were beginning to come off United States assembly lines in considerable volume. Following discussions between Canada and the United States the United States proceeded to investigate the possibilities of establishing airfields in Greenland while Canada proceeded to reconnoitre Labrador. In June 1941, Mr. Eric Fry of the Topographical Survey, who had been seconded to the Royal Canadian Air Force, discovered an ideal site at Goose Bay, North West River, and a preliminary survey was made. A United States Army Air Force party subsequently examined and recommended the site. By agreement with the Government of Newfoundland construction was begun by Canada almost immediately and the field was in use before winter closed in.

"It was subsequently agreed by the Governments of Newfoundland and of the United Kingdom that Canada should be given a ninety-nine year lease to Goose Air Base for defence purposes; that this air base should be available to the Royal Air Force and to the United States Air Forces for the duration of the war and for such time thereafter as the parties might agree to be necessary or advisable in the interests of common defence; that the question of civil air use should remain over for settlement after the war, but that in any event civil and military aircraft owned by the Government of Newfoundland should have rights to use the base on terms not less favourable than aircraft owned by the Government of Canada.

"In the meantime, the United States, by agreement with the Danish Minister at Washington, had in April 1941 assumed responsibility for the

defence of Greenland and had begun constructing airfields there which were to be available to other 'American nations', which included Canada. Shortly afterwards the United States also made an agreement with Iceland for the defence of that island, and airfields were rapidly constructed there. With the completion of Goose Airfield and the Greenland and Iceland fields, a staging route was available for relatively short-range aircraft.

"With the entry of the United States into the war on December 7, 1941, the strain on the existing ferry routes became even heavier. In May 1942 the United States Army Air Force proposed to the Permanent Joint Board on Defence the establishment of air routes over northeastern Canada to ferry long, medium and short-range aircraft to Europe. From the factories of the United States Pacific Coast aircraft would be ferried across the Canadian prairies to the Pas and Churchill. From this Hudson Bay port planes would fly to Southampton Island, Frobisher Bay, Greenland and Iceland and from there to their destination. Planes from another great focal point of United States aircraft production in the midwest States would fly across Ontario and Quebec to Fort Chimo on Ungava Bay at the northernmost tip of Quebec and from there would link up with the other north-east air route at Frobisher.

"These two channels were to be in addition to the ferry route already established to the United Kingdom via Goose Bay, Greenland and Iceland.

"Another purpose for the speedy construction of the route was to permit forces from interior points to be rushed to the defence of Greenland and Iceland should the occasion arise. While this defensive phase of the war now seems remote Members will recall that in the summer of 1941 the German Battleship *Bismarck* operated in this area, and, as is also well known, the Germans established weather stations on different occasions in Greenland.

"On June 9, 1942, the Permanent Joint Board on Defence approved of the proposal of the United States Army Air Force. It recommended immediate construction of the proposed airfields on Canadian territory, either by the Canadian Government or by the United States Government with the approval of the Canadian Government. Facilities of the new routes were to be made available to the Royal Air Force.

"For several reasons the Hudson Bay leg of the northeast route has not been used to the extent anticipated and the original plans were never completely implemented. As the submarine menace was mastered there was a parallel improvement in the shipping situation, permitting the transportation of more aircraft by ship. Increased facilities at Goose Air Base and at Newfoundland airports permitted a greater flow of aircraft through these fields. Amazing technological advances, which increased the flying range and reliability of aircraft, as well as improved meteorological services, made the route from Goose Air Base more serviceable for short-range planes. The successful Allied landing in North Africa made it possible for aircraft used in this area to be flown over the southern route, thus relieving the pressure on the northern route. As the fortunes of the United Nations rose in the North Atlantic theatre the threat of enemy action against the northeastern section of this Continent diminished.

"In reaching this agreement for repayment for expenditures incurred for these defence facilities in northwestern and northeastern Canada and Labrador, the Government had two considerations in mind. In the first place, it believed that, as part of the Canadian contribution this country should take general responsibility for the provision of facilities in Canada and in Labrador required for the use of Canadian, United Kingdom and United States Forces. In the second place, it was thought that it was undesirable that any other country should have a financial investment in improvements of permanent value, such as civil aviation facilities for peacetime use in this country. I am happy to say that our views on this subject were understood by the Government of the United States and the agreement which I have tabled is the result of this understanding."

Visit of Mexican Mycologist

Dr. Antonio González Ochoa, chief of the Laboratory of Mycology at the Institute of Public Health and Tropical Diseases in Mexico City, is a guest of the Department of State for several months' study, observation, and research on mycological work in the United States. He will

confer with specialists in tropical medicine at the National Institute of Health in Bethesda, Maryland, and at Duke and Stanford Universities.

Dr. González Ochoa has made valuable contributions to the increasing scientific knowledge about mycology, the study of fungi, and to methods of combating diseases arising from fungus infection.

Birthday of the King Of Norway

[Released to the press August 4]

The President has sent the following message to His Majesty Haakon VII, of Norway:

THE WHITE HOUSE, August 3, 1944.

It gives me pleasure to express to you on this anniversary of Your Majesty's birthday the congratulations and best wishes of the people of the United States as well as my own felicitations and greetings on the occasion.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

Return of George B. Cressey From China

[Released to the press August 5]

Dr. George B. Cressey has just returned from China, where he served as visiting professor under the Department of State's program of cultural relations. Professor Cressey has been on leave of absence from Syracuse University where he is chairman of the Department of Geology and Geography. He also served in China as the representative of the National Academy of Sciences and carried the greetings of many American scholarly organizations.

During his stay in China Professor Cressey visited nearly thirty universities and research institutions in the vicinity of Chungking, Chengtu, Kunming, Kweiyang, Kweilin, and as far east as Foochow on the Pacific. On his way to China last fall he spent a month in India where he studied university problems at a dozen centers.

Special War Problems Division

By GRAHAM H. STUART¹

REPRESENTATION OF FOREIGN INTERESTS

C. THE REPATRIATION UNIT

General principles and problems

We have already discussed the work of repatriation of nationals before the United States entered the war, a function performed by the Welfare Section,² the repatriation of sick and wounded prisoners of war by the Internees Section,³ and certain negotiations regarding the repatriation of foreign diplomats and consuls by the Enemy Interests Unit of the Representation Section.⁴ Repatriation in its various aspects has been one of the most important activities of the Special War Problems Division. The Repatriation Unit proper has the responsibility of making the necessary arrangements for the repatriation of nationals of the United States and its Allies and associates from enemy territory and the repatriation of enemy nationals from the territories of the United States and other countries of the Western Hemisphere upon the basis of an equable and reciprocal exchange.

The desire for repatriation is a very keen one, on the part not only of the individual concerned but also of his relatives and friends. Since everyone seeking repatriation cannot be accommodated simultaneously, the compilation of lists of the persons to be repatriated, taking into consideration all the facts and circumstances pertinent to a fair and just evaluation, requires thorough investigation, careful consideration, and balanced judgment. It also requires considerable negotiation and implementation with the enemy and protecting powers and the governments of the American

republics and also with the military, naval, and civil security agencies of the United States.

As a preliminary to the act of repatriation the Repatriation Unit maintains a card file of all American citizens known to be residing in enemy territory, whether in Europe or in the Far East, in which is entered all information obtainable indicating the repatriability of the individuals named. This information includes citations to any correspondence between the protecting power and enemy governments in regard to any individual's repatriation. The Far Eastern file contains from 6,500 to 7,000 names of Americans.

Since repatriation after war begins is a two-way street and becomes practically an equivalent exchange of nationals, the Repatriation Unit maintains a similar card index of German, Italian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Rumanian nationals resident in the Western Hemisphere indicating their current repatriation status. That index contains more than 20,000 names.

The Unit has compiled a third file of the individuals of the Japanese race in the United States and other countries of the Western Hemisphere. That compilation has been one of the most difficult problems facing the Unit. The Japanese alphabet has so many delicate nuances of meaning that Miss Elizabeth B. Smith, who is in charge of this work, has found it necessary to recheck the index innumerable times.⁵ The information received by the Unit from Japanese sources regarding the priority lists of Japanese to be repatriated was both incomplete and inaccurate, and many months' meticulous work was required to make them usable. The Unit today has a list in both Japanese and English characters of 100,000 names, with their correct addresses, and with the necessary information concerning their identification, whereabouts, and repatriability. In fact, this is the only agency which has correlated *all* the information available on individuals of the Japanese race in the United States. As such it has become an invaluable source of information for the other agencies of the Federal Government

¹This is the fourth in a series of articles on the Special War Problems Division by Dr. Stuart, Consultant in the Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Information, Department of State.

²BULLETIN of July 2, 1944, p. 6.

³BULLETIN of July 16, 1944, p. 63.

⁴BULLETIN of July 30, 1944, p. 115.

⁵With War Relocation Authority, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Provost Marshal General's Office, Office of Naval Intelligence, Military Intelligence Office, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Alien Enemy Control, Census Bureau, and Selective Service.

regarding the loyalty and identity of persons of the Japanese race.

Perhaps one of the most troublesome problems facing the Unit is that of deciding which Americans are to be brought home. The Unit received innumerable letters from Congressmen, officials of the administration, and the general public urging the repatriation of specific individuals. However, as behooves a democratic system, the Government of the United States, recognizing that all American citizens have an equal right to consideration, refused to select individual Americans for inclusion in exchanges or to discriminate in any other way among individual Americans desiring repatriation. It was necessary nevertheless to give the Swiss representatives in charge of American interests in enemy countries certain directives based upon broad humanitarian grounds to aid them in meeting the exchange quotas. In the case of the exchanges with Germany, except for the repatriation of Government officials, the United States made no demands of a specific character. The Swiss made up the lists of Americans largely according to the wishes and availability of the persons to be repatriated. The situation of non-official internees under Japanese control made it advisable however, for humanitarian reasons, to single out certain groups for priority. The directives which were set up to govern repatriation from the Far East in 1943 gave preference to (1) those under close arrest; (2) interned women and children; (3) the seriously ill; and (4) interned men, with preferences being given, other things being equal, to married men long separated from their families in the United States. For subsequent Far Eastern repatriation, unaccompanied interned women and children had absolute first priority. The next to be considered were the seriously sick and seriously wounded, whether civilian or military, and those under close arrest. Any remaining space was to be filled by those least likely to withstand the rigors of continued internment.

Exchange of official personnel

With the entry of the United States into the war, plans had to be made for the exchange of official and non-official nationals of the United States and other countries in the Western Hemisphere, including Canada, with the nationals of the Axis countries. Since most of the Latin American republics broke diplomatic relations with the Axis

powers immediately after Pearl Harbor, the United States sent a circular telegram to all its diplomatic missions in the other American republics stating that the United States would be glad to include in the arrangements which it was making for the exchange of its own diplomatic and consular representatives in Axis countries any of the official personnel of the other American republics which had broken or might subsequently break relations with the Axis powers. The Department assumed the initiative in this matter in a spirit of cooperation and in view of the fact that transportation facilities were more readily available to this Government for the successful execution of such an exchange. The nationals of the other American republics and Canada were extended equal treatment *pari passu* with American nationals.

The Special Division, as it was then called, had charge of all the negotiations pertaining to the exchange. The original proposal of December 19, 1941, to Germany covered the type of personnel to be included and the procedure to be employed. In substance, the German-American exchange agreement provided for the exchange of all nationals whether interned or not¹ with the proviso that either Government might exceptionally withhold from the exchange any national of the other whose release might be considered inimical to its national interests. The Japanese-American exchange agreement provided for the exchange of all nationals (except certain permanent residents), without regard to their number or possible usefulness in the prosecution of the war. Subsequent arrangements provided that the exchanges should cover Latin American diplomats who were being exchanged with the Axis countries as well as those from the United States.

The principal difficulties in carrying out the arrangements seemed to be the procurement of suitable vessels and an agreement concerning the inclusion of certain non-official persons. For example, Germany requested 50 prominent German civilians to be exchanged with the diplomatic transport. The United States was willing to re-

¹ In all cases of repatriation of non-officials, it is required that men between the ages of 18 and 50 sign a pledge not to bear arms again for the duration of the present war. Anyone violating this pledge is subject to court-martial if recaptured.

patriate all non-official Germans, but it insisted that certain persons might be retained for reasons of national security. The German Government objected to this limitation, but the United States was insistent and did not yield its point. Other points of dispute arose when the Japanese wanted their officials to proceed to third countries, contrary to the interests of the United States and when the United States wished to receive as official personnel the American military legation guards and Marine detachments from China. Neither of these desiderata was attained.

The long delay before the first exchange was finally consummated—approximately four months—was caused partly by the lack of direct communications. For example, an average of 18 days was required for a reply from Germany or Japan through the channels of the protecting power even though the reply did not require much reflection on the part of the enemy government. The negotiations were also delayed by the fact that the United States had to deal, in one way or another, with every government in the Western Hemisphere and all except a few governments in Europe and Asia. Finally, the negotiations were hampered by a lack of shipping, particularly on the west coast of South America, which delayed the arrival in the United States of the Axis diplomatic missions from Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador.

In the repatriation of German citizens the German Government requested (1) that German citizens from the other Americas be repatriated first; (2) that Germans interned before the outbreak of the war should come next; and (3) that all internees were to have preference over those at liberty. The Special Division had to check all official lists, both those compiled of Germans in the United States and, with the help of the Passport Division, those of Americans in Germany. It also had to prepare a list of all Germans detained or interned in the United States who wished to return home and to obtain the approval of the Office of Naval Intelligence, Military Intelligence, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Alien Enemy Control Unit, Department of Justice, for their repatriation.

¹ On its way over from Sweden, arriving in New York on June 9, 1942, the *Gripsholm* brought 194 Americans and alien relatives still remaining in Sweden in return for our promise that we would reciprocate to the vessel's capacity on her return to Göteborg.

The United States chartered the Swedish steamship *Drottningholm* to serve as the exchange vessel. On its trip from Göteborg, Sweden, on April 19, 1942, under safe-conduct of all belligerent governments, it brought to the United States 114 American citizens stranded in Sweden since 1940. The Swiss Government consented to act as guarantor for compliance with the terms of the agreement reached by the various governments concerned for the exchange of Axis and American diplomats and nationals. The Portuguese Government consented to act for all governments concerned as guarantor for the exchange operation on Portuguese territory. When the *Drottningholm* sailed from New York on May 7, 1942 its passenger list of 948 comprised 652 German, Italian, Rumanian, and Bulgarian officials from the United States and 215 German and Italian officials from Latin American countries. The remaining 81 passengers were German non-officials. On its return trip from Lisbon on June 1, 1942 the *Drottningholm* brought back 133 American officials and 46 Latin American officials. On the same trip were included 561 American non-officials and 169 Latin American non-officials.

To safeguard national interests the responsible security agencies had rightly taken the stand that no one should be repatriated who might be of assistance to the enemy, intellectually or physically. This position, fully supported by the Department of State, made it increasingly difficult to find an adequate passenger list for the second exchange with Germany. When Germany refused safe-conduct for the vessel unless it changed its port of call in the United States to an American port specifically designated by Germany to fit in with the extension of her submarine campaign in the North Atlantic, it was decided, with the approval of the Chief Executive, to terminate the European exchanges at least for the time being. When the next European exchange was made in 1944 the security and military authorities considered that developments in the war had reduced the dangers of such repatriation movements.

In the case of the Japanese official personnel the Swedish motorship *Gripsholm*¹ served as the exchange vessel from New York to Lourenço Marques in Portuguese Africa. The Japanese Government utilized one of its own vessels, the *Asama Maru*, which sailed from Japan and stopped at Saigon, and an Italian vessel, the *Conte Verde*,

with an Italian crew, to carry the American repatriates from Shanghai and Hong Kong.

An even greater delay than in the case of the European exchange occurred because of the non-receipt of the list of Americans to be repatriated from China and the refusal of the Japanese Government to grant safe-conduct to the *Gripsholm* until June 16. When the *Gripsholm* sailed from New York on June 18, 1942 there were on board approximately 495 Japanese and Thai officials, as well as 602 non-official Japanese and Thais. According to the arrangements the vessel was to call en route at Rio de Janeiro to take on board approximately 403 additional Japanese official and non-official nationals from Brazil and Paraguay. Thus, a total of about 1,500 persons were transported by the American exchange vessel on its first voyage to Lourenço Marques.

The first exchange with Japan brought about the repatriation of 1,378 nationals of the United States of whom 288 were officials; 104 Latin Americans; 71 Canadians and 1 Spaniard, making a total of 1,554 persons. The majority of non-officials included in this exchange came from Japan, the remote areas of China under Japanese control, and Hong Kong.

Second exchange with Japan

A second exchange with Japan was expected to follow immediately after the first, but long delays resulted. The Japanese resented the publication of atrocity stories recounted by Americans returned from the Far East, and undoubtedly they felt that the statements concerning America's war effort made by returning Japanese undermined to some extent the Japanese war effort. The Japanese Government also attempted to interpret the agreement to repatriate the Manila group of Foreign Service officers as covering only officers formally stationed at Manila. The United States rejected in strong terms this interpretation. Another delaying factor was the difficulty in identifying and locating the Japanese requested by the Japanese Government.

The Department's position was laid down in a telegram to Bern, dated April 20, 1942. In this communication the Department stated that in agreeing to the repatriation of non-official persons the United States "accepted the Japanese proposal that all includable persons be exchanged without question of their usefulness for the prosecution of

the war and contemplated proposing no limitation upon repatriation of persons because of their military age." The Department followed an identical policy in its telegram of July 29, 1942 to proceed with the second exchange, and the Japanese accepted on the same basis as the first, which the Special Division interpreted to mean that the United States was obligated to repatriate, without exception, all persons specifically named by the Japanese Government unless such persons refused repatriation.¹ In attempting to do so, however, great difficulties were encountered. The Japanese Government's priority list, which had been made up, evidently from memory, on board the *Gripsholm* by the returning Japanese officials, contained thousands of names, many of which were incorrectly spelled and of which the addresses given were inexact. Since many of the names had not previously been suggested for repatriation they were unknown to the Special Division. The most expeditious procedure was to obtain Japanese acceptance of a list of passengers whose identity, whereabouts, and willingness to be repatriated were already known.

Successive passenger lists suggested and submitted to the Japanese Government on the basis of identified Japanese who were willing to be repatriated were rejected by Japan on the ground that certain Japanese requested by Japan were not included. Furthermore, Japan refused to believe that so many, more than 3,000 out of 5,000, of those named by her for repatriation refused the opportunity when offered.

Another factor which may have affected the Japanese attitude was the change of ministry which occurred in the Japanese Government in September 1942, when a certain Masayuki Tani, who was reported to hold the militaristic point of view, was placed in charge of the Japanese Foreign Office. During his incumbency there was manifest a disinclination to proceed with the second exchange, and it was not before he left office in the spring of 1943 that the Special Division was able to proceed with some hope of effecting the second exchange.

It was finally decided to ask the Japanese again to state precisely whom in the light of all difficul-

¹This policy was based on the fact that Americans in the hands of the Japanese were in a less favorable position physically than those in the power of the European enemies.

ties encountered they wished exchanged, hoping thus to obtain information that would enable us to meet Japan's wishes. A note worded so as to permit a flexible interpretation brought a rather favorable reply from the Japanese. After a year of disappointing delays the State Department was in a position to proceed with some hope of success. Numerous details yet remained to be worked out, but as a result of the whole-hearted cooperation of all agencies, growing out of a meeting in the Department on August 19, 1943, the *Gripsholm* was able to leave on its second exchange voyage (this time to Mormugão, Portuguese India) on September 2, 1943.¹

It is possible that the delay in effecting the second exchange made more difficult the possibility of future exchanges with the Japanese. More important is the fact that the delay undoubtedly caused much suffering among American prisoners of war in Japanese custody, whose lives, in many instances, probably depended upon the medicine that could be obtained only on the exchange vessels. However, the experience gained by the Department may yet prove of the greatest value. Since the return of the *Gripsholm* from the second exchange the State Department has been persistently attempting to negotiate a third exchange. Accurate information is now on file regarding practically all Japanese willing to accept repatriation, numbering more than 9,000. The officials of the Special War Problems Division hope that as the demand for manpower increases, the Japanese Government may again be willing to carry on negotiations for further exchange of its nationals.

Other exchanges with Germany

The *Drottningholm*, on its second voyage from New York, repatriated 950 non-officials, of which 819 were Germans; 120 Italians; 6 Bulgarians; 5 Rumanians; and 10 Hungarians. On its return trip it brought back 785 North Americans and 157 Latin Americans. On its third trip to Lisbon, June 3, 1942, the *Drottningholm* carried 646 Germans, 124 Italians, 2 Hungarians, and 43 Swedish, a total of 815. Two other vessels were used to repatriate German non-officials, the *Nyassa*, June 13, 1942, and the *Scrya Pinto*, July 3, 1942, which together took over 351.

¹On its second voyage the *Gripsholm* took over 1,507 Japanese and brought back the same number of nationals from North and South America, including 221 Canadians.

No other exchanges with Germany were made before the spring of 1944 when the *Gripsholm* repatriated 1,145 Germans and 18 French officials and brought back 533 Americans and 95 Latin Americans. On this last exchange a considerable number of the passengers were being repatriated on humanitarian grounds because of serious illness or because they were seriously wounded prisoners of war. No arrangements have yet been concluded for further group exchanges with Germany, although negotiations are under way. In the meantime, a small number of civilians are being included in current exchanges of seriously sick and wounded prisoners of war.

The total number of Americans who have been repatriated from Europe up to April 1, 1944 has been 2,361 and from the Far East, 3,050. In return, 4,176 nationals of the European Axis powers have been sent back to Europe and 2,950 Japanese nationals have been repatriated to Japan.

The removal of subversive aliens from the other American republics

Within a short time after the entrance of the United States into the World War the Latin American republics, with the exception of Argentina and Chile, either broke relations with or declared war upon the Axis powers. At the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics, held in Rio de Janeiro in January 1942, several resolutions were passed which aimed at combating the subversive activities of enemy aliens and an Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense was set up at Montevideo. This Committee adopted a resolution drafted by the Department of Justice in consultation with the Special Division and the Division of American Republics in the Department of State. The resolution was presented by the American member of the Committee, which recommended to the governments of the American republics the need for the adequate detention of dangerous Axis nationals and for the deportation of such persons to another American republic for detention when adequate local detention facilities were lacking.

The Department, as well as other agencies of the Government, including the Departments of War, Navy, and Justice, felt that the presence of large numbers of dangerous and potentially dangerous Germans, Italians, and Japanese in the

countries to the south was a serious threat to continental safety. These aliens had access to communication facilities, to mines engaged in producing essential materials, to public-utility power plants, and to wharves and harbor facilities used by our shipping in the transportation of defense materials. Because of the political influence exerted by many of these aliens, measures of strict control could hardly be hoped for. The safest procedure was to remove as many of these aliens as possible, either by repatriation to their homelands or by bringing them to the United States where adequate internment facilities to take care of large groups of alien enemies had been prepared.

As an aid to repatriation the United States, in its negotiations with enemy governments for the repatriation of nationals, provided for the inclusion of the nationals of all other American governments which might be interested. All but three—Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay—of the Latin American republics which had broken with the Axis took advantage of our exchange agreement with the European Axis powers. By this means, some 2,000 German and Italian nationals who were regarded as dangerous enemy aliens were returned to Europe on the three voyages of the *Drottningholm* and on the two supplementary sailings of neutral vessels.

In addition to this exchange procedure, the United States has provided, at its own expense, facilities for the transportation of any Axis nationals who might be under consideration for deportation to this country and for their accommodation once they arrive here.¹

The Special War Problems Division handles all arrangements regarding the transportation of alien enemies from the other American republics deported for internment in the United States. They have been transported to the United States by the following means: Army transports, Army air transports, commercial airlines, and Chilean commercial steamship lines. The majority of the

alien enemies have been transported to the United States by Army transports, the use of which has been limited to cases where the removal of a particular group of alien enemies is considered urgent.

The use of commercial lines for the transportation of alien enemies has been confined mainly to the families of potentially dangerous men already interned in the United States. By use of such transportation, the individuals have been transported from time to time in small groups as space became available.

On two occasions space on Chilean passenger vessels proceeding to the United States has been used for the transportation of alien enemies and their families from Peru. This means was not continued because, toward the end of June 1943, the passenger vessels on the run from Santiago to New Orleans were taken over by the United States Maritime Commission.

The cooperation received from the other American republics has varied according to the local laws and the national policy of each country. The belligerent republics of the Caribbean area have sent us subversive aliens without limitation concerning their disposition. Peru has followed a similar policy. On the other hand Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Mexico have insisted upon explicit guarantees before turning over aliens for repatriation.

The success of the repatriation program may be gaged from the results which have been obtained. The total number of enemy aliens brought to the United States from South and Central America is 4,707, of which 2,584 have been repatriated, and 2,118 are interned in the United States. In regard to security this means that the Japanese colonies in many states have been virtually eliminated and the local German organizations substantially disorganized.

¹ Potentially dangerous alien enemies brought to the United States for internment are not "entered" into the United States under the provisions of immigration laws of this country and are subject to deportation proceedings at the conclusion of the war.

TREATY INFORMATION

Agricultural Experiment Station In Guatemala

On July 15, 1944 the American Ambassador in Guatemala and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala signed a memorandum of understanding providing for the establishment and operation of an agricultural experiment station in Guatemala.

The agreement provides, in part, for the development of tropical agriculture in general, and, specifically, for the promotion of the cinchona industry in Guatemala. The Government of Guatemala agrees to provide certain lands, laboratory and office space, farm implements, Guatemalan assistants, and unskilled labor as may be essential to conduct the work of the experiment station. The Government of the United States agrees to provide the services of scientists, scientific journals, equipment, and apparatus, and land motor vehicles, subject to the availability of such vehicles in the United States, in order to carry out the purposes of the experiment station. Provision is made for the training of certain approved Guatemalan students on problems pertaining to cinchona.

The agreement provides that it "shall come in force on the day of signature and shall continue in force for a period of ten years unless either of the Governments shall fail to provide the funds necessary for its execution in which event it may be terminated on written notice by either Government."

Convention on the Pan American Union

Bolivia

The Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State, by a letter of July 27, 1944, of the deposit with the Pan American Union on July 24, 1941 of the instrument of

ratification by the Government of Bolivia of the Convention on the Pan American Union signed at Habana on February 20, 1928 at the Sixth International Conference of American States (*Report of the Delegates of the United States of America to the Sixth International Conference of American States*, Government Printing Office, 1928, pp. 231-238).

The instrument of ratification is dated October 20, 1943.

Pan American Highway

Bolivia

The Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State, by a letter of July 27, 1944, of the deposit with the Pan American Union on July 24, 1944 of the instrument of ratification by the Government of Bolivia of the Convention on the Pan American Highway signed at Buenos Aires on December 23, 1936 at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace (Treaty Series 927).

The instrument of ratification is dated October 20, 1943.

Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations

Bolivia

The Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State, by a letter of July 27, 1944, of the deposit with the Pan American Union on July 24, 1944 of the instrument of ratification by the Government of Bolivia of the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations signed at Buenos Aires on December 23, 1936 at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace (Treaty Series 928).

The instrument of ratification is dated October 20, 1943.

Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic

Dominican Republic

The American Embassy at Ciudad Trujillo informed the Department by a despatch of July 20, 1944 that the Dominican Government has ratified the Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on December 15, 1943. The convention was approved by the Chamber of Deputies on June 21, 1944 and by the Senate on June 27, 1944 and was promulgated by the President on June 29, 1944. The congressional resolution approving the convention, and its promulgation, were published in the Dominican *Gaceta Oficial* of July 11, 1944.

Peru

The Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State by a letter of July 28, 1944 that the instrument of ratification by the Government of Peru of the Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic was deposited with the Pan American Union on July 25, 1944. The instrument of ratification is dated July 7, 1944.

Corrigendum

Guatemala

BULLETIN of July 23, 1944, page 104, first column, first paragraph, fourth line: Delete "El Salvador" and in lieu thereof insert "Guatemala".

Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences

Bolivia

The Director General of the Pan American Union by a letter of July 17, 1944 informed the Secretary of State that on July 12, 1944 the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Bolivia in the United States, Señor Don Carlos Dorado Chopitea, signed in the name of his Government the Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on January 15, 1944.

Nicaragua

The American Embassy at Managua has informed the Department that on June 21, 1944 the

Nicaraguan Congress approved the Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences and that the President ratified the convention on July 18, 1944.

THE DEPARTMENT

Appointment of Officers

Carlisle C. McIvor as Assistant Chief of the Division of World Trade Intelligence, effective July 21, 1944.

Donald R. Heath as Chief of the Division of North and West Coast Affairs, Office of American Republic Affairs, effective July 26, 1944.

Cecil B. Lyon as Assistant Chief of the Division of North and West Coast Affairs, Office of American Republic Affairs, effective July 26, 1944.

Robert F. Woodward as Acting Assistant Chief of the Division of North and West Coast Affairs, Office of American Republic Affairs, effective July 26, 1944.

Henry P. Fletcher as Special Adviser to the Secretary of State, on post-war problems and plans, effective July 27, 1944.

Isaiah Bowman as Special Adviser to the Secretary of State, on post-war problems and plans, effective July 27, 1944.

Joseph F. McGurk as Acting Director of the Office of American Republic Affairs, effective July 31, 1944.

PUBLICATIONS

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

The articles listed below will be found in the August 5 issue of the Department of Commerce publication entitled *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, copies of which may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, for 10 cents each:

"Free China's Industry: Recent Salient Trends", based on a report from J. Bartlett Richards, commercial attaché, American Embassy, Chungking.

"Organic Drugs and Chemicals: Markets and Industry in Chile", by R. F. Schneider, economic analyst, American Embassy, Santiago.

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BULLETIN

VOL. XI, NO. 268

AUGUST 13, 1944

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BULLETIN

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August 13, 1944

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Information, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest is included.

Publications of the Department, cumulative lists of which are published at the end of each quarter, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

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Petroleum Agreement Between the United States And the United Kingdom

[Released to the press August 8]

An agreement on petroleum between the Government of the United States and the Government of the United Kingdom was signed in the State Department at Washington on August 8, 1944 by the Hon. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Acting Secretary of State, on behalf of the United States Government and by Lord Beaverbrook, who led the United Kingdom delegation, on behalf of the Government of the United Kingdom.

(For members of the delegations of the United States and the United Kingdom see the BULLETIN of July 23, 1944, p. 93. An additional member, the Right Honorable Ben Smith, M.P., Minister Resident in Washington, has been appointed to the United Kingdom delegation.)

The agreement will become effective upon notification by both Governments of their readiness to bring the agreement into force.

The agreement lays down certain broad principles governing international trade in petroleum. These principles have to do with (1) assuring the availability of adequate petroleum supplies to all peaceable countries at fair prices and on a nondiscriminatory basis, subject to such collective security arrangements as may at any time be in force; (2) the development of petroleum resources with a view to the sound economic advancement of producing countries; (3) recognition of the principle of equal opportunity in the acquisition

of concessions; (4) respect for valid concession contracts; and (5) freeing the production and distribution of petroleum from unnecessary restrictions.

The agreement provides for the establishment of an International Petroleum Commission composed of representatives from the two Governments. The Commission is charged with the responsibility of estimating world demand for petroleum and recommending to the two Governments the manner in which this demand may best be satisfied in accordance with the general principles of the agreement as referred to above. The recommendations of this Commission, if approved by the two Governments, will be issued with a view to their adoption by the American and British companies operating in the international petroleum trade. The Commission is further charged with the duty of investigating Anglo-American

problems relating to efficient and orderly operation of the international petroleum industry and of making appropriate recommendations to the two Governments.

This agreement, which is terminable on three months' notice by either Government, is of an interim character and is preliminary to the negotiation of a multilateral agreement on petroleum to which the governments of all producing and consuming countries interested in the international petroleum trade will, it is hoped, become signatories. The agreement provides that the requi-

Statement by the Acting Secretary of State

[Released to the press August 8]

In connection with the signing of the agreement Acting Secretary of State Stettinius stated on behalf of Secretary Hull, chairman of the American delegation:

"This agreement on petroleum between the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom is a most constructive forward step toward long-range collaboration between the two countries in the international economic field. It is intended that this agreement be followed in due course by a multilateral petroleum agreement among all interested countries. This agreement is an example of the kind of arrangement which it is hoped can be concluded from time to time in order that international economic collaboration may be assured."

Statement by the Secretary Of the Interior¹

[Released to the press August 8]

This agreement on petroleum represents the successful culmination of an effort extending over a long period. It marks a great step forward in international oil relations and introduces an advanced technique in dealing with international oil affairs. I have long cherished the hope that such a basis for cooperation might be reached. It augurs well for stability and order in the period ahead. Now we must work for the expansion of this Anglo-American agreement so as to embrace all countries interested in the petroleum trade.

site steps preparatory to the convocation of a world petroleum conference for the negotiation of a multilateral agreement will be taken as soon as practicable.

The two signatory countries agree to seek the collaboration of other interested countries in the implementation of the agreed principles and to consult as appropriate with the governments of such countries in connection with activities undertaken on the basis of recommendations of the Petroleum Commission.

The text of the agreement follows:²

INTRODUCTORY ARTICLE

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, whose nationals hold, to a substantial extent jointly, rights to explore and develop petroleum resources in other countries, recognize:

1. That ample supplies of petroleum, available in international trade to meet increasing market demands, are essential for both the security and economic well-being of nations;

2. That for the foreseeable future the petroleum resources of the world are adequate to assure the availability of such supplies;

3. That such supplies should be derived from the various producing areas of the world with due consideration of such factors as available reserves, sound engineering practices, relevant economic factors, and the interests of producing and consuming countries, and with a view to the full satisfaction of expanding demand;

4. That such supplies should be available in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter and in order to serve the needs of collective security;

5. That the general adoption of these principles can best be promoted by international agreement among all countries interested in the petroleum trade whether as producers or consumers.

ARTICLE I

The two Governments agree that the development of petroleum resources for international trade should be expanded in an orderly manner on a world-wide basis with due consideration of the factors set forth in paragraph 3 of the Introductory Article and within the framework of applicable laws or concession contracts. To this end, and as a preliminary measure to the calling of the international conference referred to in Article II below, the two Governments will so direct their efforts, with respect to petroleum resources in which rights are held or may be acquired by the nationals of either country:

1. That, subject always to considerations of military security and to the provisions of such arrangements for the preservation of peace and prevention of aggression as may be in force, adequate supplies of petroleum shall be available in international trade to the nationals of all peaceable countries at fair prices and on a nondiscriminatory basis;

2. That the development of petroleum resources and the benefits received therefrom by the producing countries shall be such as to encourage the sound economic advancement of those countries;

3. That the development of these resources shall be conducted with a view to the availability of adequate supplies of petroleum to both countries as well as to all other peaceable countries, subject to the provisions of such collective security arrangements as may be established;

4. That, with respect to the acquisition of exploration and development rights in areas not now under concession, the principle of equal opportunity shall be respected by both Governments;

¹ Mr. Ickes is also Petroleum Administrator for War and vice chairman of the American delegation.

² The text here printed conforms to the signed original.

5. That the Government of each country and the nationals thereof shall respect all valid concession contracts and lawfully acquired rights, and shall make no effort unilaterally to interfere directly or indirectly with such contracts or rights;

6. That, subject always to the considerations mentioned in paragraph 1 of this Article, the exploration for and development of petroleum resources, the construction and operation of refineries and other facilities, and the distribution of petroleum shall not be hampered by restrictions imposed by either Government or its nationals, inconsistent with the purposes of this Agreement.

ARTICLE II

The two Governments recognize that the principles declared in Article I hereof are of general applicability and merit adherence on the part of all countries interested in the international petroleum trade of the world.

Therefore, with a view to the wider adoption and effectuation of the principles embodied in this Agreement they agree that as soon as practicable they will propose to the governments of other interested producing and consuming countries an International Petroleum Agreement which, *inter alia*, would establish a permanent International Petroleum Council composed of representatives of all signatory countries.

To this end the two Governments hereby pledge themselves to formulate plans for an international conference to consider the negotiation of such a multilateral Petroleum Agreement. They also pledge themselves to consult with other interested governments with a view to taking whatever action is necessary to prepare for the proposed conference.

ARTICLE III

There are, however, numerous problems of joint immediate interest to the two Governments, with respect to petroleum resources in which rights are held or may be acquired by their nationals, which must be discussed and resolved on a cooperative interim basis if the general petroleum supply situation is not to deteriorate.

With this end in view the two Governments hereby agree to establish an International Petroleum Commission to be composed of eight members, four members to be appointed immediately by each Government. This Commission, in furtherance of and in accordance with the principles

stated in Article I hereof, shall consider problems of mutual interest to both Governments and their nationals, and, with a view to the equitable disposition of such problems, shall be charged with the following duties and responsibilities:

1. To prepare long-term estimates of world demand for petroleum, having due regard for the interests of consuming countries and expanding consumption requirements;

2. To suggest the manner in which, over the long term, this estimated demand may best be satisfied by production equitably distributed among the various producing countries in accordance with the criteria enumerated in paragraph 3 of the Introductory Article;

3. To recommend to both Governments broad policies for adoption by operating companies with a view to effectuating programs suggested under the provisions of paragraph 2 of this Article;

4. To analyze such short-term problems of joint interest as may arise in connection with production, processing, transportation and distribution of petroleum on a world-wide basis, wherever the nationals of either country have a significant interest, and to recommend to both Governments such action as may appear appropriate;

5. To make regular reports to the two Governments concerning its activities;

6. To make, from time to time, such additional reports and recommendations to the two Governments as may be appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Agreement.

The Commission shall establish such organization as is necessary to carry out its functions under this Agreement. The expenses of the Commission shall be shared equally by the two Governments.

ARTICLE IV

To effectuate this Agreement the two Governments hereby grant reciprocal assurances:

1. That they will adhere to the principles set forth in Article I, paragraphs 1 to 6 inclusive;

2. That they will endeavor to obtain the collaboration of the governments of other producing and consuming countries in the implementation of the principles set forth in Article I, and will consult, as appropriate, with such governments in connection with activities undertaken under Article III;

3. That upon approval of the recommendations of the Commission they will endeavor, in accord-

ance with their respective constitutional procedures, to give effect to such approved recommendations;

4. That each Government will undertake to keep itself adequately informed of the current and prospective activities of its nationals with respect to the development, processing, transportation and distribution of petroleum;

5. That each Government will make available to the Commission such information regarding the activities of its nationals as is necessary to the realization of the purposes of this Agreement.

ARTICLE V

The two Governments agree that in this Agreement:

1. The words "country" or "territories"

(a) in relation to the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, include, in addition to the United Kingdom, all British colonies, overseas territories, protectorates, protected states and all mandated territories administered by that Government; and

(b) in relation to the Government of the United States of America, include, in addition to the United States, all territory under the jurisdiction of the United States;

2. The word "nationals" means

(a) in relation to the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, all British subjects and British protected persons belonging to the territories referred to in 1 (a) above and all companies incorporated under the laws of any of the above-mentioned territories, and also companies incorporated elsewhere in which the controlling interest is held by any of such nationals;

(b) in relation to the Government of the United States of America, all nationals of the United States including companies incorporated under the laws of the territories referred to in 1 (b) above, and also companies incorporated elsewhere in which the controlling interest is held by any of such nationals;

3. The word "petroleum" means crude petroleum and its derivatives.

ARTICLE VI

This Agreement shall enter into force upon a date to be agreed upon after each Government shall have notified the other of its readiness to

bring the Agreement into force and shall continue in force until three months after notice of termination has been given by either Government or until it is superseded by the International Petroleum Agreement contemplated in Article II.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized thereto, have signed this Agreement.

Done in Washington, in duplicate, this eighth day of August, one thousand nine hundred and forty-four.

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, Jr.

*Acting Secretary of State
of the United States of America*

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND:

BEAVERBROOK

Lord Privy Seal

Exploratory Talks on Post-War Rubber Problems

[Released to the press August 10]

The Department of State announced on July 18 that it had accepted an invitation from the Government of the United Kingdom to take part in exploratory conversations on post-war rubber problems with the Governments of the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.¹

It was made clear at the same time that the drafting of a tentative program of studies would be considered and also the desirability of establishing a committee to keep the rubber situation under review.

Officials of the three Governments assisted by members of various branches of the industry have now concluded these conversations, which were held in London between August 1 and August 9. A comprehensive survey was made of the rubber situation covering natural and synthetic rubber and related problems.

In the course of these discussions a full exchange of views took place, and a large measure of agreement was reached on the broad outlines of the rubber position and on the nature of the problems that lie ahead. It was recognized that these problems were matters of common concern to the three Governments.

¹ BULLETIN of July 23, 1944, p. 84.

A first program of studies has been prepared, and arrangements for carrying out these studies are being made.

Consideration was also given to the best way, having regard to existing circumstances, of securing continuing examination and further discussion of the problems likely to arise with respect to rubber and rubber substitutes, and it was agreed to resume the conversations in the near future.

Meeting of United Nations Shipping Representatives

[Released to the press August 8]

Shipping representatives of governments of the United Nations that are parties to existing arrangements for provision of ships to meet the need of the United Nations have recently met in London to discuss arrangements to insure the continued availability of their tonnage resources for all purposes of those nations in the changed circumstances anticipated during the latter phases of the war.

The Governments of Belgium, Canada, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the United Kingdom, and the United States have declared that they accept as a common responsibility the provision of shipping for all military and other tasks necessary for and arising out of the completion of the war in Europe and the Far East and for the supplying of all liberated areas as well as of the United Nations generally and territories under their authority. Existing machinery for control of ships' employment is to be adjusted to implement the declaration. Further discussions will take place as soon as possible to complete the details of this adjustment.

The arrangements shall not extend beyond six months after the general suspension of hostilities in Europe or the Far East, whichever may be the later.

All French shipping is and remains at the disposal of the United Nations, and the French Committee of National Liberation took part in the discussions.

Denmark was represented by an observer.

Other governments concerned are being informed and will be invited to associate themselves with the arrangement.

International Peace and Security Organization

POSTPONEMENT OF CONVERSATIONS

[Released to the press August 7]

At his press and radio news conference on August 7 Acting Secretary Stettinius said:

"The Russian Government finds that it needs a little more time for preparation with its representatives before they leave Moscow for Washington. We have been very glad indeed to meet their wishes in the matter and have put off the opening of the conversations from the fourteenth to the twenty-first of August. It will probably save time in the end."

UNITED KINGDOM REPRESENTATIVES

[Released to the press August 12]

A list of the United Kingdom representatives to the International Security Organization conferences, who arrived on the afternoon of August 12 at the National Airport, follows:

The Honorable Sir Alexander Cadogan, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,
Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign
Affairs, *chairman of the delegation*
Gladwyn Jebb, C.M.G., Foreign Office Secretary General
A. H. Poynton, Colonial Office
Col. Capel Dunn, War Cabinet Offices
Paul Falla, Foreign Office
Peter Loxley, private secretary to Sir Alexander Cadogan
Miss Collard, *secretary to the delegation*

Others accompanying the representatives on the same plane at the National Airport were:

His Excellency the Right Honorable the Earl of Halifax,
K.G., British Ambassador
The Honorable Sir R. I. Campbell, K.C.M.G., C.B., E.E.
and M.P., British Minister
Maj. J. G. Lockhart, First Secretary of the British
Embassy
Maj. Gen. Grove-White, Assistant to Lt. Gen. C. N.
Macready, Chief of British Army Staff and member
of delegation
Miss M. Randall, secretary to the Ambassador

The American group, including the Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Under Secretary of State, Charles Yost, Department of State, and Lt. Frederick Holdsworth, U.S.N.R., met the United Kingdom group in New York and accompanied them to Washington.

Non-Recognition of Argentine Regime

[Released to the press August 10]

In his press and radio news conference on August 10, Acting Secretary Stettinius said:

"The joint statement by Colombia and Venezuela is further proof of the unity of purpose and action among the American republics in maintaining the policy of non-recognition with respect to the present regime in Argentina. As stated by Mr. Hull on July 24, there has been constant consultation among the American republics on this problem, which, as the joint statement of the Governments of Venezuela and Colombia makes clear, involves not only the immediate security of the hemisphere but the future solidarity and well-being of all free peoples of the Americas. We don't want Fascism in this hemisphere. As you know, there have been similar public statements by most of the other American governments."

Committees To Consider Telecommunications Problems

[Released to the press August 11]

A meeting was convened at 10 a. m. on August 11 in the Interdepartmental Auditorium under the aegis of the Department of State to consider possible revisions of the International Telecommunications Convention, Madrid, 1932, and the General Radio Regulations, Cairo, 1938. It was opened by Mr. Francis Colt de Wolf of the State Department and the permanent chairman of the meeting was Dr. J. H. Dellinger of the National Bureau of Standards.

The problems discussed involved an effort on the part of the Government and radio industry to reach an agreement on telecommunications questions which will arise at forthcoming international telecommunications conferences.¹

While a large field was comprehended within the studies presented at the morning's meeting, the discussions, particularly on the part of industry representatives, centered mainly about the future

of short-wave international broadcasting. The future position of television and frequency-modulation broadcasting was also discussed. There was, furthermore, some discussion of frequency allocations for police-radio services.

The conference then resolved itself into three committees, namely, a committee under Mr. H. B. Otterman of the State Department to study the Madrid convention; a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Dellinger to work on frequency allocations and related subjects; and a committee under Capt. E. M. Webster of the Coast Guard to consider other technical phases, principally of an operational nature.

At this meeting the convention and operational committees completed their preliminary work and will meet at a later date for further discussions. The allocations committee met in the afternoon.

Questions Relating to Lend-Lease

[Released to the press August 7]

In his press and radio news conference on August 7 Acting Secretary Stettinius made the following statement in reply to a question regarding future lend-lease to Great Britain:

"The British Government has not raised with us the future of lend-lease. For the time being both Governments are completely occupied with the war campaigns in Europe and the Far East. The press knows, from what Secretary Hull has said, the major post-war questions which have been taken up for active negotiation. Perhaps the most vital of these are the security talks soon to begin. The monetary talks have passed their first stage. Food and relief questions are progressing well.

"So far as lend-lease is concerned, that is daily and hourly an administrative task which is necessarily confined to its current phases. No one can possibly foresee what changes in the situation the fortunes of war in Europe may bring about or how soon these changes may reflect themselves in lend-lease operations.

"Since steps necessary to maintain the flow of supplies for the prosecution of the war require plans which are projected into the future, there have been from the outset, and will continue to be,

¹ BULLETIN of Aug. 6, 1944, p. 134.

discussions of prospective requirements taking into consideration various phases of the war.

"Our policy has been, and continues to be, to conduct lend-lease operations to bring about the greatest mobilization of our joint resources.

"The Lend-Lease Act as amended provides that the powers granted to transfer materials shall end on June 30, 1945, or prior to that time if the two Houses of Congress pass a concurrent resolution, subject to contracts which may be made to effect orderly liquidation.

"Any questions on the administration of lend-lease should be directed to Mr. Leo T. Crowley."

Pan American Conference On Geography and Cartography

[Released to the press August 9]

This Government has accepted the invitation of the Brazilian Government to participate in the Second Consultative Pan American Conference on Geography and Cartography, which will be held at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, from August 15 to September 2, 1944. The President has approved the designation of the following persons as delegates on the part of the United States of America to the meeting:

Delegates

Robert H. Randall, United States Member and Chairman, Committee on Cartography, Pan American Institute of Geography and History, Bureau of the Budget, *chairman of the delegation*

Lt. Col. Gerald Fitzgerald, Air Corps, Commanding Officer, Aeronautical Chart Service, Army Air Forces, Department of War

Capt. Clem L. Garner, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Department of Commerce

Otto E. Guthe, Assistant Chief, Division of Geography and Cartography, Department of State

T. P. Pendleton, Chief Topographic Engineer, Geological Survey, Department of the Interior

Capt. Charles C. Slayton, U.S.N., Retired, Hydrographic Office, Department of the Navy

Secretary of the delegation

Reginald S. Kazanjian, Second Secretary, American Embassy, Rio de Janeiro.

The Conference is being held under the auspices of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, with headquarters at Mexico City, and a parallel invitation has also been received from the Director of that Institute. The first meeting,

which was not of an official character, was called by the Committee on Cartography of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History and was held at Washington from September 29 to October 14, 1943.

TREATY INFORMATION

Naval-Mission Agreement With Colombia

By an exchange of notes of June 26, 1944 and July 18, 1944 between the Ambassador of Colombia in Washington and the Secretary of State, the agreement providing for the assignment of a United States Naval Mission to Colombia, signed at Washington on November 23, 1938, as amended and extended (Executive Agreement Series 140, 218, 280, and 337), has been extended for an additional period of one year effective from November 23, 1944.

Military-Aviation-Mission Agreement With Ecuador

There has been effected by an exchange of notes signed in Washington on June 13 and July 13, 1944 between the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Ecuador in Washington and the Secretary of State, a renewal, for a period of four years from December 12, 1944, of the agreement providing for the assignment of a United States Military Aviation Mission to Ecuador, signed at Washington on December 12, 1940 (Executive Agreement Series 189). The exchange of notes of June 13 and July 13, 1944 also provides for the detail of additional personnel as members of the mission.

Petroleum Agreement With United Kingdom

The text of an agreement on petroleum between the Government of the United States and the Government of the United Kingdom signed at Washington on August 8, 1944 appears in an article entitled "Petroleum Agreement Between the United States and the United Kingdom" in this issue of the BULLETIN.

A NEW and significant chapter in the relations between the United States and Mexico is unfolding in connection with the presence on this side of the Rio Grande of more than 110,000 Mexican workers who are aiding the war effort by harvesting vital crops and keeping railroad tracks in repair for the movement of troops and supplies. Before the year is out a total of 125,000 will be employed: 75,000 assigned to agriculture and 50,000 to railway maintenance.

While the employment of Mexican laborers on the farms and railways of California and the southwestern States is an old and familiar practice, the current temporary migration of these workers is unique. It is a planned movement, conducted under official auspices in accordance with international agreements which are the first of their kind between the United States and Mexico. The immigrant workers, moreover, are not concentrated in border regions, as in the past, but are working in almost every State in the Union.

The workers volunteer in Mexico, under the auspices and protection of their own Government, and are then assigned to private companies throughout the United States. The terms of their contracts and the provisions for their entry and temporary sojourn in the United States are specified in two agreements between the two Governments which were effected by exchanges of notes signed at Mexico City on August 4, 1942 and April 29, 1943. That of August 4, 1942, revised on April 26, 1943, is entitled "Temporary Migration of Mexican Agricultural Workers";² and that of April 29, 1943, "Recruiting of Mexican Non-Agricultural Workers".³ These agreements established the pattern which later was followed in providing for the entry of some 15,000 workers from Newfoundland, Jamaica, and the Bahamas, who are now similarly employed to relieve the labor shortage in this country.

The sending of these Mexican workers to replace men whom our Government was sending to the front was Mexico's first direct contribution of man-

¹ Miss Parks is Divisional Assistant in the Division of American Republics Analysis and Liaison, Office of American Republic Affairs, Department of State. This article was prepared in collaboration with William G. MacLean, Divisional Assistant, Division of Mexican Affairs, who is in charge of these Mexican labor programs for the Department.

² Executive Agreement Series 351.

³ Executive Agreement Series 376.

A New Pattern in International Wartime Collaboration

By MARIH PARKS¹

power to the war effort. Mexican collaboration in this way was asked in July 1942. The concentration of men in the armed forces of the United States and the necessity this country was under of supplying to our forces and those of our Allies food and war materials had by that time built up a manpower demand which could not be met from sources within the United States.

The Department of State arranged the agreement regarding agricultural workers in the summer of 1942 at the request of the United States Department of Agriculture, the Attorney General, the Federal Security Agency, and the United States Employment Service, studies leading to the agreement having been made by these agencies and by the Toland Congressional Committee. The agreement regarding non-agricultural workers was arranged by the Department of State at the request of the War Manpower Commission, with the advice of the Attorney General. The War Department and the Office of Defense Transportation were greatly interested in the successful consummation of both agreements.

The interested agencies of the Mexican Government which participated in shaping the two agreements were the Foreign Office, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Government. President Manuel Ávila Camacho at all times has given his personal support and attention to this measure of cooperation in the war effort, and has shown an active interest in the welfare of these workers while they are away from Mexico.

Four fundamental guarantees to protect the interests of both workers and employers are embodied in the agreements: (1) The recruited workers shall not be engaged in any military service; (2) they shall suffer no discriminatory treatment of any kind;⁴ (3) they are assured of transportation, living expenses, and repatriation; (4) they must be paid in accordance with the prevailing wage for the same kind of labor in the locality where they work and they may not be employed

⁴ In accordance with Executive Order 8802 June 25, 1941

to displace other workers or for the purpose of reducing rates of pay previously established.

Responsibility for development and execution of the program for employment of agricultural workers was at first placed with the Farm Security Administration. In March 1943 the Office of Labor was set up within the War Food Administration and assumed all the obligations of the Farm Security Administration under the international agreement. This office is responsible for the workers from Jamaica, the Bahamas, and other countries as well as for the Mexican nationals. It is charged with providing their transportation, housing, and food, and with other details of administration.

The United States Public Health Service, jointly with the Mexican Public Health authorities, examines recruits for physical fitness in Mexico, and in cooperation with the War Food Administration Office of Labor looks after their physical well-being while they are in the United States. During the recruitment in Mexico and until after the workers have crossed the border, for every United States official concerned including the Public Health agents, a Mexican counterpart is on the job. In the United States the Mexican consuls and special labor inspectors are given every facility for keeping in close touch with the workers and protecting their interests as Mexican nationals. All in all the project has been an impressive demonstration, from its inception, of amicable, effective, and mutually beneficial international cooperation.

Mexico, a fellow belligerent with the United States in the war, has not spared its workers without sacrifice.⁵ That Government has approved the recruiting of these men as a contribution to the war effort of the United Nations. It reserves the right, however, to determine what workers may leave the country and from what area of the Republic they may be spared, so that Mexico's

⁵ Mexico declared a state of war with the Axis powers to exist on May 22, 1942

own food-production program and railway-maintenance task—both of which are extremely critical problems for our southern neighbor at the present time—will not suffer from the loss of workers or the excessive depletion of labor in any given region.

The contribution to agriculture of the amiable Mexican *piscadores* (anglicized Spanish for pickers) has been of incalculable value. Their coming saved crops in 32 States which otherwise could not have been harvested. In 1943 they were credited with saving 21 percent of California's crops alone. The first contingent left Mexico City on September 25, 1942 in time to help with the California sugar-beet crop. By the end of 1943 a total of 56,301 Mexican agricultural workers under six-month renewable contracts had been signed up and transported to this country, the majority going to California.

This year the full quota of 75,000 agricultural workers specified in the Government agreements will be employed. They are engaged in farming every kind of crop, including fruit, grain, flax, cotton, sugar beets, vegetables, and the war-important *guyule* rubber. They also have worked in cattle production. In addition to the direct value of their labor, the availability of these workers has been an important factor in stabilizing the labor market, thus encouraging farmers to undertake large plantings. On the other hand, during their employment the workers are receiving invaluable experience in agricultural methods, in the use and care of modern equipment and machinery, and in the packing of products on the farm. Some of the non-agricultural workers are employed in the icing of fruit and vegetable refrigerator cars. This experience will be of future value particularly to Mexico's rapidly developing fruit and vegetable industry.

The importance of railway-track maintenance carried on by the contingent of 50,000 Mexican non-agricultural workers can scarcely be exaggerated. These workers have performed a great part of the maintenance of way on most of the western railroads and have lent a hand on lines from New England to Florida and in the Middle States. They are to be seen along the rights-of-way of railroads in almost every part of the United States except the Deep South. On some of the principal western roads their work makes the difference between efficient, safe operation and a break-down of vital trunk lines.

More than 12,000 Mexican workers have been assigned to the Southern Pacific Company, which has the largest single quota. The Santa Fe is second with 7,900; the Pennsylvania Railroad has 6,800; and the New York Central, 3,865. The smallest quota is 100 to the Colorado and Southern Line, while 150 of the Mexican *braceros* are assigned to the Boston and Maine Railway.

Both agricultural and non-agricultural workers enter the United States under six-month contracts which are signed by each worker individually with the War Food Administration or the War Manpower Commission. The workers are then assigned or allocated to the regions, growers, or railroads where their services are needed under contracts made, in turn, by the employers with either of the United States Government agencies concerned. The system thus includes (1) the basic agreements between the United States and Mexican Governments; (2) the contracts of individual workers with WFA or WMC, under which they enter the United States and under which the guarantees of the international agreements are implemented; and (3) the contracts for groups of workers made by railroad companies, growers' associations, or individual farmers with WFA or WMC.

New needs and conditions are constantly arising in our war economy requiring new relations or adjustments of old ones under these programs. The Department of State, through the Division of Mexican Affairs in the Office of American Republic Affairs and the American Embassy in Mexico City, remains constantly active as the official channel of communication with the interested agencies of the Mexican Government.

Recruitment of agricultural workers has been carried on in Mexico City exclusively. Non-agricultural workers were formerly contracted there but are now signed at Querétaro. The National Stadium in Mexico City has been turned over for this purpose by the Mexican Government. The large space under the grandstands has been adapted for examination rooms, including medical and X-ray facilities. One of the most interesting parts of the recruiting procedure is the interviewing of prospective workers by teams of Mexican and American officials. The opportunity of traveling and living in a foreign country naturally has appealed to the adventurous in all classes of society. As college boys in this country would do in similar circumstances, a number of Mexican University

students and the sons of some officials have applied. If qualified they are signed under the regular contracts. The first step in weeding out the unqualified is the "hand examination" to determine whether the applicant is a genuine *bracero* or a white-collar man in search of adventure. Spurious calluses, no matter how carefully cultivated, have to be rejected.

When the news of the international agreements was first published in Mexico prospective workers flocked to the border. The rush was checked by Mexican Government propaganda as well as by the spread of knowledge of the hard experience had by those who reached border towns only to learn that recruiting was done in Mexico City alone and that they could not cross the border except through that channel. Many were destitute and had to be returned to their homes by the Mexican Government.

In this connection it is interesting to note that no Mexican workers are permitted to leave Mexico without the special permission of their Government, except under the two Government agreements of 1943 just described. However, the knowledge that abundant jobs at high wages are available on the United States side of the boundary still offers an irresistible temptation for many to attempt illegal entry by a great variety of clandestine means. The two Governments have collaborated in efforts to meet this situation reasonably and firmly without resorting to undesirably drastic measures. Both Governments maintain immigration border patrols, operating along the boundary. Workers who enter the United States illegally are delivered back across the border.

Transportation of the Mexican workers to the United States from the point of contract in Mexico is arranged and paid for by WFA and WMC. The workers enter the United States by train and are transported to their jobs on trains, buses, and trucks. Bilingual transportation crews, including American and Mexican officials, accompany the workers to their destination and arrange for meals and other necessary care en route. When they start out the Mexican workers are divided into groups of ten, each of which selects its own leader. At their destinations they are lodged in various kinds of carefully inspected quarters, including tourist camps, schools, other community buildings, and former CCC camps.

The individual contract of a worker may be renewed as many times as he desires. There is a high percentage of renewals and reapplications. Some

of the Mexican workers have been in this country continuously since the first contingents came in 1942. Others have returned to Mexico at the expiration of one contract, then have made new application and returned to the United States after a *visita* with the folks at home. In numerous instances valued workers have been granted furloughs for such visits, made at their own expense. Comparatively few individual contracts have been broken before the established expiration date. However, a liberal policy has been followed, and no difficulty is interposed by our Government authorities if a foreign worker wants to go home for a valid reason such as sickness. Even homesickness is recognized as an incapacitating ailment in severe cases. Homesickness is most acute when winter sets in, especially after the first snowfall. Indeed, at certain periods of the year the list of non-agricultural workers returning to Mexico looks formidable. But railway-management authorities point out that this turnover, running from 12 to 15 percent, is small compared with a turnover amounting at times to 200 percent with which they have had to cope in some highly industrialized areas.

The international agreements for the employment of Mexican workers have the blessing of organized labor in Mexico and the United States as well as of agriculture and industry in this country.

There have been disputes and complaints from time to time involving wages, housing conditions, and working conditions. Such controversies have been few, however, considering the number of workers involved, the emergency situations which often have prevailed, and the fact that the workers are separated from their homes and families by thousands of miles and have had to adapt themselves to a new language and to customs and climatic conditions differing greatly from their own. Prompt investigation of complaints is made under procedures set up in the agreements. Disputes in most cases are settled on the spot by mediation, but if this fails formal complaint proceedings are used. Hearings then are held at which the worker and the employer may be represented, as well as the Mexican consul if desired. If the worker is found to be at fault he is transferred to another employer or repatriated if he feels he cannot conform. If the employer is held responsible he may be required to remove the cause of the complaint and keep the worker or if he refuses suffer the loss of his workers.

In contrast to the few disagreeable incidents

which have occurred, the foreign workers have been accorded public tribute and appreciation in numerous instances. Such cities as Santa Barbara, California, have made a point of arranging gala observances of Mexico's Independence Day, September 16, hundreds of workers being supplied with transportation by truck from surrounding ranches and towns to enjoy the festivities at the expense of the growers and the community. Such programs are given in the Spanish language and include typical music and dances of the Mexican homeland. When the first Mexican workers left Denver, Colorado, after helping to save crops in the crisis of 1943, formal expressions of thanks by public officials and leading citizens marked their departure. A fine tribute was paid them last month by Governor John Moses of North Dakota, who personally delivered an address of welcome, through an interpreter, to more than 3,000 Mexican workers arriving to help with the grain harvest.

The chief problem in keeping the Mexican worker contented has been that of satisfying his simple but distinctive taste in food. Mexico's *Juan Trabajador* traditionally asks only the most modest comforts in life; he is a willing and uncomplaining worker; he possesses a genius for devising his own recreations; he is rarely a heavy eater, but he likes his corn-meal *tortillas*, his beans, and his chili, and no amount of ham "sánweech" will quite satisfy him as a substitute. In common with most strangers in a strange country, he entertains doubts and fears about new foods that taste queer. A Mexican consul recently had to investigate complaints from one group of workers that the cook was giving them for breakfast a "bitter water" which they thought suspicious. It turned out to be grapefruit juice.

The language barrier is a natural difficulty. To meet it, instruction in English has been arranged for the Mexican workers in many communities. In any case, when they start for the United States each of them is given a compact booklet of English phrases with a pronunciation guide especially prepared to meet their needs. The California State Department of Education has undertaken a special program of education for the Mexican nationals. It is conducted under the supervision of the Bureau of Agriculture and Education with funds provided through the Food Production War Finance Program. Instruction in farm work is given and

special classes in English are held. From July to November, 1943, 7,600 Mexican nationals attended these courses.

Wherever they are established the Mexican workers take with them their own music, carrying along guitars, violins, and other instruments. Their fund of folk songs is inexhaustible. They add to it as they go along, creating new *corridos* or ballads, telling the saga of the *braceros* and *piscadores* in the "United States of the North". These new songs no doubt will go back to Mexico with them to convey in many remote places a new concept of life in the United States.

The Mexican workers as a group have shown a commendable attitude toward their work and their life here. During the two years they have been in the United States they have established a high record for good and law-abiding conduct. Delinquencies have been infrequent and mostly of a minor nature.

The health of the workers, in general, is good. The physical examinations given in Mexico by the Mexican and United States Health Services are thorough. They include X-ray of lungs and digestive tract as well as blood tests. No individuals are accepted for contract before they have passed those examinations. Despite the acute shortage of physicians and nurses, the objective has been to provide health care for every foreign worker while in the United States. Professional facilities have been pooled in the various regions concerned to make such care possible. The non-agricultural workers have the benefit of the established medical services of the railways. Those engaged in agriculture have received attention from various agricultural workers' health associations with the cooperation of local medical personnel and health departments. Naturally, the demand for this service has increased as the workers have become more and more aware of its value and particularly of its availability to them. The service given includes hospitalization and dental care. Sanitary engineers have constantly inspected the workers' living quarters. The activities of safety officers have helped to keep accident rates down.

The wages paid Mexican agricultural workers in 1943 averaged 61 cents an hour. The average for railroad workers is very near that figure. The earnings of this group of 43,000 during the year approximated \$20,000,000. This year the figure will be considerably higher. At the request of the Mexican Government the controlling international

agreements include the provision that 10 percent of the monthly salary of all workers, both agricultural and non-agricultural, be deducted and transferred to specially authorized savings banks in Mexico. These funds are held for the workers and are paid to them upon request on their return to Mexico.

Besides this, voluntary additional savings by the workers run into impressive figures. Mexican workers are sending so much money home every month that it has been necessary to double the force in the money-order section of the Mexican post office at Ciudad Juárez where the exchange from dollars to pesos is made. These remittances are a high testimony to the loyalty and consideration of the Mexican workers for their families and dependents at home, as well as to the frugality with which they live while in the United States, in spite of the multiple temptations for squandering money which confront them in our complex North American environment.

Most of the money that the workers spend while in this country is for their own clothing and for gifts to take home. The Mexican Government has provided for the admission of such goods free of duty, including specifically the tools and implements of the worker's trade. No one has as yet tried to carry home a tractor, but anything may be expected. The returning workers go home in picturesque caravans, loaded down with everything in the world for *mamacita* and the children, from dishpans to baby carriages, shoes, and toys, as well as with good collections of well-forged American agricultural implements and other tools. Little is wasted on the wrappings, so the whole miscellaneous and wonderful lot usually goes in full sight on the train with *Juan Trabajador*. Nearly always too each man returns well supplied with personal clothing. Felt hats, blue jeans, stout shoes, and windbreakers are standard selections, not omitting a reasonable expression of personal uplift in the form of pink shirts and purple neckerchiefs. Seeing them one who knows Mexico cannot fail to recall the charming folk song, *Adiós mi Chaparrita*, "Don't cry now for your Pancho, for though he leaves the *ranchito*, he'll come back home. He'll bring presents from the city . . . for you a pair of sidecombs, and for your *mamacita*, a new *reboso* and a percale petticoat!"

In some instances voluntary savings are made with some specific, long-range project in view. One family of workers, a father and two sons, have in

mind a particular piece of land in their home State in Mexico which they intend to buy. The purchase price is 40,000 pesos, or about 8,000 dollars. Among the three of them they already have accumulated 25,000 pesos and are planning to keep on the job under renewed contracts until they have saved up the remaining 15,000 pesos. In addition, while they work and save, they are accumulating practical experience for the future development of their *ranchos* when they get it.

All the contracted Mexican workers enter the United States as unskilled labor, but nothing in their contracts prevents them from being promoted. Many agricultural workers have been made foremen and given other responsible jobs. Among non-agricultural workers a large number who have shown marked ability have been promoted from track maintenance to shop work where they are receiving specialized training. On the eastern and northern railroads many track workers are given a chance in the shops during the winter months so that their services may be retained.

Thus one of the important results of the undertaking will be the return to Mexico of thousands of workers who "enlisted" as unskilled labor but who will go home with exceptionally fine training along many different lines. Not a few of them will have risen to the categories of skilled machinists, shop and railway workers, or agricultural technicians. When Mexico's Minister of Labor Francisco Trujillo Gurria was in the United States to attend the I.L.O. conference last April, he visited the camps of Mexican railway workers in New York State. He expressed himself as highly satisfied with the living conditions of the workers and with the opportunity for work and training they were receiving. Since then a spokesman of the Mexican Foreign Office has said: "The returning *bracero* will come home a 'new man', with awakened ambitions, with technical training in agriculture or railway work; he will have a new understanding of the world because of his exchanges with people of another nationality and race. Because of his influence the standard of living of his contemporaries will be raised as he teaches others what he has learned of modern agriculture and mechanics. These things will have results of incalculable value with the passing of years, not the least of which will be the fruits of better international understanding."¹

¹ *Novedades*, México, D.F., July 25, 1944.

Some concern has been felt regarding the problem of reabsorbing 125,000 returning workers into Mexico's economy after the war is over. However, the impact of their repatriation will not be sharp. They will not be sent home *en masse* but will return as they came in groups as their contracts progressively expire. In the recruitment they were selected from widely scattered areas of the Republic. They will tend to return to their original homes, thus avoiding large concentrations in any locality. The Mexican Government is preparing for those agricultural workers who do not have home ties by setting aside a large tract of land in the State of Veracruz to be colonized by returning workers.

There seems little doubt that the non-agricultural workers who have received training in railway maintenance and shop work will readily find jobs when they return to Mexico. The improvement of equipment and operations of the Mexican National Railways is one of the nation's most urgent problems, in the solution of which skilled workers will continue to be in demand for a long time to come.

The contribution made to the war effort through this international undertaking can be measured to the great satisfaction of both Mexico and the United States in exact terms of thousands of miles of railway tracks kept in repair for vital transportation purposes, and in terms of thousands of tons of food harvested, processed, and distributed for the use of the United Nations. On the side of the inponderable values, the mutual undertaking has demonstrated how well the good-neighbor policy can work; while the human contacts which the undertaking has brought about have helped to carry that international understanding already achieved between the two Governments down among the rank and file of both peoples, not only along the frontiers but far into the interior.

PUBLICATIONS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Index to the Department of State Bulletin, vol. X, nos. 236-261, January 1-June 24, 1944. Publication 2156. 26 pp. Free.

The Department's Division of Labor Relations

By OTIS E. MULLIKEN¹

The Secretary of State announced on January 15, 1944 the establishment of a Division of Labor Relations as part of the reorganization of the Department of State. This Division is one of the five divisions in the Office of Economic Affairs.²

The decision to establish the Division was based on a careful appraisal of the Department's past and current experience and upon a recognition of the increasing importance of certain phases of its responsibilities. The Division was created to provide the necessary coordination of a number of functions which the Department was already performing in the fields of international labor, health, and social problems and to accord greater attention to problems of increasing significance in these fields. The establishment of the Division, therefore, represents in large part an administrative adjustment to increase the Department's effectiveness in dealing with current and future social and economic problems in our international relations.

Within the limits of this article, which proposes to describe only the general functions of the Division of Labor Relations, it is not feasible to attempt an all-inclusive inventory of the problems with which the Division is dealing or will deal in the future, or to describe in detail all its functions. The most that can be done at this time is to provide a general view of these functions and problems in such a way as to suggest the Division's role and relations to the Department as a whole and to other agencies.

The Division of Labor Relations is concerned primarily with studying, analyzing, and interpreting foreign and international developments relating to labor and advising the Department with reference to them. This work is designed to complement the activities of the divisions concerned with other phases of the Department's economic

and political responsibilities and is closely integrated with the activities of those other divisions. Since the Division directs its attention to foreign and international labor matters it does not overlap or conflict with the functions of other Departments or agencies of this Government.

It is, of course, obvious that the problems which arise in connection with the economic, social, and political activities of working-men and -women constitute a significant part of the life of a modern nation and an increasingly important influence on its foreign policy. Over the last quarter of a century levels of employment, together with wage rates and earnings, hours of work, industrial relations, costs of living, and standards of living have received greater attention in the formulation of both national and international policies. Upon such factors may rest, in many situations, the vitality of democratic institutions and the maintenance of peaceful international relations. While conditions differ from one country to another, the trend appears unmistakable in most countries: Labor and labor conditions are acquiring more and more international importance. The Department of State recognizes this fundamental fact.

A major responsibility of the Division of Labor Relations is to keep the Department of State fully and currently informed on labor developments throughout the world. This information, which must be obtained primarily in the foreign countries, is provided largely by this Government's embassies, legations, and consulates. The Department is now assigning specially trained personnel to various of our diplomatic posts for the purpose of reporting on all matters pertaining to labor in foreign countries which might influence our international relations.

In this connection, the basic data with which the Division is concerned relate to such matters as wages, employment and unemployment, cost of living, industrial disputes, labor or social legislation, industrial relations, and the political and economic activities of the labor movement. In addition, the Division is interested in obtaining in-

¹ Mr. Mulliken is Chief of the Division of Labor Relations, Office of Economic Affairs, Department of State.

² The other four divisions of the Office of Economic Affairs are Division of Commercial Policy, Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs, Commodities Division, and Petroleum Division.

formation on such social problems as working conditions, health, housing, and standards of living. A knowledge of these factors which influence the economic and social status of a people and the policies of their government is essential for the maintenance of satisfactory international relations.

The staff of the Division analyzes such labor information from foreign and domestic sources, both official and private, and interprets it for the use of the Department. On the basis of these activities the Division recommends appropriate policies. It guides the work of the attachés reporting on labor matters in foreign countries and prepares instructions to the embassies and legations with reference to further information which is needed, indicating when special attention should be directed to some particular development. The Division also provides information to our missions in foreign countries on labor matters in the United States in order to assist them in answering inquiries from foreign government officials, employers, and workers, thus contributing to a better understanding of the United States.

The Division of Labor Relations, as one of the economic divisions of the Department, has certain functions pertaining to the formulation of the foreign economic policies of this Government. It is also concerned with analyzing both the policies of international economic agencies in which this Government does or may participate and the economic policies of foreign countries.

The staff of the Division analyzes the foreign economic policies of the United States, both existing and proposed, with a view to determining their relation to the welfare of workers in this country. The Division collaborates with the other divisions of the Department to assure that the effects of our foreign economic policies on levels of employment, wage rates, and standards of living are fully considered. In connection with this phase of its work it is necessary for the Division to keep informed on the views of labor in the United States. The possible repercussions of this Government's policies upon the welfare of peoples in other countries are also examined, since their well-being is closely related to the welfare and security of this Nation.

The activities and policies of international economic agencies in such fields as monetary stabiliza-

tion, investment, commodity arrangements, food and agriculture, and general commercial policy will exert a significant influence upon the economic security of working people in this country. Likewise the economic policies of foreign countries may seriously affect levels of employment, wage rates, and standards of living of labor in the United States. The Division, therefore, analyzes the policies of such international agencies and foreign governments and assists in determining the policies of this Government with respect to these matters.

It is the policy of this Government to maintain high levels of productive employment with all that this connotes for the well-being of our people. Domestic efforts to achieve high levels of productive employment, however, may well be counteracted by economic dislocations in foreign countries if our policies are not properly coordinated with those of other nations and supplemented by effective international action. The Division is responsible for studying these international aspects of the full-employment problem and for advising the Department on the formulation of appropriate international policies.

Since the Division deals with international labor problems, the International Labor Organization occupies a special place in its work. The Division maintains liaison with the I.L.O. for the Department and advises the Department on the many questions which arise in connection with the work of that organization.¹ When draft international-labor conventions, recommendations, and resolutions proposed by the International Labor Office and supporting governments present questions of foreign policy, the Division advises the Department with respect to these. The Division also advises on action which might be initiated by the United States Government in the meetings of the I.L.O., including the Governing Body, and formulates instructions for the United States Government delegations to such meetings on matters of concern to the Department. The Department is customarily represented on such delegations.

Political problems relating to the constitution and structure of the I.L.O. and the relations of that organization to other international organizations

¹ For articles on the I.L.O. by Mr. Mulliken see BULLETIN of Mar. 18, 1944, p. 257, and Apr. 8, 1944, p. 316.

fall within the advisory work of the Division as does the action to be taken by the United States Government on the conventions and recommendations adopted by the International Labor Conference. This Government's recurring financial obligation to the I.L.O. is a part of the State Department's budget, and the Division therefore has certain responsibilities in connection with this obligation.

The Division is also concerned with the activities of other international organizations dealing with labor matters, such as the Inter-American Committee on Social Security.

Some of the other labor problems requiring action by or advice from the Department may be indicated. The Department has necessarily certain responsibilities in connection with the importation of foreign labor for employment in war industries. These are centralized in the Division of Labor Relations. There are important problems relating to formulating recommendations for appropriate labor terms for inclusion in the armistice and peace settlements. Problems arise in connection with the employment and labor policies of this Government and of private agencies in foreign countries. It is the responsibility of the Division to formulate the Department's policies on these matters.

There are yet other responsibilities which have been assigned to the Division but which are not suggested by the title of the Division. These cover the fields of migration, health, and social welfare. In addition to current problems of displaced persons and refugees there will inevitably be, following the close of hostilities, large-scale population movements abroad, which will directly or indirectly affect the interests of this country. The Division is studying the economic and social aspects of these matters and advising the Department on the relevant policies to be followed by the United States alone or in cooperation with other states and by international agencies of which the United States is a member.

The United States possesses a world-wide reputation with respect to international health and social-welfare activities. The State Department has long had responsibility for coordinating such activities among official United States agencies and for facilitating the work of private American organizations in these fields. Aside from emergency projects of direct assistance our Government has

an active interest in the operations of such organizations as UNRRA, the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, the Permanent Central Opium Board, the Drug Supervisory Body, and the Opium Advisory Committee of the League of Nations. The Division has charge of matters relating to international cooperation for the suppression of the abuse of narcotic drugs, performing the various duties imposed by statutes and arising from treaty obligations. The Division of Labor Relations maintains for the Department relations with official and private agencies concerned with international health and welfare activities and advises the Department on foreign policies of the Government in these fields.

The preceding description of the functions of the new Division of Labor Relations is necessarily a summary statement. Some of these functions have already been developed; others are in process of development. The organization of the Division and the current exercise of its functions are designedly flexible and subject to adaptation to new problems and responsibilities.

There is a real job to be done; the Department knows it, and intends to do the job.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Confirmations

On August 11, 1944 the Senate confirmed the nomination of Col. William A. Eddy as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Consular Offices

The American Consulate at Gibraltar was re-established on July 25, 1944.

LEGISLATION

Post-War Economic Policy and Planning: Joint Hearings Before the Special Committees on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning, Congress of the United States, 78th Cong., 2d sess., pursuant to S. Res. 102 and H. Res. 408, resolutions creating special committees on post-war economic policy and planning. Part I, June 16 and 20, 1944. Disposal of surplus Government property and plants. [State Department, p. 54.] iv, 79 pp.



THE DEPARTMENT

Consolidation of Two Divisions in the Office of American Republic Affairs

DEPARTMENTAL ORDER 1283 OF JULY 26, 1944¹

Purpose. This order is issued to rearrange the internal organization of the Office of American Republic Affairs by the consolidation of two divisions.

1 *Consolidation of divisions.* The Division of Bolivarian Affairs and the Division of West Coast Affairs, in the Office of American Republic Affairs, are hereby consolidated into one division entitled North and West Coast Division.

¹ Effective July 26, 1944.

2 *Transfer of personnel.* Personnel presently assigned to the Division of Bolivarian Affairs and the Division of West Coast Affairs are hereby transferred to the North and West Coast Division.

3 *Routing symbol.* The routing symbol of the North and West Coast Division is to be NWC.

4 *Amendment of previous order.* Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944, pp. 22 and 23, is accordingly amended.²

CORDELL HULL

JULY 26, 1944.

Appointment of Officers

Edwin H. Schell as Consultant on Administration, Office of Departmental Administration, effective August 2, 1944.

² BULLETIN of Jan. 15, 1944, p. 54.

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

VOL. XI, NO. 269

AUGUST 20, 1944

In this issue

SPECIAL WAR PROBLEMS DIVISION

By Graham H. Stuart

PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN RELATIONS SINCE 1939

By Richardson Dougall



BULLETIN



August 20, 1944

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Information, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest is included.

Publications of the Department, cumulative lists of which are published at the end of each quarter, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

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International Collaboration Of the United Nations

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press August 14]

Since the Atlantic Charter was proclaimed three years ago today, significant advances have been made in international collaboration. Some examples, in addition to military conferences, are the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942; the Meeting of American Foreign Ministers of that same month; the Food and Agriculture Conference; the Conference on Relief and Rehabilitation; the Moscow, Tehran, and Cairo Conferences; the International Labor Conference; the

Conference of Allied Ministers of Education; the Financial and Monetary Conference; and the forthcoming informal conversations on peace and security.

There is sound reason for believing that the present effective collaboration of the United Nations, which began in the midst of a terrible war for survival, will be continued and strengthened in the future for the maintenance of peace and security.

Denial That Four Major Nations Plan Permanent Military Alliance

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press August 17]

Governor Dewey can rest assured that the fears which he expressed in his statement are utterly and completely unfounded. No arrangement such as described by him, which would involve a military alliance of the four major nations permanently to coerce the rest of the world, is contemplated or has ever been contemplated by this Government or, as far as we know, by any of the other governments. In the Moscow declaration the four nations placed themselves on record as advocating a "general international organization, based on the principle of 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"; this statement was embodied in the Connally resolution passed in the United States Senate by an overwhelming bipartisan vote of 85 to 5. The meeting at Dumbarton Oaks is for the purpose of a discussion among the signatories of the Moscow declaration as to the most feasible and desirable methods of establishing the kind of organization envisaged in that declaration and in the Senate resolution, preliminary to similar discussion and early conference among all the United Nations and other peace-loving countries, large and small.

Any reports to the contrary are absolutely without foundation in fact.

Secretary of State To Confer With Governor Dewey's Representative

[Released to the press August 18]

The Secretary of State on August 18 sent the following telegram to the Honorable Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of New York:

I am in receipt of your telegram of August 18 in which you say "I am happy to accept your proposal for consultation made at your press conference yesterday and to designate Mr. John Foster Dulles as my representative".

I am immensely gratified to receive your assurance of bipartisan cooperation in the effort to establish lasting peace.

I shall be delighted to see Mr. Dulles and to confer with him on any date or dates convenient to him.

CORDELL HULL

International Peace and Security Organization

SOVIET AND BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES

[Released to the press August 19]

A list of the Soviet and British representatives who will take part in the conversations at Dumbarton Oaks follows:¹

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Ambassador Andrei Andreevich Gromyko, *chairman*
Grigori Georgievich Dolbin
Professor Sergei Alexandrovich Golunsky
Professor Sergei Borisovich Krylov
Rear Admiral Konstantin Konstantinovich Rodionov
Major General Nikolai Vassilievich Slavin
Arkadi Alexandrovich Sobolev
Semen Konstantinovich Zarapkin
Mikhail Mikhailovich Yunin, *secretary*
Valentin Mikhailovich Berezhevskoy, *secretary-interpreter*

UNITED KINGDOM

Sir Alexander Cadogan, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., *chairman*
Colonel Capel Dunn
P. H. Gore-Rooth

Major General M. F. Grove-White
Gladwyn Jebb
Peter Loxley
Lieutenant General G. N. Macreedy
Sir William Malkin, G.C.M.G., C.B., K. C.
Admiral Sir Percy Noble
A. H. Poynton
Professor Webster
Air Marshal Sir William Weleh
Paul Falla, *secretary*
A. R. K. Mackenzie, *press officer*

Liberation of Guam

[Released to the press August 19]

The text of a congratulatory message from His Majesty King George VI to the President on the success of the American arms in the Central Pacific follows:

LONDON, August 15, 1944.

Please accept, Mr. President, my warm congratulations on the liberation of Guam from a brutal enemy's occupation. This successful feat of arms marks yet another notable stage in the brilliant advance of the United States forces in the Central Pacific and has aroused our deep admiration. It is a splendid augury of the coming utter defeat of Japan to which the forces of the British Commonwealth of Nations also will make an increasingly powerful contribution.

GEORGE VI

The text of the President's reply follows:

Thank you for your kind message of congratulations on the success of American arms in the Central Pacific. We are particularly gratified at the liberation of the first American territory to fall to Japanese aggression, and at the completion of another long step in the relentless march to Tokyo. I look forward to the approaching day when the increased strength of the armed forces of both the United States and the British Commonwealth can be applied with singleness of purpose to the defeat of the ruthless and savage enemy in the Pacific.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

¹ For the list of American representatives see the BULLETIN of Aug. 6, 1944, p. 133. M. J. McDermott is Press Officer for the American group.

Tenth Anniversary of United States Membership in the I. L. O.

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press August 19]

In this historic year we and our Allies are scoring triumph after triumph on the battle-fronts of the world. In the development of permanent arrangements and bulwarks of peace we and our Allies are likewise recording steady progress. It happens that this year is also the twenty-fifth anniversary of the International Labor Organization and the tenth anniversary of the membership of the United States in that Organization.

We are today witnessing a unity among the free nations of the world which is winning us our victories on the battle-fronts. That unity is essential to the victories of peace. There must be effective international collaboration through appropriate international institutions if we are to accomplish the purposes for which we fight. The peoples of the world have now come closer to realizing this elemental truth and its implications than ever before. The International Labor Organization, which provides representation of employers and workers as well as governments, has greatly assisted in that process of enlightenment and understanding. On this tenth anniversary of the membership of the United States in the International Labor Organization we look forward to continuing collaboration in its useful work.

Visit of Cuban Educator

[Released to the press August 15]

Dr. José M. Chacón y Calvo, distinguished Cuban diplomat, lecturer, historian, and critic is in Washington briefly as a guest of the State Department. He is returning to Cuba after having delivered a series of lectures on great figures of Hispanic America at the Spanish School of Middlebury College in Vermont.

Dr. Chacón y Calvo said he considered the exchange of students and teachers among colleges and universities of the Americas, and the visits back and forth of public-spirited citizens, as a most useful means of continuing and increasing inter-American friendship.

Visit of the President of Iceland

[Released to the press August 19]

His Excellency Sveinn Björnsson, President of Iceland, will arrive in Washington on August 24 as a guest of the United States Government.

Upon his arrival President Björnsson will go to the White House, where he will be a guest of the President at a dinner given in his honor and will remain at the White House until the next day.

President Björnsson will stay at Blair House during the remainder of his visit to Washington. On August 27 he expects to leave for New York, where he will remain for a few days before returning to Iceland.

President Björnsson will be accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iceland.

Offer by Hungarian Government To Release Jews

[Released to the press August 17]

The International Committee of the Red Cross has communicated to the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States an offer of the Hungarian Government regarding the emigration and treatment of Jews. Because of the desperate plight of the Jews in Hungary and the overwhelming humanitarian considerations involved the two Governments are informing the Government of Hungary through the International Committee of the Red Cross that, despite the heavy difficulties and responsibilities involved, they have accepted the offer of the Hungarian Government for the release of Jews and will make arrangements for the care of such Jews leaving Hungary who reach neutral or United Nations territory, and also that they will find temporary havens of refuge where such people may live in safety. Notification of these assurances is being given to the governments of neutral countries which are being requested to permit the entry of Jews who reach their frontiers from Hungary. The Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States emphasize that, in accepting the offer which has been made, they do not in any way condone the action of the Hungarian Government in forcing the emigration of Jews as an alternative to persecution and death.

Special War Problems Division

By GRAHAM H. STUART¹

RELIEF FOR AMERICANS AND OTHER ALLIED NATIONALS IN ENEMY CUSTODY

The problem of relief for Allied prisoners of war and civilian internees in enemy custody and for the many peoples of Europe whom the war has made destitute is one in which both the Government and the people of the United States are vitally interested. The Department of State has consistently expressed itself as favoring any practicable plan for the relief of the distressed populations of the occupied countries.

The determination of policy and the effective operation of a relief program are the responsibilities of the Relief Section of the Special War Problems Division.² Such a program directly concerns Americans and other Allied nationals in enemy custody as well as civilian nationals in enemy territory, whether interned or at liberty; and it concerns, furthermore, the aiding of refugees in enemy and enemy-occupied Europe and in neutral countries. The responsibility of carrying out successfully a relief program involves also the supplying of both commodities and financial aid and includes both trans-blockade and intra-blockade operations.

Since the Governments of the United States and Great Britain are jointly responsible for the blockade of Germany and German-occupied territory they must sponsor or approve any measures of civilian relief in the occupied countries of Europe. The fact that in the previous war the Hoover Committee for Relief in Belgium did such a magnificent job has to a considerable extent placed the responsibility for initiating a similar program

upon the Government of the United States in the present war.

It must be conceded that conditions in this war are not comparable with those of the last war, considering the vastly greater area and populations under control of the enemy and the intensive mobilization of their resources in the interest of the German war effort. Food in the present war is equivalent to manpower. The governments, therefore, which are fighting to destroy the Nazi war-machine must see to it that no supplies which even indirectly might be utilized to the enemy's benefit shall be permitted to pass the blockade.

For that reason the blockade authorities, while sympathetic to the suffering of innocent victims, found it necessary to reject the various food-relief schemes which were proposed early in the war. The most feasible of these perhaps was the so-called "Hoover Plan", which included supervision of the distribution of imported foods by a neutral commission and certain assurances from the occupying authorities. A plan of that scope was submitted to the German Government in 1941. That Government's reply was general in nature and failed to give assurance that imported food-stuffs would actually supplement the diet of the intended recipients. It should be noted that the relief program in Poland which the American Red Cross and the Commission for Polish Relief put into effect immediately after the defeat of that country was made inoperative by the restrictions imposed by the German authorities. American relief efforts in the then "unoccupied zone" of France met with ever-increasing restrictions and obstacles of an official nature.

Humanitarian considerations, however, required that certain minimum measures of relief be taken, on the ground that they were both essential and justifiable. These were of two types: intra-blockade measures, such as the provision of food parcels from Portugal and Sweden to neighboring occupied countries; and trans-blockade measures, such as the Greek Relief Program and the shipment of medical supplies for distribution through the International Red Cross to the civilian population of various occupied territories.

¹This is the last in a series of five articles on the Special War Problems Division by Dr. Stuart, head of the War Records Unit, Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Information, Department of State. See BULLETIN of July 2, 1944, p. 6, July 16, 1944, p. 63, July 30, 1944, p. 115, and Aug. 6, 1944, p. 142.

²The Relief Section was not originally a part of the Special War Problems Division. In the fall of 1941, when the Division of Controls was abolished, its Relief Unit was placed in the Special Division, as it was then known. Eldred D. Kuppinger, Assistant Chief of the Division, heads the Relief Section.

Relief for Allied prisoners of war in Europe

From the beginning of the war the British and American Governments have regularly sent through the International Red Cross food and clothing to their prisoners of war. In some cases these prisoners were housed in the same camps with other Allied prisoners who received only the very meager rations distributed by the German Government. British and American prisoners were, therefore, in a preferred position to that of other Allied prisoners. Since there is some question as to whether Germany considers itself bound by the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention in respect of these prisoners, its treatment of Polish, Belgian, Yugoslav, Greek, Dutch, Norwegian, and French prisoners of war has been more harsh than that accorded to the American and British prisoners. In an effort to improve the situation of the Allied prisoners of war, relief programs were worked out in their behalf with a view to extending aid on a substantially equal basis.

Since the United States was the only country where any significant amounts of supplies were available, the major portion of the supplies sent to these prisoners has come from this country. In order to avoid confusion in procurement, to utilize available shipping most effectively, and to maintain an equitable balance in the various programs, informal agreements were reached with the various governments concerned with respect to amounts and types of supplies to be procured and shipped. Initially some shipments were made in bulk, but since the fall of 1942 all food supplies for Allied prisoners of war, including our own, have been in the form of standard food parcels weighing 11 pounds and made up scientifically to provide a well-balanced diet.¹ These parcels are packed by the American Red Cross, which maintains assembly-line packaging plants in several large cities where volunteer workers under expert Red Cross supervision turn out around a million and a half packages a month.

In the case of the Polish and Yugoslav prisoners, arrangements were made late in 1942 to finance the shipment of food packages and clothing under lend-lease aid. In the case of Belgian, Dutch, Norwegian, and Greek prisoners, sufficient funds were available from Government and private sources to finance the purchase and shipment of supplies. Relief supplies for French prisoners

have, since the spring of 1944, been procured under cash-reimbursable lend-lease.

During 1943 and 1944, some 140,000 Yugoslav prisoners received clothing outfits, and a food parcel was given to each man every month. Similar supplies were made available for 56,000 Polish prisoners. The 70,000 Belgian prisoners have received clothing outfits, together with one food parcel a month for each man. Food packages are being sent to 10,000 Netherlands prisoners, and arrangements have been made to supply them with necessary clothing. French prisoners were receiving 400,000 food packages a month, but in the spring of 1944 these shipments were increased to 872,000 monthly. Approval has been given for an initial shipment of 300,000 clothing outfits. Greek and Norwegian prisoners are also receiving food packages and clothing items.

In addition to food packages and clothing, medical supplies and comfort articles are being sent from the United States to prisoners of all the above-mentioned nationalities. Such shipments are financed either by the government concerned or by private American relief organizations.

The War Prisoners Aid of the Y. M. C. A. has supplied in substantial amounts articles necessary to meet the spiritual, educational, and recreational needs of the prisoners. The War Relief Services of the National Catholic Welfare Conference has also played an important role in this phase of prisoner-of-war relief.

The working out of these programs with the American Red Cross, the blockade authorities, and the representatives of the United Nations was the duty of the Relief Section of the Special War Problems Division. The carrying out of this function required frequent consultations with the Foreign Economic Administration, the Treasury Department, the British Embassy, the American Red Cross, the President's War Relief Control Board, and other organizations.

Relief for civilians in the occupied countries of Europe

The problem of affording relief to civilians in enemy-occupied territory is more difficult than

¹ While changes in detail are made from time to time to provide variety, the current standard food parcel consists of the following items: biscuits, cheese, chocolate, cigarettes, coffee concentrate, corned beef, dried fruit, liver-paste, milk (whole, powdered), oleomargarine, orange concentrate, pork luncheon meat, salmon, soap, and sugar.

that of distributing supplies to prisoners of war and civilian internees. This paradoxical situation is caused by the fact that the safeguards of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention do not apply to civilians at liberty. For that reason less progress has been made in that field of endeavor. The blockade authorities have felt that it would be very difficult to control distribution to the civilian populations of enemy-occupied areas because even if the Germans did not molest imported foodstuffs they could control the distribution of European agricultural produce for German benefit. The Governments of the United States and Great Britain have considered jointly numerous proposals, but thus far no plan for general trans-blockade relief has been developed which meets satisfactorily the objections of the blockade and military authorities. However, the problem continues to receive constant attention.

Various relief operations not involving the shipment of foodstuffs through the blockade have been arranged with funds from United States sources. Parcels from Portugal containing food indigenous to that country are being forwarded to Belgium, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. A similar scheme operates from Sweden for the benefit of Norway. Other intermittent transactions have occurred as, for example, the shipment of oranges from Spain to the Netherlands and the shipment of food from Turkey to Yugoslavia.

The one outstanding trans-blockade measure is the Greek relief scheme, which was put into effect in the summer of 1942 under the supervision of a Swedish-Swiss Relief Commission. In that program the Axis powers agreed that they would not remove any imported food from Greece, that they would replace by compensatory shipments from Axis sources requisitioned Greek produce, and that they would permit a neutral commission to supervise the distribution of the relief foodstuffs. Because Greece was not in a position to produce for the German war-machine like other German-occupied countries, the enemy had no incentive to aid even the Greek working-class and accordingly had callously left the Greeks to starve. The relief program began with monthly shipments of about 15,000 tons of wheat, which now has been raised to over 33,000 tons of wheat and other foodstuffs a month. Medical supplies have also been shipped regularly, as well as automotive equipment, gasoline, and other supplies necessary to enable the Commission to carry out its task. The shipment

of 300,000 sets of children's clothing was recently authorized on a trial basis, although the blockade authorities are not willing to permit the shipment of clothing for adults.

Another relief measure in exception to the blockade of Europe has been the shipment from time to time of certain medical supplies from this country for distribution through the International Red Cross to the civilian populations of various occupied countries. Medical supplies permissible under this program are defined as drugs of strictly humanitarian application, not susceptible to conversion to other uses.

Relief for prisoners of war and civilian internees in the Far East

The Japanese Government signed but did not ratify the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention. Nevertheless, the Japanese agreed, with reservations, to abide by its provisions. In Japan, however, American prisoners of war and internees have found the standard of living, which is very low according to our dietary requirements, totally inadequate. It is vital, therefore, that additional food be provided to supplement the inadequate rations provided by the Japanese.

The Relief Section of the Special War Problems Division has been charged with the responsibility of working out, in consultation with the American Red Cross, arrangements by which relief supplies might be made available to American and Allied internees and prisoners of war in the Far East. The first problem was the chartering of a suitable neutral ship. The *Vasaland* was found, but the Germans refused to permit that vessel to leave the Baltic. In the summer of 1942 the American Red Cross chartered the Swedish vessel, *Kanangoora*, and loaded it with a cargo of food, clothing, and medicines. When the Japanese Government, however, refused to grant a safe-conduct for alleged strategic reasons the vessel was unloaded.

The Japanese Government agreed to permit supplies to be sent in the exchange vessels and promised to distribute them upon arrival. On the first voyage of the *Gripsholm* the American Red Cross sent 20,000 standard food parcels, 10,000 articles of clothing, and \$50,000 worth of medical supplies.

Since the exchange ships could carry only a very inconsiderable amount of cargo in relation to the need, the United States was eager to make arrangements for regular continuous shipments.

Exploration was begun concerning the possibility of sending supplies in Soviet ships running between American west-coast ports and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government was approached with regard to its reception of the idea. While awaiting a reply the American Red Cross proposed to send a neutral ship from Japan to pick up the cargo and deliver it to various points in the Far East where United Nations prisoners were held. Although the Japanese Government refused the latter suggestion, it did agree to consider a plan whereby supplies might be sent by ship or by land from the Soviet Union.

Long negotiations followed in working out that plan. The Soviet Government was willing to cooperate if the Japanese Government agreed, but throughout the year 1943, despite repeated urging, the Japanese Government failed to indicate the manner by which that Government would be willing for the supplies to be forwarded from the Soviet Union to Japanese territory. As a means of speeding up action the United States started the shipment of relief supplies to Vladivostok in October 1943, the Soviet authorities having agreed to accept and store 1,500 tons of supplies until the Japanese and American Governments had reached an agreement concerning transshipment. After considerable prodding the Japanese Government replied on January 11, 1944 that no action would be taken on the question of transporting to Japan supplies then at Vladivostok before a satisfactory reply had been received to its protests against alleged attacks on Japanese hospital ships and before its asserted apprehension over the treatment of detained Japanese nationals had been satisfied.

In the meantime, on the second voyage of the *Gripsholm*, which sailed from Jersey City September 2, 1943, there were sent 140,000 special Far East food packages in addition to clothing and medical supplies—a relief cargo that was valued at over \$1,300,000. The Japanese exchange ship *Teia Maru* left the exchange port of Mormugão in Portuguese India on October 21 carrying, in addition to the cargo of relief supplies, 3,403 bags of next-of-kin packages and mail for prisoners of war and civilian internees in the Far East.

The United States Government has continued its efforts to arrange with the Japanese Government for the regular movement of relief supplies to the Far East. It has even approved of a pro-

posal by the American Red Cross, through the International Red Cross, that American ships be offered to the Japanese Red Cross to be manned for this purpose by Japanese crews in Far Eastern waters. Thus far, however, the Japanese Government has permitted the movement of supplies into Japanese-controlled territory only in diplomatic exchange ships.

In May 1944 the Japanese Government forwarded to this Government an offer to send at regular intervals a Japanese ship to Vladivostok to pick up relief supplies sent from the United States for Allied nationals in Japanese custody. The Soviet Government was immediately consulted, and it expressed a willingness to cooperate but found it necessary to name an alternative Soviet Pacific port to which Japanese ships might have access for that purpose. The United States Government informed the Japanese Government of the plan. Subsequently the Japanese Government replied that it agreed to the port proposed by the Soviet Government but that it imposed certain additional conditions to be met. The Soviet Government is now considering those conditions. It is hoped that arrangements to permit shipments of relief supplies to the Far East on a continuing basis will be completed in the near future.

CONCLUSION

The Special War Problems Division, as it is called by Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944, is charged with the initiation and co-ordination of policy in the various fields which have been discussed in this series of articles. Since by its very nature the Division has been set up as a temporary emergency agency, the problems of recruitment of efficient and adequate personnel and the administration of its numerous, varied, and constantly changing fields of activity are necessarily more complicated and more difficult than those encountered in the old-line divisions.

In the first place, within the period of five years, the Special War Problems Division has expanded from an initial detail of 10 officers and clerks to over 100—an increase of over 1,000 percent. In the second place, it has had to move its quarters five times. Much of the work of the Division is of a highly technical and complex nature and, therefore, requires specially trained officials who must remain with the Division for a considerable

period of time before they can master its intricacies. The key positions have been filled with Foreign Service officers whose experience and familiarity with conditions existing abroad especially equip them for their duties. Foreign Service officers, however, may remain on assignment in the Department for maximum periods of only four years, and under the rigid Civil Service restrictions imposed, particularly as regards salaries, replacement of personnel of equal ability, training, and willingness to assume the incumbent responsibilities for the low remuneration offered has been an almost impossible task. Finally, the work of the Division has expanded so rapidly that there has never been sufficient personnel to cope effectively with the constantly increasing volume of work.

As a result of these difficulties the effective execution of the Division's work has proved a very considerable strain upon the executive and administrative officers. In the five years of its existence the Special Division has had five chiefs: Breckinridge Long, Joseph E. Davies, George Louis Brandt, Joseph C. Green, and James Hugh Keeley, Jr., two of whom, Long and Davies, are former ambassadors, and two others, Brandt and Keeley, are Foreign Service officers.

The present Chief of the Division, James Hugh Keeley, Jr., a Foreign Service officer, was first detailed to the Division in October 1939, shortly after its establishment. On January 2, 1941 he was made Assistant Chief, and on March 27, 1943, Chief of the Division.

The Chief of the Special War Problems Division is responsible for the broad policies of the Division, for the action to be taken to meet emergency problems, and for the supervision of all phases of the Division's work. He also represents the Department on the Interdepartmental Boards on Prisoners of War and Civilian Internees and on the Committee on the Status of Italian Prisoners of War.

The Senior Assistant Chief of the Division and head of the Executive Section is Edwin A. Plitt, a Foreign Service officer, who was appointed Assistant Chief of the Division on March 28, 1942. He becomes Acting Chief in the absence of the Chief and is responsible for all administrative matters, including office organization, the direction of the Division's personnel, and the handling of such special problems and duties as are not read-

ily assimilable with the regular activities of the other sections of the Division.

When the war ends and the work of the Division diminishes, its personnel will for the most part return to the field, since the Chief, the Senior Assistant Chief, the heads of four of the five Sections, and the heads of most of the Units, are Foreign Service officers. Nevertheless, the problems of welfare and whereabouts, relief, and the questions of representation and repatriation of prisoners and internees, will be so many and important that a skeleton organization will probably be required to function, if not permanently, at least for a considerable period of time after the war ends.

Radiotelegraph Circuit Between The United States and India

[Released to the press August 15]

As a result of negotiations between the Government of the United States and the Indian Government and arrangements between the private companies concerned, a new direct radiotelegraph circuit was inaugurated between the United States and India on August 15. This will be a forked circuit operated at the United States end by R.C.A. Communications, Inc., and Mackay Radio and Telegraph Company and at the Indian terminal by the Indian Radio and Cable Communications Company, Ltd. The circuit will operate between New York and Bombay.

Upon the occasion of the opening of the circuit, messages were exchanged between Sir Mohammad Usman, the honorable member of the Viceroy's Executive Council for Posts and Air, and the Honorable James Lawrence Fly, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. Mr. Fly's message reads as follows:

"It is a pleasure indeed to greet the Indian Government and people on the occasion of the opening of the first direct commercial radiotelegraph circuit between the United States and India. By means of such radio circuits, messages which a century ago would have taken weeks or even months to reach their destination are now transmitted with the speed of light. I trust that the new circuit will further strengthen the bonds of friendship between us and will hasten the day of victory in the war which we are fighting together."

Caribbean Land-Tenure Symposium

[Released to the press August 16]

The Caribbean Research Council, a subsidiary body of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, is sponsoring a Caribbean land-tenure symposium which will meet in Mayagüez, Puerto Rico, August 28 to August 31, 1944. This meeting will be under the immediate direction of the Agricultural Committee of the Caribbean Research Council of which Dr. Carlos E. Chardon of Puerto Rico is chairman. Governor Rexford G. Tugwell of Puerto Rico, a member of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, will open the formal proceedings.

The symposium will be devoted to a full interchange of technical information and ideas on aspects of land tenure as they pertain to the Caribbean area. Technical papers will be read by experts from the United States and British islands in the Caribbean. The Netherlands Minister to Mexico, J. C. Kielstra, former governor of Surinam, will read a paper on land tenure in the Netherlands Indies. The independent island republics, Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, will be represented by qualified experts who will participate in the discussion of the papers along with the members of the Research Council and the Agricultural Committee of the Council. No resolutions or recommendations are to be drawn up at the symposium, but the papers and a record of the discussions will be published subsequently as the proceedings of the meeting.

In going from San Juan to Mayagüez and returning to San Juan, the participants will visit land-settlement projects of the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration and institutions for agricultural research. Members of the Research Council's Agricultural Committee will have a meeting at Cidra in the interior of the island on September 1. This committee is composed of Mr. K. Bartlett, Director, Mayagüez Experimental Station, Puerto Rico; Mr. R. L. Brooks, Conservator of Forests, Trinidad; Dr. H. H. Brown, Director of Fisheries Investigation in the British West Indies; Dr. C. E. Chardon, Director, Institute of Tropical Research, Mayagüez, Puerto Rico; Dr. E. Englund, Department of Agriculture, United States; Mr. O. T. Faulkner, Principal, Im-

perial College of Tropical Agriculture, Trinidad; Dr. P. Morales-Otero, Director, Institute of Tropical Medicine, Puerto Rico; Dr. A. Roque, Director of Agricultural Experiment Station, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico; Dr. S. J. Saint, Director of Agriculture, Barbados, British West Indies; Mr. A. Upson, Director of Forestry Research Institute, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico; Mr. A. J. Wakefield, Inspector General of Agriculture for the British West Indies; Mr. E. G. Whitbread, Deputy Commissioner of Commerce and Industry, Jamaica; and a Netherlands representative to be nominated later.

Immediately after the symposium a meeting of the Caribbean Research Council, which is composed of representatives of the United States, Great Britain, and the Netherlands, will be held in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands (U. S.). Members of four new sectional committees will consider the work to be done in their fields of public health and medicine, social sciences, industries and building and engineering research.

Resignation of William Phillips As Adviser to Eisenhower

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press August 17]

The Honorable William Phillips,¹ who has been serving as political adviser to General Eisenhower, has for several months been considering relinquishing his present duties and returning to the United States for urgent family reasons. In accepting this post Mr. Phillips originally expected to remain in London only during the period of planning for military operations on the Continent, but his service has been so effective that he consented to stay on at the insistent request of both the State Department and General Eisenhower. He feels, however, that he can no longer postpone his return to this country and is consequently resigning, to the great regret of all of us. His departure from Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Forces will take place in September.

¹ Mr. Phillips is personal representative of the President near the Government of India, with the rank of Ambassador.

Philippine - American Relations Since 1939

By

RICHARDSON DOUGALL¹

When the Japanese followed up the bombing of Manila on December 7, 1941 (Dec. 8, Manila time) with a full-fledged invasion of the Philippine Islands they believed that they had destroyed overnight the foundation for Philippine independence which the United States laid in 1934. The Philippine Independence Act of that year, better known as the Tydings-McDuffie act, had provided for the independence of the Philippines as the culmination of a 10-year cooperative program between the United States and the Commonwealth of the Philippines to prepare the people of the Islands for complete self-government.

On December 24, 1941 the United States and the Commonwealth officials, fully aware of the Japanese invasion plans, transferred as a precautionary measure the seat of the Government of the Commonwealth from Manila to Fort Mills, Corregidor. There, under the protection of the United States Army, Mr. Francis B. Sayre, the United States High Commissioner to the Philippines, and Mr. Manuel L. Quezon, the President of the Commonwealth, carried on limited functions of the Government. With them on Corregidor were Mr. Quezon's family, Mrs. Sayre, and a number of high-ranking Commonwealth officials, including Vice President Sergio Osmeña, now President of the Commonwealth.

The continued freedom of these officers, who symbolized constitutional government and adherence to the American cause, was considered essential for Filipino morale and for the preservation of the Commonwealth Government itself. The Department of State therefore studied most carefully a radio message that the High Commissioner had dispatched on January 24, 1942 relating to the possible withdrawal of President Quezon from the Philippines. Officers of the Department conferred with the Secretary of War, General Marshall, Admiral King, and General Eisenhower (then on duty in Washington) and

prepared for the President's signature a message which was sent to Mr. Sayre on January 27. It suggested that the question of evacuating the officers of the Commonwealth Government be determined by General MacArthur, the commanding general in the Philippines, in the light of his knowledge of the military situation.

On February 2, however, after a message from General MacArthur had been received, the Department drafted a further message stating that it would be desirable for the officials of the Commonwealth Government to leave Corregidor as soon as their presence in the Philippines was no longer necessary for military reasons. Shortly thereafter the High Commissioner, President Quezon, Vice President Osmeña, and other Commonwealth officials, together with certain members of their families and staffs, were evacuated from the Philippines, leaving Corregidor in small groups by submarine. The members of the Commonwealth Government were taken first to Australia and embarked for the United States late in April.

The matter of receiving President Quezon and his party was a question of concern primarily to the Department of the Interior, but other branches of the Government lent assistance. It was necessary, for example, for the Visa Division of the Department of State, through the Department of Justice, to authorize immigration officials in San Francisco to admit the party to the United States without the usual travel documentation. The Division of Protocol also made its technical knowledge available to the Interior Department officials in charge of arranging for President Quezon's reception in Washington. Mr. Quezon arrived in this city on May 13, 1942 and was met at the Union Station by President Roosevelt, certain members of the Cabinet, and a group composed of former Governors General and High Commissioners. He immediately established the Commonwealth Government-in-exile in the Capital of the United States.

Since that time a considerable part of the relations of the United States Government with Mr.

¹ Dr. Dougall is a historian in the War Records Unit, Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Information, Department of State.

Quezon and the Commonwealth Government has been carried on, by presidential directive of October 1942, in the Division of Territories and Island Possessions of the Department of the Interior, to which the functions of the War Department Bureau of Insular Affairs had been transferred on July 1, 1939. From the latter date until the establishment of the Commonwealth Government in Washington the Department of the Interior had been responsible for securing appropriations, coordinating the work of other agencies, and acting in a liaison capacity for all contact between the United States Government and the United States High Commissioner to the Philippines, with one exception: Direct communication between the Secretary of State and the High Commissioner was permitted by the President's letter of June 16, 1939 on such subjects as internal Philippine affairs affecting United States international obligations, international communications with the Philippines, and such matters as immigration, passports, extradition, and foreign consular activity in the Philippines.

At the same time the Treasury Department was concerned with fiscal matters arising from the importation of goods from the Philippines. The collection of import duties and excise taxes on major Philippine products such as coconut oil, sugar, and tobacco fell of course within the scope of Treasury functions. The collection of the coconut-oil and sugar taxes was particularly important because, under special procedures set up by the Treasury, the returns from those taxes were to be transferred to the Commonwealth Government. That Government was then to use the money received to adjust the Philippine economy from complete dependence on trade with the United States to complete independence from the necessity for preferential tariff treatment.

The Treasury also began, on January 1, 1941, to administer the annually declining free-quota system for Philippine imports established by the act of August 7, 1939. On the same date it assumed responsibility for the custody and investment of a sinking fund raised by Philippine export taxes and earmarked for the redemption of Philippine bonds. Since the Japanese invasion the Treasury Department has been concerned with the freezing of Philippine funds under its foreign-funds control program.

During the period before Pearl Harbor the War and Navy Departments, operating through the

commanding general of the Philippine Department and the commander in chief of the Asiatic Fleet, had exclusive jurisdiction in matters concerning the defense of the Philippines and the use of the Islands as a Far Eastern base. The War Department in particular gave assistance to the Commonwealth Government in training the Filipino Army and furnished military aides and advisers to the High Commissioner. It also took the initiative in recommending to Congress the use of sugar revenue for Philippine defense rather than for economic adjustment.

Before the invasion of the Philippines the Department of Commerce performed functions relating generally to the numerous problems of Philippine trade. Its Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce analyzed consular and other reports, for example, and furnished trade information to American business interests. The Coast and Geodetic Survey carried on mapping activities in the Philippines, and the Civil Aeronautics Board and Administration were concerned with another specialized aspect of Philippine affairs.

The Department of Agriculture also analyzed reports from Foreign Service officers in the Philippines and performed duties in connection with the importation of Philippine sugar, beside making payments to sugar growers in the Islands as compensation for the destruction of sugarcane crops. The Department of Labor and the Department of Justice (after the transfer of the Immigration and Naturalization Service from the Labor Department in June 1940) were concerned with certain immigration problems. And the Post Office Department was interested in the Philippines from the point of view of mail subsidies and mail contracts for postal service between the Philippines and points outside.

All the executive Departments of the United States Government were thus in some degree concerned with Philippine affairs. In addition, a number of independent establishments, such as the Tariff Commission in peacetime and the Office of War Information in wartime, have performed special duties relating to the Philippines such as the study of United States-Philippine trade and the preparation of radio broadcasts for use in the United States Government program of psychological warfare.

The President of the United States is of course responsible for the conduct of the work of all these agencies and he personally has made impor-

tant policy decisions on Philippine questions. He has recommended to Congress the passage of Philippine legislation. He has had direct dealings with the President of the Commonwealth. He has appointed the High Commissioners to the Philippines. He has broadcast words of encouragement to the Filipino people. He has signed acts of Congress concerning the Philippines and those acts of the Philippine National Assembly that required his approval. In this last function he had the assistance of the Bureau of the Budget, which consulted the interested departments in the preparation of recommendations for the President. The Bureau of the Budget was also called upon to indicate whether draft bills being presented to Congress were in accord with the program of the President, and in this connection it consulted the interested executive Departments, including the Department of State.

The interest of the Department of State in Philippine affairs arose largely from the fact that the Philippines became a potential foreign nation on March 24, 1934 when President Roosevelt approved the Tydings-McDuffie act providing for independence upon the expiration of a Commonwealth period. In the interim the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines was to control in large measure the affairs of the Islands. To the Government of the United States were reserved, however, considerable powers. Control of Philippine foreign affairs and control of internal Philippine affairs that affected international obligations of the United States were among the powers reserved by the Independence Act, and the exercise of this control was a responsibility of the Department of State.

An Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Francis B. Sayre, was appointed chairman of the Government's Interdepartmental Committee on Philippine Affairs. The execution of Mr. Sayre's duties as chairman of that committee entailed participation of the Department of State in all matters pertaining to the Philippines, particularly since a United States ambassador and two officers of the Department were named to the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs, which completed its work in 1938. The major portion of this work was done in the Office of Philippine Affairs, Department of State, and a bill was drafted in that office to carry out the committee's

recommendations. After Mr. Sayre's appointment in 1939 as High Commissioner to the Philippines, however, the Department of State confined its activities, with respect to Philippine affairs, largely to matters in the international field.

The Office of Philippine Affairs mentioned above (now the Division of Philippine Affairs) was created, with the specific approval of the President, on December 12, 1936 to carry out the responsibilities of the Department of State under the terms of the Philippine Independence Act "and (in conjunction especially with the Division of Far Eastern Affairs and with other interested divisions) to have general charge of such other matters as concern this Department in relation to the Philippine Islands".¹ Mr. Joseph E. Jacobs, the first Chief of the Office, served as chairman of the American group of members of the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs. The present Chief of the Division of Philippine Affairs, Mr. Frank P. Lockhart, is a Foreign Service officer with long experience in the Far East, whose last post was that of consul general at Shanghai. The Assistant Chief of the Division is Mr. Paul P. Steintorf, former trade commissioner and consul at Manila, who was interned by the Japanese and returned to the United States on the *Gripsholm* only a few months ago.

In peacetime the principal operations of the Department of State in the field of Philippine affairs concerned representation of the Philippines in the diplomatic field and special aspects of Philippine interests, such as legislation, immigration, trade, communications, and other matters of direct and special concern to the Department.

The Foreign Service of the United States has been—for that matter, still is—the channel for Philippine representation abroad. It was American Foreign Service officers, for example, who performed such routine representation services as issuing visas for entry into the Philippines and collecting the appropriate fees, which were transmitted through the Department and the High Commissioner to the Commonwealth Government.

Many examples could be given of less routine representation of Philippine interests abroad. United States representatives, for instance, spoke for the Philippines on questions before the International Sugar Council at London. Officers of the Department of State carried on conversations in Washington with Chinese and French diplomats who had raised objections to the Philippine

¹ *Press Releases*, Dec. 19, 1936, p. 528.

parity law that fixed rates of exchange for payment of Philippine customs duties. The Department also performed liaison work in connection with the registration of Philippine radio stations with the Bureau of International Telecommunication Union at Bern (this work involved cooperation with the Department of the Interior and the Federal Communications Commission) and at the request of the Commonwealth Government took up with foreign powers, formally or informally, a variety of other matters, including many relating to postal affairs.

The Department studied ways and means of extending Philippine trade to countries other than the United States in order to decrease dependence upon American markets and to facilitate the economic adjustment of the Philippines after independence. In this connection the Department decided to extend to the Commonwealth Government and to Filipino individuals and firms the commercial facilities of the Foreign Service, already available to American companies and interests in the Philippines. A circular instruction to this effect was sent on May 1, 1940 to American Foreign Service officers abroad.

It was expected, of course, that after July 4, 1946, the date set for Philippine independence, the new Philippine Government would establish a foreign office and a foreign service of its own, although it was anticipated that the United States might continue to represent Philippine interests, if requested to do so, in areas to which Filipino officers were not assigned. The Department wished, therefore, to assist the Commonwealth Government in the process of preparing for the establishment of a foreign service, and to that end the Office of Philippine Affairs drew up in some detail plans for the organization of a foreign office and foreign service for the Philippines and sent them to the High Commissioner for his use in discussions with Philippine officials. It also made suggestions concerning the qualifications and training of future officers of the Philippine foreign service and the development and staffing of a foreign-relations division of the Commonwealth Government which could pave the way for assuming full responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs.

In the field of Philippine trade the Department, by an exchange of notes with the Japanese Embassy, had concluded annually since 1935 a so-called cotton-textile agreement. Each year the

Association of Japanese Exporters of Cotton Piece Goods agreed to restrict exports of cotton textiles from Japan to the Philippines to 45 million square meters a year, and the United States Government in return undertook not to recommend an increase of the Philippine tariff on these goods during the term of the agreement. American textile interests, represented by the Cotton Textile Institute and the Cotton Textile Exporters Association, supported the arrangement. Representatives of those organizations came to the Department each year to discuss renewal with the Assistant Secretary of State concerned (successively Mr. Sayre, Mr. Henry Grady, and Mr. Breckinridge Long). After renewal had been decided upon in principle the American business interests brought about a request from the Japanese Embassy for a new exchange of notes, which was accomplished after final approval by the Commercial Policy Committee, the Tariff Commission, the Department of Commerce, the High Commissioner, the Commonwealth Government, and the Department of State.

In 1941 the general political situation in the Far East was so grave that the Department considered renewing the agreement for only three months or allowing it to lapse. While this point was still under consideration Japanese aggression in Indochina injected another factor into the situation, on the basis of which it was determined that the cotton-textile agreement should be permitted to lapse on July 31, 1941.

Of long standing also was the project of an aviation agreement with the Netherlands to permit the institution of regular air service on a reciprocal basis between the Philippines and the Netherlands East Indies. Diplomatic negotiations looking toward such an agreement had been opened in 1935 and were still in progress when war broke out in western Europe. Shortly thereafter a draft agreement prepared in the Department was discussed with officers of other agencies and forwarded to the High Commissioner for his comments and those of the Commonwealth Government.

German aggression against the Netherlands in May 1940 raised a question of policy concerning the desirability of concluding the proposed agreement. The Department by August 1940 came to the conclusion that because of Japanese pressure on the Netherlands for a similar agreement the negotiations should be postponed. In January

1941, however, the Dutch indicated that the recent extension of Japanese air service in the South Pacific area made them more anxious than ever to improve communications with the United States. Accordingly, the draft agreement, when it had been approved by the Commonwealth Government, was submitted to the Netherlands Legation. The Dutch counter-proposals were still under discussion between the Department and the Civil Aeronautics Board when the entry of the United States into the war made it necessary to suspend further negotiations.

The Department's connection with the Philippine sugar problem is another good example of the way in which diplomacy relating to Philippine affairs long before Pearl Harbor was conditioned by the general political situation in the Far East and by the threat of war in the Pacific.

The Philippine Independence Act had provided duty-free quotas for the importation of Philippine sugar into the United States. The International Sugar Agreement of 1937, to which the Commonwealth Government was a party, provided that the Philippines should export its sugar only to the United States unless those quotas should be cut or unless the world demand increased. From 1937 to 1939 the Department of State was concerned with representing the Philippines on matters brought to the attention of the United States Embassy in London by the International Sugar Council and with making available to the Commonwealth Government the money collected by the Treasury as excise taxes on the processing of Philippine sugar in the United States.

After 1939, however, the sugar problem was changed radically by the increasing scarcity of shipping space to carry sugar from the Philippines to the United States. The Maritime Commission in allocating shipping gave priority to Philippine ore and abacá (Manila hemp), which were considered essential strategic materials; and in consequence the Philippines was unable to ship its quota of sugar to the United States. Since the Philippine sugar growers could sell their sugar only to the United States, they had large quantities of an unmarketable commodity on their hands, and the Philippine banks, which had regularly lent money to planters on security of the sugar crop, were now less willing to finance the planting and harvesting of future crops that could not

be sold. If relief were not obtained, Philippine sugar interests were thus facing a major disaster.

A number of relief plans of interest to the Department of State were considered. At a meeting held in April 1941 and attended by representatives of the Departments of State, Agriculture, and the Interior and of the Defense Commission it was generally agreed, since the Philippines apparently would be unable to fill its quota because of action by the American Government in diverting ships, that there was some obligation to compensate the Philippine sugar producers.

One of the solutions studied was the possibility of lend-leasing Philippine sugar to Russia. Most of the interested officers of the Department believed that the Philippines would be unable to obtain from the International Sugar Council a release to ship sugar to Russia in contravention of the International Sugar Agreement, since such a release would require the consent of other governments with important sugar interests in the South Pacific. The Commonwealth Government, the High Commissioner, and the Department of the Interior, however, all recommended that the Department of State request a release. The United States Embassy in London therefore was instructed in November 1941 to make that request. It was to emphasize the lend-lease character of the proposed shipments and to leave the door open for the inclusion in them of some sugar from areas other than the Philippines.

The Council's permission was granted on December 19, 1941. By that time, of course, it had become impossible for the Philippines to avail itself of the permission granted.

In the meantime another proposal had been under active consideration: a loan to the Philippine National Bank from the Export-Import Bank of Washington, a subsidiary of the Federal Loan Agency. The loan was made on the basis of that portion of the 1941 and 1942 duty-free import quotas that could not be shipped to the United States. It was to be secured, however, not by the sugar but by the pledge of the Philippine National Bank, guaranteed by the Commonwealth Government. On December 3, 1941 the Departments of State, Agriculture, and the Interior and the Federal Loan Agency endorsed the loan proposal, but it was dropped after the Japanese invasion of the Philippines.

The shipping situation also affected trade in copra between the Philippines and the United States. Since Philippine copra was an important source of coconut oil in this country it was proposed to reduce the processing tax on coconut oil until there was again an adequate supply of Philippine copra. The Bureau of the Budget consulted the Department of State both when the bill to accomplish this purpose was first considered and again when the engrossed bill awaited the President's signature. After consideration the Department reported that it had no objection to the bill.

The importation of jute and jute products from India into the Philippines was another trade question that because of war conditions required diplomatic attention. In November 1940 the British Embassy in Washington explained to the Department of State that the Government of India had reached the conclusion that the export of jute and jute products from India would have to be controlled. The purpose of the control was to restrict Japanese imports of such items so severely that Japan would be forced to discontinue shipping Manchurian soybeans in jute bags to Germany.

The upshot of conversations in Washington was a recommendation to the British Government that jute exports from India to the Philippines be restricted to those Philippine importers whose applications the British consul general in Manila had approved on the basis of acceptable assurances that the jute products would not be reexported. The Government of India soon adopted a system along the lines of this suggestion. It remained in force but a very short time, however, since the extension of the United States export control to the Philippines on May 28, 1941 made British control in India unnecessary.

The extension of control to exports from the Philippines had been under consideration for months. The Administrator of Export Control had instructed the Division of Controls of the Department of State that all materials subject to the export-license system in the United States (except arms, ammunition, and implements of war) that were shipped to the Philippines must have export licenses.¹ That instruction was designed to prevent the unlicensed reexport from the Philippines of goods which could not have been shipped directly from the United States without a license. It did not, however, limit in any way the exportation

of goods produced in the Philippines, of which only arms, ammunition, and implements of war were then subject to a licensing system.

By October 1940 the Army-Navy Munitions Board and the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense had begun to feel that the exportation of abacá, chrome, iron ore, and other products from the Philippines to Japan might be against the best interests of national defense. The United States was already having difficulty in buying Philippine abacá, the best grades of which were produced by Japanese companies in the Philippines and shipped to Japan. An amendment to the Export Control Act to extend the licensing system to the Philippines was therefore drafted in the Department's Division of Controls, and an officer of that division served with representatives of other Government agencies on an interdepartmental subcommittee appointed to consider extension of export control to the Philippines.

The Department of State felt that the restriction or stoppage at that time of such exports to Japan as iron ore would be inopportune and would cause further maladjustments in the Philippine economy. It felt nevertheless that the act should be amended so that it would be possible to put restrictions into effect promptly in case of hostilities or near hostilities with Japan but that licensing should be continued for the time being.

The Department's representative therefore approved the subcommittee's report of mid-April which called for legislation to extend export control to the Philippines and which recommended that control in the Islands be administered under the direction of the Administrator of Export Control through the High Commissioner to the Philippines. Necessary directives were to be transmitted to the High Commissioner through the Department of State.

When the legislation called for by the subcommittee was submitted to the Department for comment before being signed by the President, the Department strongly recommended its approval. The act accomplishing the desired extension of export control was signed on May 28, 1941 and thereafter the Department carried on a considerable amount of largely routine work in

¹ BULLETIN of June 7, 1941, p. 707, June 14, 1941, p. 728, and June 28, 1941, p. 766.

connection with the administration of export control in the Philippines. This work was done first by the Division of Controls and later by the Division of Exports and Defense Aid and the Division of Defense Materials.

As the situation in the Pacific became more serious the War and Navy Departments undertook a number of precautionary measures with respect to Philippine defense, and the Department of State was sometimes called upon for legal advice or diplomatic assistance. For example, at the request of the Navy Department, the Department of State lent a hand in defense preparations by issuing a circular note to the diplomatic missions in Washington announcing the mining of the entrances of Manila and Subic Bays. The Department also endorsed the executive order drafted by the Navy Department establishing a Manila Bay Defensive Sea Area and the legislation sponsored by the Navy Department relating to the creation of such areas.

The Department of State was also concerned in the period just before Pearl Harbor with efforts to check subversive activity on the part of officials and individuals in the Philippines who were friendly to Axis interests. Action with respect to private individuals who received financial assistance from Japan was of first concern to other agencies of the United States Government. The Department of State, however, had primary responsibility for action with respect to consular officers of other nations who overstepped the bounds of proper consular activity. Thus the Department acted through the High Commissioner to restrain the German and Italian consuls in Manila from improper activity.

Since the Japanese invasion of the Philippines the Department of State has been concerned to some extent with the problem of combating Japanese propaganda and Japanese efforts to alienate the Filipinos from their traditional friendship toward the United States by converting them to the Japanese New Order. The psychological-warfare activities of the United States Government with respect to the Philippines are carried out principally by the San Francisco field office of the Office of War Information, but representatives of the Department of State, the armed services, and the British Psychological Warfare Executive meet with officials of the Office of War

Information each week to consider a general directive on Pacific matters. This directive guides the field office during the ensuing week in preparing scripts and arranging short-wave broadcasts to the Philippines, to other occupied areas in the Pacific theater, and to Japan.

Although it has only a general advisory function in relation to information broadcast to the Philippines, the Department of State has been more intimately concerned with operations relating to the gathering of information from the Philippines. A representative of the Office of Philippine Affairs, for instance, was sent to New York when the *Gripsholm* completed its first exchange voyage to interview the few people aboard who had been evacuated from the Philippines in exchange for Japanese nationals returned to Japan from the United States. A good example of the type of information received in the Department from Americans returning by exchange from the Philippines is the Japanese attempt to use the Philippines in various ways to facilitate acceptance of the New Order in East Asia.

The Department of State, through its Special War Problems Division (formerly the Special Division), has been most closely concerned also with the questions of relief and repatriation for Americans, both civilian and military, interned by the Japanese in the Philippines.¹ There has been close cooperation between the Special War Problems Division and the Division of Philippine Affairs in these matters.

With regard to relief, the situation in the Islands was made particularly difficult because the Japanese considered them conquered American territory and therefore in a class by themselves. It was some time before the Department received any information whatever about the conditions which it must attempt to relieve, since the Swiss Government, which is protecting American interests in Japan and in Japanese-occupied territory, was unable to get reports from Manila.

In the meantime officers of the Department of State worked closely with the officials of the American Red Cross in an attempt to secure Japanese assent to the appointment of an International Red Cross representative in Manila. The Japanese Government has consistently refused to permit such an appointment, but the American Red Cross in the Philippines was permitted to use its funds in the Philippine National Bank for the relief of the inhabitants of the Santo Tomas internment camp

¹ BULLETIN of July 16, 1944, p. 63.

at Manila. The transmission of additional funds to the Philippines through Japanese channels has also been allowed. The Japanese, furthermore, have established a Red Cross organization under their own auspices to care to some extent for the Filipinos.

Relief supplies sent from the United States to the Philippines on the first voyage of the *Grips-holm* are known to have reached their destination. A larger consignment was sent on her second voyage. In general, the relief situation has improved considerably since the early months of the war with Japan, although there is still probably a shortage of medical supplies and clothing and of some essential foods.

The Japanese Government, with which the Department carried on long and complex negotiations through the Swiss Government, permitted the exchange of only a handful of Americans from the Philippines on the first voyage of the *Grips-holm*. On the second voyage, however, it permitted 132 civilians from the Philippines to be exchanged. The personnel chosen for exchange was named by the Japanese authorities, but it is not known on what basis the selection was made, although most of the persons designated were in transit through Manila en route to or from the United States when war was declared.¹

Shortly after the Japanese occupation of Manila the Department of State and the Department of the Treasury took steps to protect the Philippine currency and Philippine securities. On January 14, 1942 the Treasury after consultation with the Department of State issued a general ruling requiring all Philippine currency in the United States to be deposited in blocked accounts in United States banks on or before February 1. The order further required that all Philippine securities be presented to Federal Reserve Banks for registration and at the same time prohibited the acquisition, disposition, or transfer of Philippine currency and securities.

Six days later the Department of State instructed American Foreign Service officers abroad to take such steps as might be necessary at their particular posts to notify holders of Philippine currency and securities in other countries that their holdings must be deposited in or registered with reputable banks. The Department of State has also been called upon at infrequent intervals to make recommendations to the Treasury concerning the handling of certain individual appli-

cations relating to frozen Philippine accounts where special problems were involved.

As American forces in the Pacific move closer and closer to the Philippines the time approaches when the entire character of the Department of State's relation to Philippine problems will be fundamentally changed. When a Philippine Republic is established it will immediately assume responsibility for the conduct of Philippine foreign affairs, and the Department of State will then become the channel of diplomatic communication between the United States Government and the government of an independent Philippine nation. The Department has therefore followed with the keenest interest the developments of the last 12 months relating to the final attainment of Philippine independence, which, under the formula provided in the Philippine Independence Act, had been scheduled for July 4, 1946.

On October 6, 1943 President Roosevelt, after consulting with officers of various agencies, including the Department of the Interior and the Department of State, recommended to Congress that he be authorized "to advance the date provided in existing law and to proclaim the legal independence of the Philippines, as a separate and self-governing nation, as soon as feasible." The President recommended also that Congress make provision for carrying out the necessary steps to make good his pledge that in the future Philippine independence would be protected. He requested further that Congress provide for the economic security, wherever possible, of an independent Filipino nation and "for the physical and economic rehabilitation of the Philippines made necessary by the ravages of war which the invaders have inflicted upon them."²

On November 3, 1943, less than a month after the receipt of the President's message in Congress, Senator Tydings introduced Senate Joint Resolutions 93 and 94 to accomplish the objectives defined in the message. These resolutions passed the Senate quickly but were kept under consideration in the House of Representatives until June 1944 and became law, as amended, only on June 29.³ In the meantime the Department of State had submitted two favorable reports to Representative Bell, chairman of the House Committee on Insular

¹ BULLETIN of Aug. 6, 1944, p. 142.

² *Congressional Record*, Oct. 6, 1943, p. 8209.

³ BULLETIN of July 2, 1944, p. 17.

Affairs, one with regard to changing the date of independence, submitted November 20, 1943, and one with regard to the creation of a Filipino Rehabilitation Commission, submitted December 13, 1943.

Senate Joint Resolution 94, now Public Law 381 (78th Congress), amends that part of the Philippine Independence Act of 1934, as amended, that required the convening before July 4 of this year of a joint commission to study trade relations between the United States and the Philippines. The act now provides that the Filipino Rehabilitation Commission which it establishes shall make recommendations "for future trade relations between the United States and the independent Philippine Republic when established" and shall "consider the extension of the present or heretofore agreed upon trade relations . . . for a period of years to make adjustments for the period of occupancy by the Japanese in order to reestablish trade relations as provided for in the original Independence Act". The new resolution also provides that the Commission shall "investigate all matters affecting post-war economy, trade, finance, economic stability, and rehabilitation of the Philippine Islands, including the matter of damages to public and private property and to persons occasioned by enemy attack and occupation".¹ In other words, the Commission is to consider the entire question of Philippine economy and to formulate recommendations for dealing with the multitudinous knotty problems that will demand attention as soon as the Japanese are driven from the Islands.

In accordance with the terms of the resolution nine members of the Filipino Rehabilitation Commission have been designated by the United States: Senators Tydings, Clark, and Vandenberg; Representatives Bell, McGehee, and Welch; Wayne Coy, of the *Washington Post*; Lynn R. Edminster, vice chairman, United States Tariff Commission, formerly Special Assistant to the Secretary of State and a member of the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs in 1937 and 1938; and Evett D. Hester, economic adviser, Office of the United States High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands, Department of the Interior. President Quezon appointed before his death only seven of the nine Filipino members: Vice President (now President) Osmeña; Joaquin M. Elizalde, Resi-

dent Commissioner; Jaime Hernandez, Auditor General; Colonel Manuel Nieto, Secretary of the Philippine Cabinet; Colonel Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary of Information; Colonel Alejandro Melchor, Philippine Army; and Urbano A. Zafra, Commercial Adviser to the Resident Commissioner. The Commission met for the first time on July 24, 1944.

Senate Joint Resolution 93, now Public Law 380 (78th Congress), pays tribute to the Filipino people, castigates the Japanese puppet government in the Philippines as having been "conceived in intrigue, born in coercion, and reared primarily for the purpose of Japanese selfishness and aggrandizement",² and authorizes the President (1) to make appropriate arrangements for such United States bases in the Philippines as he deems necessary for the mutual protection of the Philippines and the United States, and (2) to proclaim the independence of the Philippine Islands prior to July 4, 1946 if constitutional processes and normal functions of government have been restored in the Islands before that date and if the President has proclaimed their restoration.³

Under this act the Department of State, in cooperation with the security agencies and other interested Departments, will presumably be called upon to carry a considerable share of the responsibility for negotiating with the Commonwealth Government or with the independent Filipino Government, as the case may be, for the retention or acquisition of bases in the Philippines. The

¹ 58 Stat. 626.

² 58 Stat. 625.

³ In connection with the reestablishment of constitutional processes in the Philippines, note Public Law 186 (78th Cong.), approved Nov. 12, 1943. This act provided that, notwithstanding the Constitution of the Philippines (which limits to eight years the time one man can serve as President), President Quezon should continue to serve as President of the Commonwealth until the President of the United States should proclaim "that constitutional processes and normal functions of government shall have been restored in the Philippine Islands", whereupon Mr. Osmeña, the Vice President, should succeed him. Upon the death of President Quezon on Aug. 1, 1944, Mr. Osmeña became President of the Commonwealth under the terms of the Philippine Constitution. The net effect of Public Law 186, therefore, was to keep Mr. Quezon in office eight and one-half months beyond the constitutional limit on his tenure of office.

original Philippine Independence Act made provision for the retention by the United States of naval reservations and fueling stations in the Philippine Islands, but the new legislation broadens the scope of the old act by providing for the retention or acquisition of additional bases "for the mutual protection of the Philippine Islands and of the United States."

The new policy of maintaining bases in the Philippines (upon which the Department of State did not make a recommendation to Congress because it was considered to be a matter of concern primarily to the War and Navy Departments) will of course affect deeply the Department's work, because it will have a bearing on the foreign policy of the United States in the Pacific, particularly with regard to the Philippine Republic that will be established under the terms of the act which gives effect to this policy.

Once Philippine independence has been proclaimed diplomatic relations will at once be established through the Department of State. The United States will then have fulfilled its pledge to sever all constitutional ties with its former possession and it will welcome the Philippine Republic into the fraternity of nations as a fully independent sovereign state.

Civil Aviation

[Released to the press August 14]

At the invitation of the United States Government, a series of exploratory talks between American and Soviet groups took place in Washington, during June and July 1944, on the subject of post-war civil aviation. These conversations were of a preliminary exploratory character, and no commitments were made on either side.

Views were exchanged in a friendly atmosphere, and an understanding was reached of the points of view of both countries with respect to post-war developments in civil aviation.

In particular, it was indicated that the organization of an international authority for civil aviation with consultive and technical functions to facilitate international operations and to increase their safety might be desirable.

It was agreed that in the near future opinions should be exchanged between the technical experts

of the United States and the Soviet Union with regard to coordination of technical measures in the field of international air transport.

Burning of the "Rio de La Plata"

[Released to the press August 18]

The American Embassy at Mexico City informed the Department of State by telephone on August 18 that the Argentine vessel *Rio de La Plata* had burned at Acapulco, Mexico. All United States citizens on board are reported to be safe although it is understood they have lost all their personal effects and money. The United States citizens who were on the ship are being transported to Mexico City on August 19. Efforts are being made to obtain their names and the addresses of their relatives.

Friends or relatives desiring to remit money to persons who were on board the vessel may do so, in care of the American Embassy, Mexico City.

Fred O. McMillan Returns From China

[Released to the press August 17]

Professor Fred O. McMillan has returned from China where during the past year he has served the Department of State as a specialist in electrical engineering under the cultural-relations program. In China he was detailed at the request of the Chinese Government to work with the Ministries of Education, Economic Affairs, and Communications.

During his stay in that country Professor McMillan lectured in the leading engineering colleges and collaborated with the Chinese Institute of Electrical Engineering and the Ministry of Education in the revision of their electrical-engineering curricula.

In joint conferences with the engineers of the electricity department of the National Resources Commission and with the Department of Posts and Telecommunications, Professor McMillan helped to further plans for the inductive coordination of the electric-power and communication systems of China.

Capture of Prizes

President Roosevelt, acting under the power vested in him by the act of August 18, 1942 concerning the jurisdiction of prizes captured during the war, issued a proclamation (no. 2617) on August 12, 1944 extending to the Government of Australia "privileges with respect to prizes captured under authority of the said Government and brought into the territorial waters of the United States or taken or appropriated in the territorial waters of the United States for the use of the said Government," Australia having already consented to like treatment for prizes of the United States. The full text of the proclamation appears in the *Federal Register* for August 17, 1944, page 9969.

THE DEPARTMENT

Abolishing the Executive Committee On Commercial Policy¹

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, the Executive Committee on Commercial Policy, established by the letter of November 11, 1933, from the President to the Secretary of State, and continued by Executive Order No. 6656 of March 27, 1934, and Executive Order No. 7260 of December 31, 1935, is hereby abolished.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,

August 7, 1944.

Allowances to Citizens of the Other American Republics

DEPARTMENTAL ORDER 1280A²

Purpose and authority. This order is issued, under authority contained in R. S. 161 (5 U.S.C. 22), to govern the payment of allowances to citizens of the other American Republics in compliance with the provisions of the Department of State Appropriation Acts of 1944 and 1945, approved July 1, 1943 and June 28, 1944, respectively, under the heading "Cooperation with the American Republics".³

Allowances to citizens of the other American Republics. The provisions of Departmental Order 1157 of April 1, 1943, as amended by Departmental Order 1186 of August 14, 1943, prescribing the regulations governing the payment of maintenance allowances, transportation expenses, tuition, compensation, monthly allowances and per diem in lieu of subsistence and other expenses to citizens of the other American Republics, are hereby extended to apply to grants made during the fiscal year 1945 which are chargeable to appropriations for Cooperation with the American Republics contained in the "Department of State Appropriation Act, 1944" and the "Department of State Appropriation Act, 1945".

CORDELL HULL

JULY 1, 1944.

Appointment of Officers

John T. Forbes as Acting Executive Officer of the Office of American Republic Affairs, effective August 1, 1944.

Stephen P. Dorsey as vice chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation With the American Republics, effective July 7, 1944.

Cecil B. Lyon as Acting Chief of the Division of North and West Coast Affairs, effective August 7, 1944.

John W. Carrigan as Acting Chief of the Division of Mexican Affairs, effective August 7, 1944.

Norman Armonr has assumed direction temporarily of the Office of American Republic Affairs.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Consular Offices

The Vice Consulate at Adana, Turkey, was established on July 17, 1944 upon the arrival there of Consul Richard W. Byrd.

¹ Executive Order 9461; 9 *Federal Register* 9879.

² Dated and effective July 1, 1944.

³ Regulations concerning payments to and on behalf of participants in the cultural-cooperation program of the United States will be found in the *Federal Register* of Aug. 23, 1944, p. 10243.

PUBLICATIONS

Reproduction of the International Convention Relating to the Regulation Of Aerial Navigation Adopted at Paris On October 13, 1919

The International Convention Relating to the Regulation of Aerial Navigation, a multilateral convention adopted at Paris on October 13, 1919, was signed on behalf of the United States with certain reservations but was never ratified by this Government. It therefore had never been printed in the United States Treaty Series. However, the convention, which has annexes containing numerous aeronautical regulations, has been of interest in view of the fact that bilateral as well as multilateral air-navigation agreements entered into since 1919 have embodied certain of the basic principles of that convention.

The Department has from time to time been asked for copies of the convention, but none have been available for public distribution. In the circumstances, the convention and its annexes have been reproduced as a Department of State document, and there have been included notes and references containing certain information as to action taken by this Government concerning the convention. The countries which have become parties to the convention are included in this informative material. They have also been reproduced in the document referred to certain protocols of amendment adopted on June 1, 1935 by the International Commission for Air Navigation

functioning under article 34 of the convention. According to information received by the Department of State, up to the outbreak of the present war in Europe the amendments covered by these two protocols had not been signed and ratified by all the countries which were parties to the convention at the time of the adoption of the protocols. Such signatures and ratifications were necessary in order to put the amendments into force.

For the information of anyone who may be interested in the convention from a historical standpoint or as a matter of reference, a limited number of copies of the document mentioned above (Department of State publication 2143; iv, 148 pp., charts) may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for 60 cents a copy.

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The following publication has also been released by the Department:

Diplomatic List, August 1944. Publication 2157. ii, 123 pp. Subscription, \$1.50 a year; single copy, 15¢.

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

The article listed below will be found in the August 19 issue of the Department of Commerce publication entitled *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, copies of which may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, for 10 cents each:

"Brazil in 1943", prepared in the American Republics Unit on the basis of a report from Jack B. Neathery, third secretary and vice consul, and Nestor C. Ortiz, junior economic analyst, American Embassy, Rio de Janeiro.



7.25.1730

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

VOL. XI, NO. 270

AUGUST 27, 1944

In this issue

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY ORGANIZATION:

*Addresses by the President, Secretary Hull, Sir Alexander Cadogan,
And Ambassador Gromyko* ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

WEST INDIAN RADIO NEWSPAPER: *By William W. Harris* ☆



BULLETIN



August 27, 1944

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Information, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest is included.

Publications of the Department, cumulative lists of which are published at the end of each quarter, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

The BULLETIN, published with the approval of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., to whom all purchase orders, with accompanying remittance, should be sent. The subscription price is \$2.75 a year; a single copy is 10 cents.

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International Peace and Security Organization

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S REMARKS TO THE DELEGATES

[Released to the press by the White House August 23]

Gentlemen, this is an informal occasion. I have not prepared any speech. This is merely a feeling on my part that I would like to shake hands with you. I should like to be able to go out to Dumbarton Oaks, to take a part in your discussions.

A conference of this kind always reminds me of an old saying of a gentleman called Alfred E. Smith, who used to be Governor of New York. He was very, very successful in settling any problem between capital and labor, or anything that had to do with the State government in which there was a controversy. He said if you can get the parties into one room with a big table and make them take their coats off and put their feet up on the table, and give each one of them a good cigar, you can always make them agree. Well, there was something in the idea.

You have a great responsibility. In a way, it is a preliminary responsibility. But after all we learn from experience, and what I hope is that in planning for the peace that is to come we will arrive at the same good cooperation and unity of action as we have in the carrying on of the war. It is a very remarkable fact that we have carried on this war with such great unanimity.

I think that often it comes down to personalities. When, back in 1941, at the time of the Atlantic Charter, just for example, I did not know Mr. Churchill at all well. I had met him once or twice very informally during the first World War. I did not know Mr. Eden. But up there in the North Atlantic—three or four days together, with our two ships lying close together—we got awfully fond of each other. I got to know him, and he got to know me. In other words, we met, and you cannot hate a man that you know well.

Later on Mr. Molotov came here and we had a grand time together. Then during the following year, at Tehran, the Marshal and I got to know each other. We got on beautifully. We cracked

the ice, if there ever was any ice; and since then there has been no ice. And that's the spirit in which I know you are going about your work.

I was just talking with the Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson. He was saying that one of the tasks we face is making this conference of ours—and the successor conferences—something that will last, last a long time. He said that unfortunately in Germany the young people, the young Nazis, favor an idea which will be dangerous to the peace of the world just as long as they have anything to say about it. The prisoners of 17, 18, 20 that we are capturing now—both the French front and the Soviet front—these German prisoners of that age are even worse in their Nazism than the prisoners of 40 or 45. And, therefore, as long as these young men have anything to say about it, the peril of Nazism will always be before us.

And we have got to make not merely a peace but a peace that will last, and a peace in which the larger nations will work absolutely in unison in preventing war by force. But the four of us have to be friends, conferring all the time—the basis of getting to know each other—'putting their feet up on the table'.

And so I am very hopeful that it can be done because of the spirit that has been shown in the past in getting together for the winning of the war. But that is the spirit that we have learned so well in the last few years. It is something new, this close relationship between the British Empire and the United States. This great friendship between the Russian people and the American people—that is new. Let's hang on to both friendships, and by spreading that spirit around the world we may have a peaceful period for our grandchildren to grow up in.

All I can do is to wish you every possible success in this great task that you have undertaken. It will not be a final task, but at least it gives us something to build on, so that we can accomplish the one thing that humanity has been looking forward to for a great many hundreds of years.

It is good to see you. Good luck.

REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE AT THE OPENING SESSION

[Released to the press August 21]

On behalf of President Roosevelt and on my own behalf, I welcome you to Washington. In the name of both of us, I desire to offer some brief remarks on the opening of this important meeting.

The series of conversations which we initiate today marks another step toward establishing a lasting system of organized and peaceful relations among nations. We meet at a time when the war is moving toward an overwhelming triumph for the forces of freedom. It is our task here to help lay the foundations upon which, after victory, peace, freedom, and a growing prosperity may be built for generations to come.

The very character of this war moves us to search for an enduring peace—a peace founded upon justice and fair dealing for individuals and for nations. We have witnessed—and are witnessing today—the sweep of forces of savagery and barbarism of the kind that civilized men hoped and believed would not rise again. Armed with the weapons of modern science and technology and with equally powerful weapons of coercion and deceit, these forces almost succeeded in enslaving mankind because the peace-loving nations were disunited. During the years while these aggressors made their preparations for attack, the peace-loving nations lacked both unity and strength because they lacked a vigilant realization of the perils which loomed before them. These forces of evil now face utter defeat because, at long last, their intended victims attained the unity and armed power which are now bringing victory to us.

The lessons of earlier disunity and weakness should be indelibly stamped upon the minds and hearts of this generation and of generations to come. So should the lessons of unity and its resultant strength achieved by the United Nations in this war.

Unity for common action toward common good and against common peril is the sole effective method by which, in time of peace, the nations which love peace can assure for themselves security and orderly progress, with freedom and justice.

In the face of what modern war means to the physical and moral being of man, the maintenance of such unity is a matter of the highest and most enlightened self-interest. In the final analysis it is, first and foremost, a thing of the spirit.

Peace, like liberty, requires constant devotion and ceaseless vigilance. It requires willingness to take positive steps toward its preservation. It requires constant cooperation among the nations and determination to live together as good neighbors in a world of good neighbors. Peace requires an acceptance of the idea that its maintenance is a common interest so precious and so overwhelmingly important that all differences and controversies among nations can and must be resolved by resort to pacific means.

But peace also requires institutions through which the will to peace can be translated into action. The devising of such institutions is a challenge to the wisdom and ingenuity of men and women everywhere. That is why the United Nations, in the midst of a relentless prosecution of the war, have been working together to create the institutional foundations for a just and enduring peace.

These foundations must support arrangements for peaceful settlement of international disputes and for the joint use of force, if necessary, to prevent or suppress threats to the peace or breaches of the peace. They must also support arrangements for promoting, by cooperative effort, the development of conditions of stability and well-being necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations and essential to the maintenance of security and peace. These are basic problems of international organization.

Substantial progress has already been achieved through the Food and Agriculture Conference, the Conference on Relief and Rehabilitation, and the Financial and Monetary Conference. These and other similar steps are indicative of the profound desire of the United Nations to act together for advancing the well-being of their peoples. They have been achieved by united effort of more than 40 nations, large and small.

The governments represented here are fully agreed in their conviction that the future maintenance of peace and security—the supreme objective of international cooperation—must be a joint task and a joint responsibility of all peace-loving nations, large and small. They solemnly proclaimed this conviction in a declaration of their Foreign Ministers at Moscow on October 30, 1943. It cannot be emphasized too often that the principle of the sovereign equality of *all* peace-loving states, irrespective of size and strength, as partners in a system of order under law, must constitute the foundation of any future international organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

In the Moscow Declaration each Government also assumed its share of responsibility for leadership in bringing about the creation of an international organization for this purpose through joint action by all peace-loving nations. Success or failure of such an organization will depend upon the degree to which the participating nations are willing to exercise self-restraint and assume the responsibilities of joint action in support of the basic purposes of the organization. There must be agreement among all whereby each can play its part to the best mutual advantage and bear responsibility commensurate with its capacity.

It is generally agreed that any peace and security organization would surely fail unless backed by force to be used ultimately in case of failure of all other means for the maintenance of peace. That force must be available promptly, in adequate measure, and with certainty. The nations of the world should maintain, according to their capacities, sufficient forces available for joint action when necessary to prevent breaches of the peace.

For a long time before the Moscow Conference, and especially during the months which have elapsed since that Conference, each of our Governments has been making diligent preparations for an effort to reach the agreement to which I have just referred. We have committed our tentative thoughts to writing, and each of us has had an opportunity to study the results of the work done by the others. All this should make easier the task which is now before you of reaching a consensus of views which you can jointly recommend to your respective governments.

It is the intention of the Government of the United States that after similar consultations with the Government of China the conclusions reached will be communicated to the governments of all the United Nations and of other peace-loving nations.

It is our further thought that as soon as practicable these conclusions will be made available to the peoples of our countries and of all countries for public study and debate. We are fully aware that no institution—especially when it is of as great importance as the one now in our thoughts—will endure unless there is behind it considered and complete popular support. The will to peace must spring from the hearts and minds of men and women everywhere if it is to achieve enduring peace.

For us in the United States it is as natural as it is desirable that we gather around a table with the representatives of other nations to devise means for maintaining peace and security. No passion runs deeper in the thoughts of the people of this country than the belief that all men should enjoy liberty under law. It has been our faith from the beginning of our nation, it is our dream for the future, that every individual and every nation should attain freedom and the security to enjoy it. The people of this country are now united as never before in their determination that the tragedy which today is sweeping the earth shall not recur.

The people of all the United Nations are hoping and praying for the opportunity to build anew toward a system of decent and just relationships among nations. Their noblest capacities and their highest skills have been diverted from the creative pursuits of peace to the grim and terrible tasks of battle. They see the destruction of their homes and the resources of their lands. They will not be content with a precarious peace. Their sacrifices can only be rewarded by the fulfilment of their reasonable hopes.

It is the sacred duty of the governments of all peace-loving nations to make sure that international machinery is fashioned through which the peoples can build the peace they so deeply desire. The President is confident, and I share his view, that this thought will govern the deliberations which you are now undertaking.

REMARKS BY AMBASSADOR GROMYKO AT THE OPENING SESSION¹

[Released to the press August 21]

The present meeting is the first meeting of exploratory discussions between representatives of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union on the establishment of an international security organization. I fully share the thoughts expressed by Secretary Hull in regard to the importance of the present discussions. The peoples of our countries are waging a life-and-death struggle against the worst enemy of humanity—Hitlerite Germany. This struggle has already cost our countries, as well as many other freedom-loving countries of the world, heavy human and material sacrifices. Waging a struggle for its freedom and independence, the peoples of our three great nations are also saving the freedom and independence of other freedom-loving peoples of the world. As a result of the combined efforts of the Allies, our common foe—Nazi Germany—is nearing its inevitable catastrophe. Our brave warriors are squeezing the enemy from the east, west, and south. As a result of the latest offensive of the Red Army, military operations are already being carried to enemy soil. The time is not far off when the combined efforts of the freedom-loving countries of the world, and, first of all, the efforts of our nations, will bring a complete and decisive victory and will force Nazi Germany to her knees.

In view of the heavy destruction and countless sacrifices which the present war has brought to humanity, the freedom-loving peoples of the world are naturally looking for means to prevent repetition of a similar tragedy in the future. They have shed too much blood and made too many sacrifices to be indifferent to their future. That is why they are striving to establish an international organization which would be capable of preventing the repetition of a similar tragedy and of guaranteeing for the peoples peace, security, and prosperity in the future. Members of such an organization can be, as it is said in the Four Nations Declaration signed at the Moscow Conference on October 30, 1943, all big and small freedom-loving countries of the world. All of us are glad that one of the distinguished participants of

the Moscow Conference, Secretary Hull, is among us at the present meeting.

It goes without saying that in order to maintain peace and security it is not enough to have the mere desire to harness the aggressor and the desire to apply force against him if it should be demanded by circumstances. In order to guarantee peace and security it is absolutely necessary to have resources with the aid of which aggression could be prevented or suppressed and international order maintained.

In the light of the above, it becomes clear what responsibility falls to the nations, members of the future security organization, and especially to the nations which bear the main brunt of the present war and which possess the necessary resources and power to maintain peace and security. That is why all those to whom freedom and independence are dear cannot but draw the conclusion that this freedom and independence can be preserved only if the future international security organization will in the interests of the freedom-loving peoples of the world use effectively all resources in possession of members of the organization and, first of all, the resources of such great nations as the Soviet Union, and United States, and Great Britain.

The unity displayed by these countries in the present struggle against Hitlerite Germany and its vassals gives ground for certainty that after final victory is achieved these nations will cooperate in maintaining peace and security in the future as they are cooperating at the present time in saving humanity from enslavement by the Fascist barbarians. In this noble striving our countries naturally cannot but find support on the part of the other United Nations, big and small, which will be participants of the international security organization, which will be based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all freedom-loving countries and which will bear joint responsibility for the maintenance of peace.

The unity of the Allies displayed in the struggle against the common foe and their striving to maintain peace in the future is a guarantee that the present exploratory discussions will bring positive results. They are the first step leading to the

¹ Leader of the Soviet delegation.

erection of a building in the foundation of which all freedom-loving peoples of the world are interested—for an effective international organization on maintenance of peace and security.

In closing I consider it necessary to note the initiative taken by the Government of the United States in calling the present conference. The Soviet delegation is glad to begin discussions with the American delegation headed by Edward R.

Stettinius, with whom I have had the pleasure since 1941 of meeting and discussing at different times various matters of mutual interest, and also with the British delegation headed by Sir Alexander Cadogan. I have no doubt that in the course of the present discussions the representatives of the three nations will conduct their work in a spirit of mutual understanding and in a friendly atmosphere which cannot but add to the successful outcome of the discussions.

REMARKS BY SIR ALEXANDER CADOGAN AT THE OPENING SESSION¹

[Released to the press August 21]

The discussions which open today arise out of article 4 of the Declaration of Moscow, in the framing of which Mr. Hull played such a notable and prominent part. We have listened with admiration to the wise and powerful words with which he has initiated our labours, and we are, I know, all profoundly grateful to him for his indefatigable efforts in the cause of international understanding. Of him it may well be said that he embodies in his own thought and person the qualities which have been responsible for the creation and the development of the country which he represents.

To the Soviet Government too we all have reason to be grateful. It was, I think, on M. Molotov's initiative that the decision to hold these discussions was taken; and it was evident from their attitude at the time of the Moscow Conference that the Soviet Government attached the highest importance to the establishment of a system designed to prevent a recurrence of Nazi and Fascist aggression.

My Government, for their part, have from the outset favoured such discussions as these and have done their best to facilitate them. We have expressed our provisional views in the papers which have been circulated and are most happy to find that in the papers of all three Governments there is such a large measure of agreement.

There seems, in fact, to be a general will on the part of what are at present the three most powerful states in the world to achieve some kind of world organization, and, what is more, to achieve it soon. That should itself be a good augury for the success of our labours.

Chinese statesmen also have declared their wish to join in the establishment of such an organization, and I am confident that the subsequent discussions with the Chinese delegation will show that there is a community of aim on the part of the most populous and ancient of our civilizations. We shall thus, I hope, be able to achieve agreement on principles between officials from states comprising about half the inhabitants of the globe, and from states moreover whose combined power and determination is now playing so prominent a part in overthrowing the sinister forces of evil which only a few years ago came near to dominating all mankind.

The victory of the United Nations, whenever it comes, must be complete, the military defeat of the aggressors must be made clear beyond all doubt, and most of all to the German people themselves, and those responsible for the wanton outrages that have horrified the civilized world must receive their just retribution. On that basis we may hope to build more securely for the future. In 1919 there was a widespread feeling in many western countries that force was in itself an immoral thing; now there is a much more widespread conviction that it is only by the victors' remaining both strong and united that peace can be preserved. We have, I believe, learnt many salutary lessons during the last few years.

We are met here to plan a system which will enable individual nations to cooperate effectively for the common good. Individual nations, small and great, must be the basis of our new world organization; and our problem is to construct a machine which will give to each of them the re-

¹ Leader of the United Kingdom delegation.

sponsibilities commensurate with its power. This is no light task, but it can be accomplished. No one wishes to impose some great-power dictatorship on the rest of the world, but it is obvious that unless the great powers are united in aim and ready to assume and fulfil loyally their obligations, no machine for maintaining peace, however perfectly constructed, will in practice work. On the other hand, even Hitler has surely learnt by now, what we have ourselves long known, that it is not by riding roughshod over the smaller powers that the vital interests of the larger can in the long run best be protected.

Another lesson I submit we may learn from experience is that we should not attempt too closely to define what is perhaps undefinable. As I have already said, no machine will work unless there is, at any rate on the part of the great powers, a will to work it; and equally even an imperfect machine may function satisfactorily provided such a will exists. We might do well, therefore, to concentrate on certain guiding principles and on certain basic institutions, rather than on a set of detailed regulations, which, however ingeniously drafted, will probably have to be revised in the light of subsequent experience.

Again, if there is a danger in excessive legalism, there is also a danger in believing, or at any rate in giving the impression, that because we may be able to agree, first as between ourselves and later as between all the United Nations, on some theoretically perfect organization for maintaining peace, peace will therefore indefinitely and automatically be maintained.

One other consideration I would put before you: we must remember that peace, in the negative sense of absence of war, is not enough. No world system can endure unless it permits of growth and unless it tends to promote the well-being of humanity as a whole. Hence, however we may fit the various non-political world organizations into our general system, we must attempt to discover means whereby the expanding force of modern scientific discoveries is turned into constructive rather than into destructive channels. For this reason we must arrange for at least a measure of coordination between the various functional organizations now created or to be created and in some way gear them to our world international machine. All I would emphasize here is that we should always recognize that, if there is acute political instability, no eco-

nomie or social organizations will function successfully; and, on the other hand, let us never forget that acute discomfort in the economic and social field will constantly hamper the smooth operation of the best political plans. In other words, freedom from fear and freedom from want must, so far as human agency can contrive it, move forward simultaneously.

In conclusion, I must for my part emphasise that the working party from the United Kingdom is recruited from the humble official level. From that it follows that, so far as we are concerned, these talks are necessarily exploratory and non-committal. Within these limitations we will make the best contribution we can, and I can pledge every one of us to devote his best energies and such knowledge and experience as he possesses to the search for agreed recommendations for submission by our Governments, if they approve them, to all the other United Nations. We may take comfort in the fact that, as will be seen from the memoranda already circulated, there is already much common ground.

Let us also not forget the time factor. Events are moving fast, and peace may come sooner than some expect. It would be folly to delay the construction of at least some framework of future international cooperation until the problems of peace confront us with all their insistency. Moreover, the time even of officials is limited. If therefore we are to establish the points on which there seems to be provisional agreement, we must work fast and well.

Much depends on our efforts, and some give-and-take will probably be required. Let us go forward with a full sense of our responsibilities, not only to our own nations, but to the world at large. Let us go forward above all with the determination to produce a scheme worthy of the men and women of the United Nations who are giving their all to make possible the construction of a better world.

DISCUSSIONS OF GENERAL PRINCIPLES

[Released to the press by the State Department on the Washington Conversations August 22]

At the meeting of the heads of the three groups at Dumbarton Oaks Monday afternoon, August 21, Mr. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., was selected as permanent chairman of the conversations. Should

Mr. Stettinius be absent at any time, Ambassador Andrei A. Gromyko or Sir Alexander Cadogan will act alternately as chairman.

It was decided to discuss at the outset of the conversations the general principles of international organization presented by the Soviet group. At the meeting on the morning of August 22 the Soviet group presented its views on the general principles of international organization.

It was agreed that at the afternoon meeting the British and American groups would make statements of their views on the international organization for the maintenance of peace and security.

SUBCOMMITTEES FOR THE CONVERSATIONS

[Released to the press by the State Department on the Washington Conversations August 23]

Drafting Subcommittee

British representative:

Sir William Malkin

Soviet representatives:

Mr. Sobolev

Mr. Dolbin

United States representatives:

Mr. Hackworth, assisted by other members, including one military representative

Legal Subcommittee

Soviet representatives:

Professor Golunsky

Professor Krylov

British representatives:

Sir William Malkin, assisted by another member

United States representatives:

Mr. Hackworth

Mr. Cohen

Mr. Hornbeck

Subcommittee on General Questions of International Organization

United States representatives:

Mr. Stettinius

Mr. Pasvolosky

Mr. Fletcher

Mr. Bowman

Mr. Grew

Soviet representatives:

Ambassador Gromyko

Mr. Sobolev

Mr. Tsarapkin

British representatives:

Sir Alexander Cadogan

Sir William Malkin

Mr. Jebb

Professor Webster

Subcommittee on Security

Soviet representatives:

Ambassador Gromyko

Mr. Sobolev

Maj. Gen. Slavin

Rear Admiral Rodionov

British representatives:

Sir Alexander Cadogan

Admiral Sir Percy Noble

Lt. Gen. Macready

Air Marshal Sir William Welsh

Mr. Jebb

Col. Capel-Dunn

United States representatives:

Mr. Stettinius

Mr. Dunn

Mr. Wilson

Vice Admiral Willson

Maj. Gen. Strong

Maj. Gen. Fairchild

Rear Admiral Train

STATEMENT ON NEWS POLICY

[Released to the press by the State Department on the Washington Conversations August 24]

The heads of the American, British, and Soviet groups today made the following statement to a committee of correspondents who called at Dumbarton Oaks to urge a liberal news policy during the conversations.

"We wish everybody to understand that we have met here at Dumbarton Oaks to hold informal conversations and exchanges of views on the general nature of an international security organization, the results of which are subject to the approval of our respective governments. We hope, after we have had opportunity for the fullest and freest exchange of viewpoints, to arrive at agreed recommendations which we can submit to our respective Governments.

"We will release through our press officers periodically joint communiqués in so far as these will not interfere with smooth and rapid progress toward agreed recommendations regarding an international security organization."

During the course of the conversations between the chairmen of the American, British, and Soviet groups and the correspondents Sir Alexander Cadogan referred to reports that the British group differed with the other two groups over the news policy during the Dumbarton Oaks discussions. He said, "I was a little disturbed by one organ headline which suggested that there was a difference of policy in this respect between my Delegation and the other two Delegations. I should like to correct that impression. As regards the policy, I am in complete agreement with what Mr. Stettinius has already stated."

In concluding the meeting with the correspondents Mr. Stettinius said, "I think this has been most useful from the standpoint of everyone. We will consider the matter very carefully. I will consult the other principals and see if something can not be worked out in the way of meeting the conditions that you ladies and gentlemen request. I appreciate your attitude which I am sure is constructive and helpful."

MEETINGS OF COMMITTEES

[Released to the press by the State Department on the Washington Conversations August 25]

The Steering Committee met on August 25 at 11 a. m. The meeting continued through the luncheon hour and was in session into the afternoon.

The general views of the three groups have been clarified in the initial presentations. Now the Secretariat needs time to prepare materials for discussion in the day-to-day meetings next week.

No meetings were scheduled for Saturday or Sunday.

[Released to the press by the State Department on the Washington Conversations August 24]

The Subcommittee on International Organization continued its discussions at a meeting on Thursday morning, August 24.

The Legal Subcommittee met in the afternoon and began its discussions on the subject of an international court.

Liberation of Paris

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

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

"The joy that entered the hearts of all civilized men and women at the news of the liberation of Paris can only be measured by the gloom which settled there one June day four years ago when German troops occupied the French capital. Through the rising tide of Allied successes that patch of gloom remained and has only today been dispelled. For Paris is a precious symbol of that civilization which it was the aim of Hitler and his armed hordes to destroy. We rejoice with the gallant French people at the liberation of their capital and join in the chorus of congratulation to the commanders and fighting-men, French and Allied, who have made possible this brilliant presage of total victory."

Administration of Civil Affairs In France

JOINT STATEMENT BY THE WAR AND STATE DEPARTMENTS

[Released to the press August 25]

The following joint statement was issued on August 24 by the War Department and the Department of State:

By means of an exchange of letters with General Koenig in London General Eisenhower as Commanding General of United States Forces has today put into effect certain arrangements with respect to the administration of civil affairs and related subjects in continental France, the terms of which were agreed to between French and American representatives in Washington.

These arrangements, which are in the form of memoranda and which are intended to be essentially temporary and practical in character, deal with the following subjects:

1. Civil administration and jurisdiction
2. Currency
3. Captured war material and property
4. Publicity
5. Distribution of civilian relief supplies

These arrangements are designed to facilitate as far as possible the direction and coordination of assistance which the French authorities and people will be able to render to the Allied Expeditionary Force in continental France, the adoption in France of all measures deemed necessary by the Supreme Allied Commander for the successful conduct of military operations, and the orderly resumption of responsibility for civil administration by Frenchmen.

General Eisenhower as United States Commanding General has been authorized to deal with the French authorities at Algiers as the *de facto* authority in France so long as they continue to receive the support of the majority of Frenchmen who are fighting for the defeat of Germany and the liberation of France. This authorization is also based on the understanding that as Supreme Allied Commander General Eisenhower must retain whatever authority he considers necessary for the unimpeded conduct of military operations and that, as soon as the military situation permits, the French people will be given an opportunity freely to exercise their will in the choice of their government.

An arrangement has also been arrived at in Washington providing for the initiation of negotiations concerning mutual aid.

Lend-Lease Operations

LETTER OF THE PRESIDENT TO CONGRESS TRANSMITTING 16TH QUARTERLY REPORT

[Released to the press by the White House August 23]

The following letter of the President to the Congress, dated August 23, 1944, accompanied a report on lend-lease operations for the period ended June 30, 1944.¹

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA:

Pursuant to law, I am submitting herewith the Sixteenth Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations.

Lend-Lease supplies and services provided to our Allies in the three months ending June 30, 1944, amounted to \$4,045,000,000 in value. In all, lend-

lease aid has been provided in the amount of \$28,-270,000,000.

Three years ago the Axis aggressors were well along the road to domination of the world. The United States itself was in grave danger. Today the United Nations are moving relentlessly along the roads which lead to Berlin and Tokyo.

In the preparation and execution of the powerful offensives on which we are now jointly engaged with our Allies, lend-lease has fulfilled its promise. Every day that the men of our Army and our Navy go into battle lend-lease is being effectively used in the common cause by the heroic men of the other United Nations. Through lend-lease, the full power of American production is being brought to bear against our common enemies by the millions of fighting men of our Allies. Through lend-lease, American weapons and other war supplies are being used by our Allies to destroy our enemies and hasten their defeat.

We should not permit any weakening of this system of combined war supply to delay final victory a single day or to cost unnecessarily the life of one American boy. Until the unconditional surrender of both Japan and Germany, we should continue the lend-lease program on whatever scale is necessary to make the combined striking power of all the United Nations against our enemies as overwhelming and as effective as we can make it.

We know now that by combining our power we can speed the day of certain victory. We know also that only by continuing our unity can we secure a just and durable peace.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,
August 23, 1944.

Visit of Peruvian Agricultural Engineer

Señor Joaquín A. Cortez, chief of the Department of Tropical Animal Husbandry of the Ministry of Agriculture of Peru, has arrived in the United States as a guest of the Department of State. Señor Cortez, who is particularly interested in types of cattle that could be introduced advantageously into Peru, will visit ranches and other cattle-raising centers in Texas, Louisiana, Georgia, and other southern States.

¹ Not printed herein.

Meetings To Discuss Problems of Attaining a Lasting Peace

JOINT STATEMENT BY SECRETARY HULL AND MR. DULLES

[Released to the press August 25]

In the three meetings between Secretary Hull and Mr. Dulles, Governor Dewey's representative, they had an exchange of views on the various problems connected with the establishment of an international peace and security organization. There was agreement of views on numerous aspects of this subject.

Secretary Hull and Mr. Dulles expect to continue to confer about developments as they arise.

The Secretary maintained the position that the American people consider the subject of future

peace as a non-partisan subject which must be kept entirely out of politics.

Mr. Dulles, on behalf of Governor Dewey, stated that the Governor shared this view on the understanding, however, that it did not preclude full public non-partisan discussion of the means of attaining a lasting peace.

The question of whether there will be complete agreement on these two respective views and their carrying out will depend on future developments.

Transfer of Funds for American Prisoners of War in the Philippines

[Released to the press August 25]

On May 23, 1944 the Department of State announced that the Japanese authorities in the Philippine Islands had extended permission to the neutral delegate there of the War Prisoners' Aid of the Y.M.C.A. to purchase locally relief supplies to an amount not exceeding \$25,000 monthly for shipment to civilian-internment and prisoner-of-war camps in the Philippine Islands.¹ At the request of the United States Government the Swiss Government, which represents American interests in the Far East, authorized its Minister at Tokyo to make available from official funds of the United States Government \$25,000 monthly to the War Prisoners' Aid delegate in the Philippine Islands for this purpose.

The Department has now been informed that when the Swiss Minister at Tokyo endeavored to arrange for the transfer of these funds the Japanese authorities stated that "because of the special situation of the Philippines" the relief activities of the Y.M.C.A. representative which theretofore had "been tolerated by the local authorities" could not be permitted to continue.

At the same time, however, the Japanese Government indicated that it would be willing to consider requests made by the Swiss Government to

transfer funds to the Philippine Islands for the assistance of American prisoners of war. The United States Government, acting through the Swiss Government, has constantly endeavored since the spring of 1942 to arrange for the transfer of funds to American prisoners of war in the Philippine Islands.

As in the case of funds which are being transferred by the Swiss Government for the assistance of interned civilians in the Philippine Islands, remittances for prisoners of war must be made through Japanese military channels. The Japanese Government has limited such remittances to 20 pesos monthly (approximately \$10.00) for each prisoner of war. The Swiss Government has been requested to arrange for the transfer on a continuing basis of funds required to provide the maximum amount permitted by the Japanese authorities for each prisoner of war.

The Japanese authorities have also indicated a willingness to consider requests for the transfer of funds for the relief of American prisoners of war, interned merchant seamen, and interned civilians in the Netherlands East Indies, and the Swiss Government has been requested to arrange for the remittance of funds to the maximum amount permitted by the Japanese authorities.

¹ BULLETIN of May 27, 1944, p. 496.

Report of the Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture

[Released to the press August 23]

The United States Government has received from the United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture the Commission's first report to the governments of the United Nations. This report submits to the governments for their consideration with a view to acceptance a proposed constitution for a food and agriculture organization of the United Nations.

This report and the constitution are a direct outgrowth of initiatives taken by the United States Government. At the initiative of the President this Government in March 1943 extended to the governments of all the United Nations and of those nations associated with them in the war an invitation to the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture, which was convened at Hot Springs, Virginia, on May 18, 1943. This invitation indicated the belief of this Government in the desirability of beginning joint consideration of the basic economic problems with which the United Nations and the world will be confronted after complete military victory shall have been attained. It indicated the purpose of the Conference to be the provision of an opportunity for an exchange of views and information on plans and prospects of various governments for the post-war period regarding production and trade in foodstuffs and other agricultural products, the possibilities of coordinating and stimulating by international action national policies looking to the improvement of nutrition and the enhancement of consumption in general, and the possibilities of establishing international arrangements and institutions designed to insure for the world adequate supplies of such products and adequate markets for such supplies. The invitation stressed that the considerations of this Conference would be entirely divorced from the question of the provision of relief, which was subsequently dealt with by the establishment of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The agenda proposed by the United States Government and accepted by the Conference consisted of four sections relating respectively to consumption levels and requirements, expansion of pro-

duction and adaptation to consumption needs, facilitation and improvement of distribution, and recommendations for continuing and carrying forward the work of the Conference. In connection with the last topic and to carry out the policy of the President the United States Delegation introduced a proposal that a United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture be established to continue and carry forward the work of the Conference and that one of the primary functions of the Interim Commission should be to formulate and recommend to the member governments a specific plan for a permanent international body to deal with the problems of food and agriculture. A recommendation embodying these proposals was unanimously approved by the Conference and subsequently by all the nations participating in the Conference.

In an address to the delegates at the close of the Conference the President hailed the Conference as "a living demonstration of the methods by which the conversations of nations of like mind contemplated by article VII of the mutual-aid agreement can and will give practical application to the principles of the Atlantic Charter". After recalling that agriculture is the most basic of all human activities and food the most basic of all human needs, and that twice as many people are employed in agriculture as in all other fields, the President added:

"And all people have, in the literal sense of the word, a vital interest in food.

"That a child or adult should get the nourishment necessary for full health is too important a thing to be left to mere chance.

"You have recognized that society must accept this responsibility. As you stated in your declaration: 'The primary responsibility lies with each nation for seeing that its own people have the food needed for health and life; steps to this end are for national determination. But each nation can fully achieve its goal only if all work together.' On behalf of the United States I accept this declaration."¹

¹ BULLETIN of June 12, 1943, p. 518.

The proposed food and agriculture organization of the United Nations will be a fact-finding and advisory agency through which the member nations may collaborate in the collection, analysis, interpretation, and dissemination of information relating to nutrition, food, and agriculture, and through which they may formulate recommendations for the consideration of member governments for separate and collective action in these fields. The organization will not have operating or executive functions nor will it have responsibilities in the field of relief and rehabilitation. The implementation of its recommendations is entirely reserved for national action.

The report and the proposed constitution will be submitted to the Congress with a view to obtaining approval for the adherence of the United States to the organization.

Exploratory Conversations On Taxation

[Released to the press August 21]

Exploratory conversations have been taking place for some time between representatives of the Government of the United States and the Government of the United Kingdom in regard to the possibility of negotiating a treaty for the avoidance of double taxation in respect of incomes and death duties by the Governments concerned.

The first phase of these discussions has been satisfactorily concluded. The representatives of the Government of the United States who visited London in order to hold these discussions are now returning to the United States, and it has been agreed that the discussions will be resumed in Washington with representatives of the British Government who will travel to Washington for that purpose at an early date.

The discussions have been held in London at Somerset House with the Board of Inland Revenue. The following representatives have participated on behalf of the United States: Mr. Eldon P. King, Special Deputy Commissioner, Bureau of Internal Revenue, Treasury Department; and Mr. Herbert P. Fales, Foreign Service Officer, Division of

Financial and Monetary Affairs, Department of State.

[Released to the press August 25]

Informal and exploratory conversations have recently been in progress in Pretoria between representatives of the Government of the United States and representatives of the Government of the Union of South Africa in regard to the possibility of negotiating conventions for the avoidance by the two Governments of double taxation of incomes and estates and for administrative cooperation with respect to such matters. Draft conventions on these subjects which have been prepared in the course of the conversations will be submitted by the representatives to their respective Governments for further consideration.

There are at present in effect conventions for the avoidance of double taxation of incomes and for administrative cooperation between the Government of the United States and the Governments of France, Sweden, and Canada. There was signed recently in Ottawa a convention between the United States and Canada for the avoidance of double taxation and prevention of fiscal evasion in the case of estate taxes and succession duties. The Union of South Africa is at present a party to agreements with Great Britain and Southern Rhodesia for the avoidance of double income taxes upon agency profits and with Southern Rhodesia for the avoidance of double death duties.

The following representatives participated in the conversations on behalf of the Government of the United States: Eldon P. King, Special Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Treasury Department; and Herbert P. Fales, Foreign Service officer, Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs, Department of State.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Consular Offices

The American Mission at Tehran was raised from the rank of legation to the rank of embassy on August 21, 1944 on presentation of credentials by Leland B. Morris as Ambassador to Iran.

Civil Aviation

[Released to the press August 27]

Representatives of the Government of India arrived in the United States recently at the invitation of the Government of the United States for a series of talks with American officials on the subject of post-war civil aviation.

The discussions, which have now terminated, were conducted on a friendly and informal basis and were preliminary and exploratory in character.

Both sides were agreed that it was desirable to adopt all practicable measures to promote the early expansion and development of international air services for the common benefit of the peoples of the world.

Questions relating to the transit and commercial entry of aircraft, as well as the constitution and functions of an international air organization, were discussed. The exchange of views disclosed a considerable measure of agreement in regard to regulatory measures in the technical field. Both sides were also agreed that the calling of an international conference to draw up a multilateral air-navigation convention would be both beneficial and desirable.

Meetings of Provisional Committees of the Caribbean Research Council

[Released to the press August 22]

As the result of recommendations for expanding research made by the West Indian Conference at Barbados in March 1944 the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission has arranged a series of meetings of newly organized provisional committees of the Caribbean Research Council to be held during the next two weeks in the Caribbean area.

The Industries Committee met in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, B.W.I., on August 24. It is composed of Dr. F. Morton, superintendent of research and development, Trinidad Leaseholds, Ltd., Trinidad; Mr. G. O. Case, consulting engineer to the Government of British Guiana; and

Mr. T. Moscoso, manager, and Mr. F. Fernandez Garcia, consulting chemist, Puerto Rico Development Corporation, Puerto Rico. They discussed Caribbean problems in their field with the noted visiting British scientists, Professor J. L. Simonsen and Sir Robert Robinson, who were concluding their scientific tour of the area.

The Agricultural Committee, members of which were announced on August 16, 1944, will meet at Cidra, Puerto Rico, on September 1.

The Committees on Building and Engineering Research, Social Sciences, and Public Health and Medicine will assemble at St. Thomas, Virgin Islands (U.S.), September 5 to 10 to consider plans for the coordination and expansion of technical research in the Caribbean. Membership on the Committee on Building and Engineering Research includes Mr. R. J. Gardner-Medwin, town-planning adviser to the comptroller for development and welfare; Mr. P. Martin Cooper, director of public works, Jamaica, B.W.I.; Dr. Rafael Pico, chief, Puerto Rico Planning Board; and Mr. Luis Guillermet, executive director of the Committee on Designs of Public Works of the same Board.

The Committee on Social Sciences is composed of Mr. S. A. Hammond, educational adviser, and Mr. T. S. Simey, social-welfare adviser to the comptroller for development and welfare; Dr. Antonio Colorado, dean, College of Social Sciences, University of Puerto Rico; and Señora Maria Pintado de Ravn, professor and head of Department of Social Work of the same University.

Members of the Committee on Public Health and Medicine are Dr. P. A. Clerkin, D.P.H., bacteriologist and pathologist, British Guiana; Mr. J. L. D. Pawan, M.B.E., M.B., Ch.B., D.P.H., R.C.P.S., government bacteriologist, Trinidad; Sir Rupert Briercliffe, C.M.G., medical adviser to the comptroller for development and welfare; Dr. Pablo Morales Otero, director, School of Tropical Medicine, San Juan, Puerto Rico; Dr. Guillermo Arbona, chief, Department of Hygiene of the same School; and Dr. R. A. Vonderlehr, U.S.P.H.S., Puerto Rico.

It is anticipated that the Netherlands territories will be represented on the various committees and that the names of their representatives will be made available later.

The West Indian Radio Newspaper

By WILLIAM W. HARRIS¹

Few persons in Washington or even in the United States itself know that for almost two years the United States Section of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission (an integral part of the Department of State) has been daily broadcasting from Washington, in joint cooperation with the British Section of the Commission, a half-hour international short-wave radio program designed especially for the peoples in the lands of the Caribbean.

The program, covering the best cultural and social entertainment as well as economic education, is known as "The West Indian Radio Newspaper" and has the distinction of being the only daily broadcast in the world sponsored by the American and British Governments.

This outstanding broadcast evolved in a most natural way. With the impact of the present international crisis on the islands of the Caribbean a situation of grave concern to both the United States and Great Britain was produced. The economic *status quo* of the islands and the provision of basic necessities became a primary concern of these two Governments in that area. Therefore, for practical reasons of security, as well as international conscience, it became desirable for both countries to cooperate in the social and economic development of the area.

With that purpose in mind, the two Governments announced, on March 9, 1942, the establishment of the Anglo-American Caribbean 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 area . . . and the

A method for the carrying out of the cultural and educational opportunities for the initiation and successful accomplishment of projects dealing with the welfare of the territories and colonies of the United States and Great Britain in the Caribbean area.

United Kingdom and the British colonies in the same area . . ."²

The Commission, serving purely as an advisory body, consists of six members, three appointed by the President of

the United States and three by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, one of whom is appointed *ad hoc* according to the problem under consideration. The United States chairman reports directly to the President, but for reasons of administrative convenience a departmental order, issued May 23, 1944, made the United States Section of the Commission an integral unit of the Department of State.³

The Commission straightway undertook to concern itself primarily with matters pertaining to labor, agriculture, housing, health, education, social welfare, finance, economics, and related subjects. Yet one of the greatest problems of the Commission was the development of the means of letting the peoples in the area know what it was doing and accomplishing in the field of social and economic research on the matters mentioned above. The answer was found in a single word—radio—and on October 15, 1942 a Radio Division of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission was officially inaugurated to represent jointly both Governments concerned. A month and a half later, on December 1, 1942, the West Indian Radio Newspaper flashed out its first edition to the peoples of the Caribbean lands. Today it is one of the most influential and popular radio programs enjoyed in that region.

The fundamental purpose of the West Indian Radio Newspaper is cultural, informative, educational, and is *used* for the initiation and successful accomplishment of projects dealing with the welfare of the territories and colonies of the United States and Great Britain in the Caribbean area. It has actually three main objectives:

1. To help the peoples of the Caribbean area realize that their problems are a matter of concern

¹ Mr. Harris is Director of Radio Communications of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, Department of State.

² *Report of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission to the Governments of the United States and Great Britain for the Years 1942-1943*, Washington, 1943, p. 3.

³ BULLETIN of May 27, 1944, p. 502.

and interest to Washington and London, that they figure in the total pattern of the United Nations, and that something is being done to solve their problems.

2. To help the peoples of the Caribbean area help themselves in solving their own problems.

3. To help the British and United States possessions in the Caribbean see themselves in proper perspective to each other and to the rest of the world, culturally, economically, and politically.

With the above objectives in mind, the "newspaper" devotes itself purely and simply to items of essential interest to the Caribbean area, primarily the British West Indies, the colonies of British Honduras and British Guiana, and the territories of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands of the United States.

At the opening of the war the morale of the people in the Caribbean region was a favorite target of Axis radio propagandists. Accumulated social, economic, and political shortcomings of centuries were condensed into vitriolic radio tirades beamed from Nazi Europe to the Caribbean and to South America. Sordid half-truths commingled with plausible lies became a potent weapon of the psychological warfare of the Axis. Illustrative of the Axis broadcasts are the following summaries and quotations.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1942 the Berlin radio reminded its listeners in the Caribbean area constantly of the success of its submarine campaign in that region. Ship sinkings were reported, with details concerning the nationalities of the ships. Emphasis was placed upon increased hardships in the countries dependent upon Caribbean sea-borne commerce and upon the loss of control by the United States in the Caribbean. "He who sails for North America sails certainly to death" was the slogan that the Berlin radio used in this period.

On January 28, 1943 the following typical propaganda was broadcast over the Berlin radio, beamed to Latin America: "What is happening in Puerto Rico, next to Cuba [*sic*] the most important United States possession in the Caribbean? Washington is deeply concerned lest violence and probably riots disrupt the big sugar industry, which event would be most disagreeable in view of the shortage of sugar now in the United States. In Puerto Rico, scene of decades of Yankee exploitation, open con-

The term "Caribbean area" has been taken to include the United States territories in the Caribbean; the European possessions (British, Netherlands, and French) which are considered politically or geographically a part of the West Indies; and the independent island republics (Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti). The three Guianas on the South American mainland (British Guiana, French Guiana, and Netherlands Guiana, which is now known as Surinam) and British Honduras are commonly regarded as part of the Caribbean area.

flict has broken out between Governor Tugwell and local politicians who seek his recall by Washington."¹

Admiral Lutzow declared, in a Berlin broadcast beamed to North and South America on June 19, 1943: "The United States is waiting for the chance to take over territories from Newfoundland and Canada to Bermuda, the Bahamas, and the British West Indies down to the Falkland Islands. . . . For years, even as long as 19 years, the weaker nations and island peoples of the Caribbean were forced to suffer the presence of American Marines in their country,"² . . ."

Thus the problem of morale in the Caribbean was at times one of the most serious problems of all, and it was accentuated in its psychological aspects by the misinformation of the short-wave Axis broadcasts which it spread over the islands. The West Indian Radio Newspaper stepped immediately into an important role—that of keeping the people truthfully informed by counteracting and refuting such propaganda.

Yet apart from the immediate problem of countering Axis propaganda in the Caribbean, the Commission has recognized, too, the importance of the radio as a social institution. At its first meeting, held in March 1942, it adopted the following resolution:

"*Broadcasting.* Importance is attached to the development of information services through

¹ *The Caribbean Islands and the War*, Department of State publication 2023, p. 10.

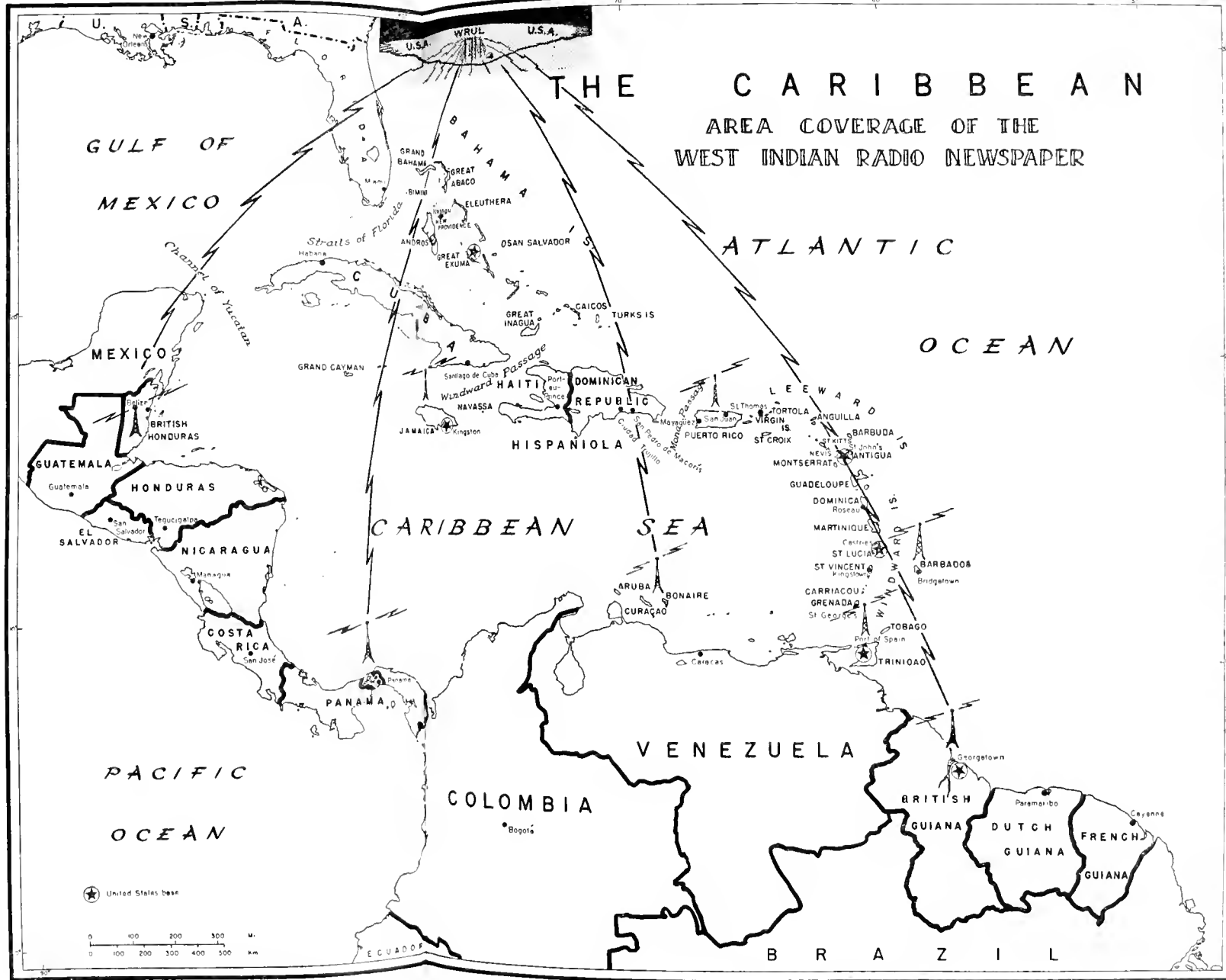
² *Ibid.*

broadcasts and to the provision of special programs directed to the Caribbean from the United States and Great Britain."¹

The West Indian Radio Newspaper arranged the timing of its broadcast in order not to conflict with the British Broadcasting Corporation's program to the West Indies. The Commission's program is today appreciated throughout the West Indies, and besides providing for educational and cultural programs it affords an opportunity for the peoples of the scattered islands of the Caribbean to learn rapidly of the happenings elsewhere in the area. By bringing together the news of the Caribbean on the air from a central station the development of a greater interest in the cooperation is being fostered and general morale is being improved. Isolation leads often to suspicion and mistrust. Radio broadcasts, however, afford an opportunity to overcome isolation and by disseminating the facts they help to develop informed public opinion.

At the beginning of the war in 1939 few broadcasts on the air were designed for the Caribbean area. The British Broadcasting Corporation did send out its news broadcasts to the region direct from England and presented summaries of parliamentary debates concerning the West Indies as well as greetings to their families from West Indian servicemen in Great Britain. The World Wide Broadcasting Foundation of Boston short-waved a nightly dinner concert to the region, but it was not before 1942 that the British Broadcasting Corporation increased its service to the Caribbean and the West Indian Radio Newspaper began to play its important part in supporting the morale of the people.

The "newspaper", which is presented in English, originates in Washington, D.C., each evening at 6:15 at the radio studios in the South Building, Department of the Interior. From there it is sent by wire line direct to Boston, Massachusetts, where it flashes out into the ether over the powerful short-wave transmitting Station WRUL (operating on 11.73 megacycles in the 25-meter band) and simultaneously over Station WRUW (operating on 15.35 megacycles in the 19-meter band). By the use of directional antennas, the program is beamed in a V-angle to blanket completely the Caribbean area. Yet, with the wide



¹ Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

Drawn in the Department of State Office of the Geographer, August 12, 1943. 1054-D

and sometimes uncontrollable range of short-wave radio signals, the West Indian Radio Newspaper is heard clearly in Europe, Africa, South America, the Pacific, Central America, the United States, and Canada. The fame of the West Indies and the work of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission is spreading daily to the far corners of the world.

The West Indian Radio Newspaper is, as its name indicates, a newspaper of the air. In order to give flexibility in programming, the Commission decided to produce the broadcast in the format of a newspaper, starting with the headline news of the world and continuing through the radio newspaper with such feature pages as were applicable to the programs, such as the editorial page, music, travel, sports, entertainment, women's world, and others. The name of the broadcast—The West Indian Radio Newspaper—has proved itself so realistic in construction that listeners have written in asking for subscription rates!

Each afternoon, seven days a week, the West Indian Radio Newspaper "goes to press". The entire show is gone through for timing at 4:30 p. m., when the first rehearsal starts. At 5 o'clock the second rehearsal begins and the rough edges are smoothed off, after which the final dress rehearsal takes place. In the case of the weekly dramatic productions, special rehearsals take place besides the regular ones.

The most popular feature of the West Indian Radio Newspaper according to the mail response and a recent survey of that area is the Caribbean News Page that broadcasts the latest news of all the lands of that region, thus providing the people with information on inter-island happenings. Such information tends to break down insular barriers and prejudices.

One of the greatest problems of the West Indies has always been that of communications. In the '80's and '90's trading-schooners and steamers carried the news of the world from island to island. But after the turn of the century wireless became the vogue, and the people of some of the larger islands of the Caribbean availed themselves of that medium. Yet, the greatest advent in communications among the lands of the West Indies has been radio—both standard and international short wave. Today, with Caribbean shipping at a minimum because of the exigencies of war, news takes as much as eight weeks to cross the Caribbean by schooner; yet, the West Indian Radio News-

paper sends the news of the world to Caribbean shores from all parts of the globe and the Caribbean itself in an instant.

The "newspaper" is the only radio medium in existence that presents original Caribbean news daily (except Sunday) to the Caribbean area. The British Broadcasting Corporation attempts only rarely to broadcast any Caribbean news unless such news happens to originate directly or indirectly in Britain. This daily Caribbean news-cast is, therefore, one of the strongest points of appeal of the West Indian Radio Newspaper.

Effective presentation of that news requires much correspondence, research, reading, clipping, and editing. Over twenty different newspapers from the Caribbean area arrive weekly at the office of the West Indian Radio Newspaper. Each is read, clipped, and the news items rewritten for radio presentation. Then too, air-mail letters from the Caribbean, filled with newspaper cuttings and weekly newsletters, form a part of the daily mail, besides the releases and despatches arriving by air-mail pouch. All important and outstanding news events come into the West Indian Radio Newspaper by cable. Thus, by such a broad and complete coverage of West Indian news and events, the radio newspaper is able to keep the entire area well informed on up-to-the-minute happenings.

In establishing the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, the two Governments were aware that the Caribbean area presented serious problems which involved its basic economic and social structure. The standard of living of the majority of the people was low. Unemployment was persistent in certain areas. Utilization of the resources of the area was being restricted rather than expanded. Shipping problems were becoming acute and the supply position difficult.

Moreover, the date of the creation of the Commission coincided almost exactly with the outbreak of enemy submarine warfare in the Caribbean. The Commission, therefore, found itself plunged at once into a war-emergency crisis which took precedence over all other matters. The immediate issue was to ward off famine in an area which, although primarily agricultural, was paradoxically dependent to a great extent on imported foodstuffs.

Dependence upon imported food was also accentuated in areas where United States bases were being constructed, since this work brought about

a diversion of labor from agriculture to construction work, causing an accompanying increase in purchasing power, which resulted in a greater demand for food.

In 1942, when the maintenance of supplies became extremely difficult as a result of a shipping shortage, a food crisis developed in the Caribbean area where food reserves even in normal times are not large. Since it is difficult to store the staple foodstuffs in the tropics for any great length of time, many of the islands literally depended upon supplies from ship to ship.

The West Indian Radio Newspaper therefore began an extensive campaign over the air of "Grow More Food". Three special programs each of which speaks for itself were immediately devised, entitled as follows: "The Victory Gardener", "The Creole Cook", and "The Livestock Farmer".

The "Victory Gardener" stressed the importance of local home food production. A "Grow More Food" campaign was started throughout the West Indies: the American and British Governments

used both encouragement and executive action to promote the local production of foodstuffs. In a number of instances marketing facilities were established for handling the crops produced. Sugar estates were required generally to divert a designated percentage of their land to the growing of foodstuffs. In some cases all landholders were required to devote a certain proportion of all their arable acreage to food growing, and in each of these instances the West Indian Radio Newspaper kept

and is keeping the peoples of the Caribbean informed, stressing the necessity to "Grow More Food."

To encourage the people and to assist them in having their own victory garden, each crop known to the West Indies was discussed on the air over the West Indian Radio Newspaper, so that listeners would know exactly how to plant tannias, eddoes, tomatoes, rice, yams, and cassava. The problems of garden making, soil preparation, fertilizer, farm implements, control of insects, erosion, were and are continuing to be fully discussed.

Those radio and other escorts at victory gardening have been successful. Puerto Rico increased its food production 23 percent above the pre-war period. Jamaica, which is normally a large rice-importing island, was able to produce enough home-grown carbohydrates to eliminate the need for rice imports; Barbados increased the area under food production to 35 percent of the arable acreage, and its production of carbohydrate foods in an extreme emergency would have

provided for the needs of the population for that class of foodstuff.

Not only were those agricultural talks transmitted by radio but also official Government sources wrote to the West Indian Radio Newspaper for copies of the scripts for publication in local West Indian newspapers. An immense amount of research on planting and farming and of study of conditions suitable for West Indian food production was required to produce such an agricultural radio program. Volume upon volume had to be gleaned from,

The Caribbean provides a substantial supply of certain foods to the United Nations and is a vital source of a number of strategic materials. These lands produce petroleum products, some of the world's best long-staple cotton (from which parachutes and barrage balloons are made), copper, precious stones, a little gold and silver, and several minerals of importance to the prosecution of the war. The following list indicates the variety of materials essential to the conduct of the war which are produced in the Caribbean area:

Acetone	Glycerin
Alcohol	Goatskins and kidskins
Aloes	Gutta balata
Annatto and extracts	Industrial diamonds
Bauxite	Leather and pilocarpus
Beeswax	Lignum vitae
Cacao	Loofa sponges
Castor beans	Mahogany lumber and flitches
Cattle hides	Manganese
Cattle-tail hair	Molasses for ethyl alcohol
Chromite	Nickel ore and matte
Cinchona bark	Petroleum and petroleum products
Coconut-shell char	Rubber
Coffee	Sisal and henequen
Copper	Sugar
Cotton, including long- staple cotton	Tungsten
Divi-divi	
Fish-liver oils	

agricultural reports from the entire area had to be ready, soils which varied from extremely wet to the sandy dry had to be discussed in order to satisfy local growing conditions in the Caribbean area. Yet, the staff of the "newspaper" was able, through the facilities of the Commission, to produce accurate and effective broadcasts.

In 1942 the West Indies found itself faced with famine in a few sections and potential famine in many others. Dominica and British Guiana were without bread for more than a fortnight. The United States consul at Antigua reported to the Department of State on September 5, 1942:

"A small loan of flour from the Army base here was effected through this Consulate yesterday. . . . There is little doubt that considerable part of the population is now going without food for several days in the week. A large number of laborers including base workers have recently left their jobs during the day complaining that they were unable to continue work because of lack of food."¹

Many of the islands are small, and the fact that cargoes from one boat frequently supplied the entire requirements of the locality for several weeks literally meant living from ship to ship. Captains of schooners that plied among the more remote islands reported that in some cases a single sinking created a severe shortage and that the privations suffered in certain areas were acute. One island, Anguilla, in the Leeward Islands, found itself with a six months' supply of sardines and virtually no other imported foodstuffs. It was evident that the people of the West Indies had to be instructed in the use of substitutes to replace white flour and other normally imported foodstuffs. To offer that advice and instruction the West Indian Radio Newspaper developed one of its most popular features—the Creole Cook. Through that program, the Commission undertook to tell ways and means of using new foods—how to make and use cassava flour and sweetpotato flour, how to cook with dry eggs and powdered milk, and how to use products indigenous to the islands.

A radio campaign was established to procure economical West Indian recipes from housewives, and those were in turn broadcast from Washington to the Caribbean region to help other housewives

prepare new dishes from foodstuffs that they had on their particular island. Every recipe used on the air is sent out gratis to any listener requesting a copy.

One housewife in Trinidad writes:

"I am happy to say that I received your book of West Indian Recipes, and they have proved very helpful. If only in this respect the West Indian Radio Newspaper has been a boon to Trinidad housewives and of other islands I'm sure. But I guess you have sufficient assurance by now that the program goes over big with West Indians!"

In the formulation of these radio broadcasts on agriculture and food, consideration of adequate nutrition for the people in the Caribbean area is of first importance. Diets in the region are low in caloric value, but perhaps the most serious deficiency is that of animal proteins. Although vegetable proteins are of importance in nutrition they cannot entirely replace animal proteins. The essential nature of milk in infant feeding is basic, and the protein content of certain dairy products for adults is important. Pork is valuable for its high thiamin content, and eggs and other poultry products have long been recognized as valuable in human nutrition. In order to inform the Caribbean peoples of these important points of animal proteins the West Indian Radio Newspaper presented a series of broadcasts on the raising of poultry and livestock, stressing that a well-balanced agricultural economy must include animal husbandry in its farming system.

One must not deduce, however, that the West Indian Radio Newspaper is a glorified "farm and home hour", for to have a well-rounded, balanced, and popular broadcast a radio program must have its entertainment value and interest features. The West Indian Radio Newspaper is not lacking in that medium.

The people of the West Indies are music lovers, and are avid for all types of musical programs. Each Sunday evening the entire "newspaper" is devoted to the symphony or opera. The works of the great composers are played. The story of their lives and a description of the music form a definite part of the program. Listener response is marked on these classical concerts, just as it is with the popular concert presented each Thursday evening. Both Dorothy Maynor and Hazel Scott (Trinidad born) appeared on the broadcast in their respective medium, and Paul Robeson and

¹ *The Caribbean Islands and the War*, Department of State publication 2023, p. 5.

Duke Ellington performed in their particular musical fields.

From a recent analysis of listener reaction, it is definite that music of the better type is far more appreciated by the West Indian Radio Newspaper's Caribbean audience than the swing rhythms of the popular vein.

In order for one to appreciate and understand the scope of the West Indian Radio Newspaper's broadcast, the following typical program schedule for a week is outlined:¹

Sunday	The West Indian Radio Newspaper; Symphony Concert
Monday	Letters from Listeners; Creole Cook; Science in the News; Caribbean News
Tuesday	Quiz Show; Health Chat; West Indian Guest Speaker; Caribbean News
Wednesday	Stamp Club; Agricultural Chat; Poet's Corner; Caribbean News
Thursday	America at Play; Dinner Concert; Caribbean News
Friday	Vagabond Traveller; Caribbean in History; Guest Speaker; Caribbean News
Saturday	Feaurette; Music; Caribbean News

Under the program heading of "Letters from Listeners", the comments of West Indian Radio Newspaper listeners are acknowledged over the air, and answers to their questions are made, within, of course, all measures of wartime security.

"Science in the News" deals with the latest developments in the field of science. That program is especially designed to assist students in their school work and to help keep the professional man abreast in the fields of medicine, chemistry, and electricity. The popularity of the broadcast is evident by the fact that copies of it are requested for publication in local West Indian newspapers.

A leading feature of the lighter vein, yet definitely of serious educational scope, is the Caribbean Quiz Show—a program based on factual knowledge and fanciful legend of the area. It has been designed to inform the West Indian Radio Newspaper audience on the historic and social background of the region in order to stimulate interest in the Caribbean and to break down insularity. Listeners are invited to send in their questions

and answers for use on this feature. The reaction from one listener was startling: "The Quiz Show is tops, but my! how little we know of our West Indies!"

Progress is being made in the protection of the health of all peoples in the Caribbean region. Cooperation and the sharing of knowledge and facilities among the United States and British Governments and local West Indian Governments are playing an important role and are destined to play a still larger part. Health is also one of the concerns of the West Indian Radio Newspaper. Information on health and on disease and its control was gained from the Caribbean, and then, in conjunction with the American Medical Association and the United States Public Health Service, a series of radio chats was devised, covering all phases of local diseases—their symptoms, cure, and prevention.

One West Indian mother wrote:

"I want to ask a favour, for I think you are an answer to a mother's prayer. In the broadcast of the West Indian Radio Newspaper of June 20, there was a talk on 'Glaucoma', which interests me very much, as I have a young friend whose infant of three months has the disease. The baby was born with it; the parents are distracted, as the babe is otherwise a perfect specimen of health and happiness. Fortunately, only one eye is affected, and we hope to be able to treat the infected eye and preserve a glimmer of sight until the child is older and stronger and travel is not so difficult. In the meantime, your talk on 'Glaucoma' is a ray of hope. The information is of the utmost value to us. Please may I have a copy of that health talk and any other information available."

This request, which was immediately taken care of, illustrates forcibly the value of international radio in dealing with the problems of health protection.

The West Indian Radio Newspaper carries messages of physical health to its vast audience as well as messages of mental health. Because of the war, there are at present in Washington 120 young women representing all the British colonies of the Caribbean area. Those girls are members of the Auxiliary Territorial Services Division of the British Army. They were trained in Canada and were delegated to Washington to work. Since many of the young women had never been away from home it was evident that nostalgia would be a common

¹ World news headlines precede all programs except on Sunday.

Immediately following the acquisition by the United States of naval and air bases in the Caribbean, the President appointed a Commission to survey the social and economic problems of some parts of the area. The Commission consisted of Mr. Charles W. Taussig, chairman; Lt. Col. A. F. Kibler; and Lt. Comdr. W. S. Campbell.

Between November 15, 1940 and January 5, 1941 this body visited Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands of the United States, and all the British colonies in the West Indies except British Guiana and British Honduras. The Commission was immediately concerned with such matters as the attitude of the people of the West Indies toward the establishment of the bases in particular and toward the United States in general. But the Commission also gave consideration, so far as time permitted, to the fundamentals of the Caribbean problem.

The members of the Commission interviewed 150 representative individuals, including the governors of all the colonies, legislators, substantially all the labor leaders in the area, planters, merchants, educators, medical men, presidents of chambers of commerce, and commissioners of police. In addition, visits were made to work projects, schools, hospitals, prisons, churches, and military establishments.

occurrence during their first few weeks in the United States and that the parents of these girls would naturally worry about them: Were they well? Did they get the proper food? What were their living accommodations like?

At that point the West Indian Radio Newspaper came to the rescue. It invited all the A.T.S. girls in Washington to appear twice a week on the "newspaper" to send their greetings and messages to families and sweethearts back home. Not only did that method of instantaneous contact by speaking directly by radio to parents and friends allay pangs of homesickness but it also eased thoughts of worry and apprehension over the welfare of their daughters in the minds of the people in the Caribbean area. Again, the West Indian Radio Newspaper scored another achievement.

Similarly, West Indian students studying at universities in Canada and West Indian boys in the Canadian Armed Services have been invited to speak on the program to greet their families in the Caribbean area. Through the medium of the Commission's liaison officer, arrangements were made

in Canada with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to record those messages from West Indian students and soldiers. The transcriptions were then sent to the West Indian Radio Newspaper in Washington, and a different message was broadcast nightly to the Caribbean. Radio has surmounted all barriers of distance and has kept West Indian families in touch with one another.

Not always were the West Indian guest speakers from the British West Indian lands. Some had come from Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands (the United States territories in the area). Students from those islands, studying in the United States, were also able to greet their family and friends in their homes through the Commission's broadcast. Moreover, West Indians now resident in the United States prepared special broadcasts to tell the peoples of the Caribbean about their life, work, and play under present wartime conditions. This medium of short-wave broadcasting has done much to keep West Indians in touch with their West Indies.

Hundreds of letters of appreciation from the Caribbean families and friends of those boys and girls poured into the West Indian Radio Newspaper. A fair example is this letter from Jamaica:

"We were thrilled the day our daughter spoke to us. You will never, never know what you have done for us in letting her speak over the air. I can hardly convey our deep feelings of appreciation for the privilege of listening to a voice that means so much to us. Accept our heartfelt thanks and congratulations for the West Indian Radio Newspaper."

From Barbados comes this complimentary note:

"I must congratulate the West Indian Radio Newspaper on its effort to bring us all nearer together, and I think that it is doing a remarkable piece of work. It has been a source of much happiness and pleasure to hear the voices of our boys and girls, whether they be in the Forces or at the Universities. I hope that you will be able to carry on your good work for a long time to come."

Since one of the main objectives of the "newspaper" is the development of a regional and community point of view among the peoples of the Caribbean, two entertaining programs were designed to accomplish that aim: one, the Vagabond

Traveller, and the other, the West Indian Stamp Club of the Air.

The Vagabond Traveller program takes the radio listener on an imaginary journey from one Caribbean land to another, describing its discovery, history, travel highlights, life, customs, and music. It informs the people of one West Indian colony about their neighbors, what they do, and how they live, thus portraying to one and all in the Caribbean the regional point of view.

A world traveler, who has been long familiar with the Caribbean area, its peoples, languages, background, and life, has spent months in collecting accurate material for those travelogs, which have brought the West Indian Radio Newspaper much applause. One British Guianese listener writes:

"Please accept my warmest congratulations for your successful presentation of your travel talk on British Guiana. It was vivid, accurate, and you made us feel that we were right there on the spot with you wherever you went. Of course, we recognized all the places you described, and will always owe a debt to you for your timely and useful publicizing of our Colony—timely, because there are still persons in the West Indies, the United States, Britain and the world, who know absolutely nothing about the life we live here. Indeed, we are indebted to you."

One United States Army private stationed at the American base in St. Lucia writes:

"Several of the members of my Company listened very attentively to your travel talk on St. Lucia and found it more than packed with knowledge, and especially interesting to us as we are stationed here. It was quite a sensation to hear our everyday surroundings described so beautifully. I would appreciate it very much if you would send my mother in the United States one of your booklets and a copy of your talk on St. Lucia, as due to censorship, I cannot send anything from here, and I do want my family to know of this magnificent island where I am."

Copies of travel chats by the Vagabond Traveller and an illustrated booklet describing the wonders and facts of each Caribbean land are available to listeners. Such informative literature on the area has thus traveled through the mails to the far countries of the world, lauding the fame of the West Indies.

The Vagabond Traveller program, an outstanding feature of the "newspaper", is one of the oldest and best-known programs in short-wave history. Originally designed before the war, at Station WRUL in Boston, to tell the peoples of the world about one another, it has been on the air continuously for four years, with fan mail running into thousands of letters from all corners of the globe. The Vagabond Traveller program which has been devoted to the locale of the Caribbean will shortly encompass the "Story of the United States", especially designed for its West Indian audience.

One of the greatest hobbies in the world is the collecting of postage stamps. The West Indian Radio Newspaper formed the West Indian Stamp Club of the Air, designed to give West Indians and world-wide listeners interested in philately the latest news in the realm of stamps and especially the story behind the stamps of the Caribbean area, for the history of each West Indian colony from its past to the present is found in its stamps.

The initial broadcasts of the series on stamps devoted themselves to beginners—telling them how to commence a stamp collection. Gradually the programs were worked up into valuable information for advanced collectors. The "newspaper" prepared a booklet of terms and expressions used in philately, which it mailed gratis to all who sent for it. As the expansion of the Stamp Club program continued, the script-writers began to search philatelic magazines and newspapers for items of interest to inform the collectors about the latest issues and developments. Research goes on daily about the story behind one or more particular stamps of each Caribbean land.

A listener in Chile writes asking for stamps on St. Kitts; a firm in Barbados wants to know where it can sell its accumulated stamps; a boy in Ireland wants to contact a collector in Tobago; a woman in Jamaica desires to exchange stamps with some one in Antigua; and thus it is that the West Indian Stamp Club of the Air contributes to the interest of the philatelists in the Caribbean.

With the United States' acquiring 99-year leases for military and naval bases in the British West Indies, American troops found themselves living in several Caribbean lands. For many of them it was the first time they had ever been away from home. Especially designed broadcasts for the men in the United States forces were beamed therefore to the Caribbean area. Music and entertain-

ment that particularly appealed to the boys were featured. United Service Organizations artists who had toured the Caribbean camps and bases came before the microphones of the "newspaper" and entertained the boys, giving them personal messages, singing favorite songs and the popular G.I. jive. On such festive occasions as Christmas and New Year's Eve of 1943 the West Indian Radio Newspaper devoted its entire program to the United States boys in the Caribbean region, letting them know that those at home were with them one hundred percent.

Most radio features have trends of popularity, yet one that is always in demand is poetry. On the broadcast entitled "The Poet's Corner" West Indian poems are featured in conjunction with the best-loved poems of the centuries. Listeners are invited to send in their own compositions for reading over the air, and each poem presented is made available to anyone desiring a copy. In that way, the West Indian Radio Newspaper is attempting to compile an anthology of Caribbean poetry.

Everyone is interested in how the other fellow lives and plays. West Indians are no exception and are thoroughly interested in how Americans live and play. Dramatizations based on scenes from Americana in every detail are presented each week. A visit to one of Washington's famed Watergate concerts was musically dramatized for West Indians. Over the airwaves listeners were taken simulatively to Symphony Hall in Boston for a concert by the Boston Pops Orchestra and to the Stage Door Canteen in Washington for an evening of entertainment. From all over the country typical entertainments—excursions, rodeos, Hollywood, Broadway, festivals, opera—are being carried to the West Indian Radio Newspaper's 400,000 potential Caribbean listeners.

At the present time there is a total of approximately 91,368 radio receiving-sets in the combined territories of the United States and Great Britain in the Caribbean area. With an average of four people listening to a single radio set, the estimated listening audience in that area is 365,472 persons. That figure does not include listeners in the above-mentioned territories who are subscribers to Radio Distribution or who listen to loud-speakers and communal speakers, nor does it include the other English-speaking listeners in other lands of the Caribbean area. Inclusion of those would increase the West Indian Radio Newspaper listening audi-

ence by 35,000, giving an approximate 400,000 listeners to the daily broadcast.

On each evening, as the West Indian Radio Newspaper flashes out from Washington it is picked up regularly in British Guiana and re-broadcast over short-wave Station ZFY of Georgetown, which operates on a frequency of 48.94 meters and completely blankets the Caribbean.

Radio Distribution, Ltd., of Barbados, and Re-Diffusion, Ltd., of Trinidad, both central radio receiving-stations, having thousands of loud-speakers installed in private homes, likewise re-broadcast the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission's Radio Newspaper. In that way an overall coverage is provided for two important West Indian capitals: Port-of-Spain (Trinidad) and Bridgetown (Barbados).

Intermittent re-broadcasts of the West Indian Radio Newspaper have also been made over Radio Station ZNS of Nassau in the Bahamas, and arrangements were recently discussed by which the program could be picked up and re-broadcast over Station ZQI in Jamaica.

In Panama, where there is a large resident West Indian colony that has remained there since the days of the construction of the Canal, the special Caribbean News from the West Indian Radio Newspaper is transcribed nightly and used on a local broadcasting station to inform resident West Indians of happenings in their home island and to give them news from home.

Editors and reporters of the majority of Caribbean newspapers listen to the broadcasts of local news to glean items which they have not yet learned of other colonies. The Radio Newspaper is in fact a clearing house for Caribbean news.

During the last meeting of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission at the West Indian Conference in Barbados, the West Indian Radio Newspaper was able to carry by a direct point-to-point broadcast to colonies in the entire Caribbean the happenings and proceedings of the meeting. Arrangements were made with Barbados to send by wireless on a special frequency to the United States the discussions and decision of the meeting. Those in turn were picked up in the United States, recorded, and immediately re-broadcast over the West Indian Radio Newspaper. By that method the entire Caribbean area was linked to the proceedings of the Commission's significant meeting. That procedure illustrates well the power of short-

wave radio and the importance of the West Indian Radio Newspaper in carrying out the work of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission.

The "newspaper" will undoubtedly play a most vital and influential role in the post-war period. As soon as radio materials, parts, equipment, sets, and transmitters are available again, new stations will be erected in the West Indies, and thousands upon thousands of people in the Caribbean area may then purchase new sets and become devoted radio fans.

In the post-war period, the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission will further the long-range aspects of its program. The ban on radio censorship for security reasons will then be lifted, and the Commission, through its West Indian Radio Newspaper, will be able to discuss fully in its advisory capacity the expansion of Caribbean trade and communications, public works, health, plant and animal quarantine, development of fisheries, sugar, transportation, and travel.

A lucrative tourist-travel business in the Caribbean area will no doubt be the answer to the galaxy of questions that are being put forth by those who are distressed by the ascending costs of Government operations and by the decrease in annual income. The West Indian Radio Newspaper is preparing to assist in tourist and travel development of the area in the post-war period, for, as has been proved, there is no greater or more potential way of publicizing the islands than by radio.

Faced with the prospect of a changing economic scene in peacetime the director and his associates of the Radio Newspaper have conducted and are making comprehensive surveys on the types of broadcasts for tomorrow. Already men and women in the Caribbean—economists, statisticians, doctors, agriculturists, musicians, educators—have been consulted on possible trends in their fields as they may relate to radio preferences in the post-war days.

In the almost two years of the West Indian Radio Newspaper's existence many changes have taken place in the types of programs. To forecast radio-listening interests that may exist in the region two to five years hence, one must give major attention to the probable changes in the listening habits and tastes of the West Indian audience and to the innovations in broadcasting itself, as far as these changes can be anticipated.

Frequency modulation will advance radio developments in the Caribbean, and, in the field of electronics, television for the area should not be cast lightly aside. The staff of the West Indian Radio Newspaper is alert to the possible changes and is preparing itself for its new peacetime responsibility with a determination to maintain its standards of programming atuned to the events of the times and to familiarize future listeners with the closing announcement: "We hope you will tune in again tomorrow and every evening at 6:15 o'clock, Eastern war time, for your daily edition of the West Indian Radio Newspaper, sponsored by the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission."

Caribbean Land-Tenure Symposium

[Released to the press August 27]

Governor Tugwell of Puerto Rico opened the Caribbean land-tenure symposium at Mayagüez, Puerto Rico, on August 27. This meeting is being held under the auspices of the Caribbean Research Council of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. Technical papers on various aspects of land tenure will be read by Mr. Marshall Harris, Senior Agricultural Economist, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.; Mr. Miguel Guerra-Mondragon, attorney for the Office of the Attorney General and Puerto Rico Land Authority, Puerto Rico; Mr. Sol L. Descartes, former chief, Bureau of Statistics, Puerto Rico; Mr. Ralph Esteves, Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, Puerto Rico; Mr. Ralph Will, Regional Administrator, Farm Security Administration, Puerto Rico; Mr. José Acosta Velarde, executive director, Puerto Rico Land Authority, Puerto Rico; Professor Dr. J. C. Kielstra, Netherlands Minister to Mexico; Mr. Arthur Thelwell, secretary, Jamaica Agricultural Society, Jamaica, B. W. I., and Mr. Robert Johns, Director of Agriculture, Leeward Islands, B. W. I.

In addition to these specialists and members of the Agricultural Committee of the Caribbean Research Council representatives from several Caribbean islands and British Guiana will participate in the discussion of the papers. The Republic of Cuba is represented by Dr. Joaquín Martínez Saenz, former Minister of Agriculture and member

of the House of Representatives, who will head the Delegation; Ing. Rodolfo Arango, Director of Agriculture, and Sr. Casto Ferragut, secretary of the Delegation. The Republic of Haiti is represented by Mr. Jehan Dartigue, chief, and Mr. Edouard Baker, assistant chief, Rural Economic Section, National Agriculture Production Service. The Dominican Republic is represented by Sr. Rafael A. Espaillet, ex-Minister of Agriculture and now chief, Bureau for Conservation of Coffee and Cocoa; Sir José Antonio Bonilla Atilas, vice rector, University of Santo Domingo; and Sr. Luis Carvallo R., secretary general of the chamber of commerce of Santiago de los Caballeros.

British West Indian possessions, not otherwise represented on the Symposium agenda or the Caribbean Research Council, have sent technicians to participate—Mr. D. B. Fanshaw, assistant conservator of forests of British Guiana, and Mr. C. O. Skeete of St. Lucia, Windward Islands. The Virgin Islands (U.S.) are represented by Mr. Norman Skeoch, director of the agricultural experiment station in St. Croix. Dr. D. S. Fernandes of Surinam and Professor Dr. Kielstra represent the Netherlands West Indies.

Participating also in the discussions are Dr. Eric Englund, chairman, Caribbean Research Council; Dr. Eric Williams, executive secretary, Agricultural Committee, Caribbean Research Council; Mr. Edgar Pembleton, executive secretary, British Section, Anglo-American Caribbean Commission; and Mr. John Gange, executive secretary, United States Section, Anglo-American Caribbean Commission.

Visit of Panamanian Soil Specialist

Señor Alfonso Tejeira, second secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce of Panama and a specialist in the chemical analysis of soils, has arrived at Washington as guest of the Department of State on the first stage of a tour that will take him to agricultural and dairy regions in several States. Señor Tejeira plans to observe dairy farming in Wisconsin and rice growing in Louisiana and expects to visit agricultural colleges in Iowa where 10 students from Panama have been studying on fellowships from their Government

during the past year. He says that approximately 100 Panamanian students will enrol in colleges and universities of the United States for the fall term.

The Proclaimed List

[Released to the press August 26]

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 the Foreign Economic Administration, and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, on August 26, 1944, issued Cumulative Supplement 6 to Revision VII of the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals, promulgated March 23, 1944.

Part I of Cumulative Supplement 6 contains 56 additional listings in the other American republics and 185 deletions. Part II contains 144 additional listings outside the American republics and 49 deletions.

Exchange of American And German Nationals

[Released to the press August 21]

The State Department and the War Department announce that the M. S. *Gripsholm* is expected to leave New York on or about August 23 to carry out a further exchange with Germany of seriously sick and seriously wounded prisoners of war who have been found entitled to repatriation under the terms of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention, and of surplus protected personnel entitled to repatriation under the terms of the Geneva Red Cross Convention. It has been agreed that the repatriables of each side will be exchanged at Göteborg on or about September 8. The Swedish Government has been asked to cooperate and has agreed to the use of its facilities for the exchange. The *Gripsholm* is expected to return to New York late in September with American repatriates. The vessel will travel both ways under safe-conduct of all belligerents.

Every effort will be made to dispatch notification to the next of kin of the American repatriates at the earliest moment after their identity has been established beyond possibility of doubt.

A representative of the Swiss Government, which acted as the intermediary in the exchange negotiations, will travel on the vessel as guarantor of the execution of the exchange agreement, representing the interests of the parties thereto.

Visit of the President Of Iceland

His Excellency Sveinn Björnsson, President of Iceland, arrived in Washington on Thursday, August 24, where an official reception committee received him with military honors. The following persons accompanied the President:

- His Excellency Vilhjalmur Thor, Minister for Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Bjarni Gudmundsson, chief of Press Section, Foreign Ministry
- Mr. Peter Eggerz, secretary to President Björnsson

In Washington, Brig. Gen. Allen R. Kimball, U.S.A., and Capt. Harry W. Baltazzi, U.S.N.R., joined the party as military and naval aides, respectively.

Visit of Colombian Agricultural Engineer

[Released to the press August 21]

Señor Raúl Varela Martínez, agricultural engineer and director of the Agricultural Experiment Station at Palmira, Colombia, has arrived in Washington at the invitation of the Department of State. After conferring here with Government officials and technical experts he will begin a two-months' tour of agricultural regions in Illinois, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, California, and Florida, and, if time and circumstances permit, will return to Colombia by way of Puerto Rico, in order to view experimental and extension projects in agriculture on that island.

Señor Varela Martínez is interested especially in observing the cultivation of sugarcane, cotton, rice, and corn in the United States, and the organization and administration of agricultural experiment stations.

THE DEPARTMENT

Death of Charles Preston Roach, Jr.

[Released to the press August 25]

Mr. Charles Preston Roach, Jr., who was employed in the Department of State from December 18, 1918 until his retirement on March 4, 1944, died at 9:35 p.m. August 24, following a heart attack. For the past few years Mr. Roach had not been in good health. In an attempt to aid him in his recovery the Department assigned him to its Passport Agency at Miami, Florida, in January 1943. However, he felt that his health was better when he was in Washington, and in April of the same year he returned to his duties in the Department. After several weeks he was compelled to cease work and shortly thereafter entered the sanatorium at Glenn Dale, Maryland, where he died.

Mr. Roach was born at Port Royal, Virginia, January 26, 1890. He was employed in the Passport Division of the State Department for many years as cashier. He leaves many friends in the State Department, where he endeared himself by his fine character and faithfully and efficiently served for more than 25 years. His widow, Mrs. Elizabeth C. Roach, resides at 3718 Van Ness Street, N.W. His son, Lt. Charles C. Roach, is in the Army Air Forces, serving overseas.

Division of Cultural Cooperation

DEPARTMENTAL ORDER 1281¹

Purpose. It is the purpose of this Departmental Order to clarify the functions and activities of the Division of Science, Education and Art of the Office of Public Information, as set forth in Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944, and to change the name of the Division.

1 *Change in title.* The name of the Division of Science, Education and Art is hereby changed to Division of Cultural Cooperation.

2 *Functions of the Division of Cultural Cooperation.* The Division of Cultural Cooperation shall have responsibility for formulating policy and for initiating, coordinating and putting into effect programs of the Department of State designed to encourage and strengthen cultural contact, inter-

¹ Dated and effective July 1, 1944.

change, and mutual understanding between the peoples of the United States and those of other nations. In fulfilling the foregoing objective, the Division shall carry on such activities as:

(a) Planning and putting into effect, for the Department of State, balanced programs of a reciprocal and cooperative nature, intended to achieve mutual understanding of the intellectual, technical, and other cultural developments of the United States and other nations, and evaluating the effectiveness of such programs.

(b) In collaboration with the Office of the Foreign Service, planning for adequate staffing in Foreign Service establishments to carry out effectively the cultural relations programs of the Department.

(c) Offering guidance to United States Foreign Service establishments on the conduct of cultural relations programs and activities through Cultural Relations Attachés and other Foreign Service officers.

(d) Evaluation of the effectiveness of the work of Cultural Relations Attachés and of their reporting of cultural developments, including the significance of these developments to the foreign relations of the United States.

(e) Planning and executing the Department's programs for cooperative exchanges of students, interns and trainees in such fields as education, the professions, the arts, the sciences, technology, and the crafts.

(f) Cooperation with private and governmental agencies engaging in student and training programs and assistance in the development of standards of operations.

(g) Planning and executing the Department's programs for interchange of leaders, experts and teachers in such fields as the arts, the sciences, social welfare, technology, and public administration.

(h) Planning and executing the Department's programs for the interchange of books, scientific and technological publications, books designed for exhibition, music and art materials, and scientific equipment and any other materials.

(i) Maintaining liaison with official, semi-official or private educational, learned, technical, and professional organizations and institutions in the United States and in other countries to promote the interchange of qualified personnel and published materials.

(j) Assisting in the establishment and effective maintenance of libraries and cultural centers as focal points for cultural interchange between the peoples of the United States and other nations.

(k) Assisting and advising organizations engaged in maintaining American schools in other countries.

(l) Development of programs for cooperation with private organizations and other Governments in the reconstruction of essential educational and cultural facilities in war devastated areas.

(m) In collaboration with other interested Offices and Divisions, formulating Departmental policies as to: first, international cultural and educational affairs and organizations; second, the extent and scope of participation of the United States in international educational and cultural activities during the transitional and post-war periods; and, third, the bearing of international cultural activities upon the foreign policy of the United States.

3 Relations with other Offices of the Department. The Division of Cultural Cooperation shall work closely with the Motion Picture and Radio Division, the Division of International Conferences, the Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics, and the geographic Divisions in formulating and executing its programs. In particular, the Chief of the Division, or his designated alternate, shall participate in Interdepartmental Committee clearance of cooperative projects of other Federal agencies.

4 Routing symbol. The routing symbol of the Division of Cultural Cooperation shall be CU.

CORDELL HULL

JULY 1, 1944.

Appointment of Officers

COMMITTEE ON OCCUPATIONAL DEFERMENTS

The membership of the Department's Committee on Occupational Deferrals established pursuant to the provisions of the Executive Order "Controlling Government Requests for the Selective Service Deferral of Federal Employees" of March 6, 1943, shall be as follows:¹

¹ By Departmental Designation of Aug. 18, 1944, effective Aug. 15, 1944.

1 The Assistant Secretary, Mr. Shaw, shall continue to serve as Chairman, and the Legal Adviser, Mr. Hackworth, as Vice Chairman of the Committee.

2 The other members of the Committee shall be the Chief of the Division of Foreign Service Administration, Mr. Laurence C. Frank; the

Chief of the Division of Foreign Service Personnel, Mr. Nathaniel P. Davis; and the Acting Chief of the Division of Departmental Personnel, Mr. Robert E. Ward, Jr.

3 Mrs. Katherine H. Ramsey, Division of Foreign Service Administration, shall serve as Secretary of the Committee.

TREATY INFORMATION

Agreement With Canada Relating to the Canol Project

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Ottawa, Canada, June 7, 1944.

No. 156

SIR:

I have the honor to refer to previous correspondence and specifically, to the exchanges of notes of June 27 and 29, 1942, August 14 and 15, 1942, and December 28, 1942 - January 13, 1943, as well as to recent conversations which have taken place with officials of your Government, all with regard to the Canol project.

2. My Government, desiring to arrange for an early withdrawal from activities in the Northwest Territories having to do with discovery and development of oil fields and at the same time to provide for an adequate supply of oil to meet present and future military needs, proposes the following, namely, that it: a) terminate its contract with the Nobel Drilling Company for exploration work in the Northwest Territories; and, b) modify its contract with Imperial Oil Limited for the discovery and development of oil fields and the production of oil in accordance with the terms of the letter of intent dated April 11, 1944, a copy of which is enclosed.

3. The Government of the United States asks the Canadian Government to agree to the proposals set forth above and further to agree: a) that the provision of the August 14-15, 1942, exchange of notes as to the disposition of the Skagway-Whitehorse pipeline will apply also to the gasoline distribution lines to Watson Lake and Fairbanks; b) that after the United States disposes of its works, installations and facilities of the Canol project as provided in existing agreements, the owners and/or lessees thereof will be granted adequate enjoyment of the sites, rights of way, and

riparian rights required for satisfactory utilization and that the Canadian Government or its assigns will permit the aforesaid works, installations, and facilities to be used, on equitable terms, for the transportation and refining of crude petroleum purchased by the United States in the Northwest Territories and for the distribution of such petroleum and the products thereof both within and without the boundaries of Canada; c) that no export or other tax, or embargo affecting the United States Government will be placed upon the export of oil purchased by the United States in accordance with the terms of this note.

4. It is understood that nothing in clause b) in paragraph 3 above precludes the Government of Canada from charging a fair and non-discriminatory rental for the use of the lands referred to in any case in which works and facilities are acquired by private interests. It is also understood that, as stated in the note from the United States Minister on June 27, 1942, "the pipeline and refinery when operated for commercial purposes will be subject to such regulations and conditions as the Canadian Government may consider it necessary to impose in order to safeguard the public interest." Finally, it is understood that clause c) in paragraph 3 above does not limit the right of the Canadian Government after the war to charge a fair and non-discriminatory royalty on oil produced for and purchased by the United States.

Accept [etc.]

RAY ATHERTON.

The Right Honorable

*The Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
Ottawa.*

[Enclosure]

SPEAC
 11 APRIL 1944
 LETTER OF INTENT IN CONNECTION WITH CONTRACT
 No. W-412-ENG-52, AS AMENDED BY SUPPLE-
 MENTAL AGREEMENTS NOS. 1, 2 AND 3.

IMPERIAL OIL LIMITED
 56 Church Street
 Toronto (1), Canada

GENTLEMEN:

You are advised that the Government will negotiate with you a supplemental agreement to your contract, described above, with the following provisions:

1. That Supplemental Agreement No. 1 to above-mentioned contract shall be acknowledged as being terminated and cancelled.

2. That said Contract No. W-412-eng-52 and Supplemental Agreements Nos. 2 and 3 (all as amended pursuant hereto) shall hereafter and until terminated remain in full force and effect as to the proven area at and adjacent to Norman Wells, but shall not apply to or have force and effect as to any area outside said proven area; the said proven area at and adjacent to Norman Wells shall be defined as that area colored in red on the plan hereto annexed as Exhibit I and copies of said plan shall be attached as Appendix A to proposed supplemental agreement.

3. That the equipment and supplies (including compressors, battery stations, etc.) intended for development and/or exploratory work now en route to Norman Wells shall be delivered at Norman Wells by the Government and installed by the contractor and such further equipment and supplies shall be furnished and delivered at Norman Wells and such further work done and completed at the proven area (all under the terms and during the life of said Contract No. W-412-eng-52 and its supplemental agreements as amended pursuant hereto) as may be necessary to render and keep the proven area capable of efficiently producing and delivering at least 4,000 barrels of crude petroleum per day to the Government and the contractor shall be obligated, during the same period, to keep the

proven area capable of delivering at least 4,000 barrels per day. No action under this clause 3 shall prevent or impair the supplying of the local requirements for petroleum or petroleum products except with the consent of the Government of Canada.

4. That in lieu of the prices for crude oil mentioned in Sections 8 *a.* and 10 of Article I of the original contract, the Government, after May 1, 1944, and during the remaining life of said Contract No. W-412-eng-52 and its supplemental agreements (all as amended pursuant hereto), will pay the contractor for crude petroleum delivered from the field tank batteries or delivered to the refinery storage for processing from wells drilled under said last named contract, 20 Cents Canadian currency per barrel. The Government will also continue to reimburse the contractor for all costs as provided in said Contract No. W-412-eng-52 and its supplemental agreements but the contractor will pay any royalty owed to private third parties.

5. The contractor is embarking on an extensive exploratory program in the Northwest Territories and as conducive to efficiency, expedition and economy of operation for both parties, provision shall be made for such exchanges, consolidations, joint usage and divisions of expenses relating to production, general supervision, general office, utilization of employees, establishments, tankage, facilities, and services and furnishing or sale of materials and supplies on hand as may be agreed upon by the Contracting Officer and the Contractor's Project Manager as being of mutual benefit.

6. That on the termination of said contract No. W-412-eng-52 (as amended pursuant hereto), the contractor will give to the Government of the United States the continuing right to purchase for its own use but not for resale, at the wellhead or in the contractor's field tanks, crude petroleum from the said proven area to an amount which shall not exceed one-half of the recoverable reserves remaining in the proven area at the said contract termination last above mentioned or 30,000,000 barrels, whichever shall be the smaller,

and in addition thereto the said Government shall have the continuing right to purchase for its own use but not for resale 10% of the recoverable reserves of crude petroleum found in each field hereafter successively discovered by drilling and developed by the contractor in the Northwest Territories until there shall be a combined total of 60,000,000 barrels of crude petroleum from the proven area and the fields so discovered and developed subject to the aforesaid continuing right to purchase of the Government. The Government shall pay for the said crude oil the cost thereof to the contractor, including all direct and indirect expenses incurred in connection with finding, development and production thereof, with proper provisions for depreciation and depletion, but no depreciation or depletion shall be charged in relation to the buildings, installations and equipment covered by clause 7 hereof or in relation to the monies expended by the Government through the contractor on exploratory work and, in addition to the said cost, the Government shall pay to the contractor 20 Cents Canadian currency per barrel. The above right to purchase of the Government shall be subject to the following conditions:

- (1) To the prior and preferred supplying of all local requirements for crude petroleum and petroleum products currently.
- (2) The above right to purchase shall, from and after May 1, 1954, be exercised currently and the Government of the United States shall accordingly take delivery during each month of 20% of the respective amounts of crude oil which the contractor produces for export during said month from the proven area and from each of the other areas in which the Government has its right to purchase crude oil until a total of 60,000,000 barrels of crude oil shall have been received by the said Government directly or by delivery to the contractor as hereinafter in this subclause (2) provided or partly by

each of the said methods; in case the Government does not take all or a part of the said 20% as above set forth, the Government shall be deemed to have delivered the amount of said 20% which it does not take delivery of during the month in question to the contractor for the latter's own use and the contractor shall pay to the Government all of the excess by which the average price received by the contractor for crude oil exported from the field in question during said month exceeds the price payable by the Government for said crude oil at the wellhead, namely, 20 Cents Canadian currency per barrel plus cost as above defined.

- (3) In case of war emergency, the contractor will use all reasonable endeavours to produce and deliver to the Government the crude oil which it has the right to purchase hereunder in the quantities and at the times desired by the Government. Except in case of war emergency the contractor shall not be asked to produce any of its fields inefficiently or to the injury of said fields.
- (4) Any costs in excess of those which the contractor would normally incur in the ordinary course of its business, if incurred at the request, and for the benefit of the Government, shall be for account of the Government and paid by it. The Government shall take delivery of the said crude oil currently as it purchases the same and the contractor shall not be obligated to furnish storage for the same.

7. That at the termination of said Contract No. W-412-eng-52 and its supplemental agreements (all as amended pursuant hereto), the Government shall transfer to and vest in the contractor all the wells, buildings, installations, tanks, battery stations, drilling and other equipment (including spare parts) and materials and supplies including all

rights relating thereto which the Government then has in the Norman Area or en route thereto for development and/or exploratory work, including such marine and road transportation and construction equipment as is required to service the same, and any other buildings, equipment, or supplies including all rights relating thereto which, not being required by the Government may be of use to the contractor in his proposed exploratory and development program. The Government agrees not to remove permanently from the Norman Area any of the above items without the consent of the contractor and to now deliver to the contractor all of such items as are not required for the contractor's operations on the proven area and the contractor shall have the right to use the same from May 1, 1944, in his proposed exploratory and development program, paying therefor a rental equivalent to 5 Cents Canadian currency per barrel for each barrel of oil purchased by the Government under Article 4 hereof. All such property as can now be itemized and listed shall be now itemized and listed and attached as Appendix B to the proposed supplemental agreement. Further items can be added to said Appendix B from time to time by the Contracting Officer and the Project Manager and a final itemizing and listing of the property shall be made at the termination of the Contract No. W-412-eng-52 by the Contracting Officer and the Project Manager and attached to the proposed supplemental agreement as Appendix C. For the above property to be so transferred to and vested in the contractor, the contractor shall pay the Government the sum of \$3,000,000 Canadian currency, said sum to be payable only out of the proceeds of oil delivered or deemed to be delivered to the Government under clause 6 hereof at the rate of 5 Cents Canadian currency per each barrel of oil so delivered or deemed to be delivered.

8. The original Contract No. W-412-eng-52 and the supplemental agreements Nos. 2 and 3 (all as amended pursuant hereto) shall

terminate on the termination of hostilities in the present War or at the option of the Government at the expiry of such period not exceeding one year after the said termination of hostilities as the Government may desire, provided that in the latter case the Government shall give the contractor three months' prior written notice of such termination.

Except as may be modified by a supplemental agreement contemplated by this Letter of Intent, the terms and conditions of your Contract No. W-412-eng-52 and supplemental agreements Nos. 2 and 3 shall remain in full force and effect.

Kindly indicate on three copies hereof your acceptance of this Letter of Intent and return all executed copies to the Contracting Officer.

Very truly yours,

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
By O. P. EASTERWOOD, JR.
*Major, Corps of Engineers,
Contracting Officer.*

ACCEPTED ----- 1944

IMPERIAL OIL LIMITED

By -----

(Address)

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA

No. 58

OTTAWA, June 7, 1944

SIR,

In acknowledging receipt of your Note No. 156 of June 7, 1944, I have the honour to inform you that the Government of Canada, having given consideration to the desire of the Government of the United States to withdraw from activities in the Northwest Territories having to do with the discovery and development of oil fields, agrees to the proposals and understandings set forth in your Note.

I have [etc.]

W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Secretary of State for External Affairs.

The United States Ambassador,
*Embassy of the United States of America,
Ottawa, Canada.*

Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences

Costa Rica

The Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State, by a letter of August 17, 1944, of the deposit with the Pan American Union on August 14, 1944 of the instrument of ratification by the Government of Costa Rica 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. The instrument of ratification is dated July 22, 1944.

Commercial "Modus Vivendi", Venezuela and Haiti

The American Embassy at Caracas transmitted to the Department, by a despatch of August 3, 1944, a copy of an exchange of notes signed July 7 and 15, 1944 effecting an extension for one year from July 10, 1944 of the commercial *modus vivendi* between Venezuela and Haiti effected by an exchange of notes signed May 29 and July 10, 1943. The *modus vivendi* provides that each country will accord most-favored-nation treatment to goods originating in the other country. The text of the exchange of notes of July 7 and 15, 1944 is published in the Venezuelan *Gaceta Oficial* No. 21,469 of July 28, 1944.

Treaty of Peace and Friendship, Costa Rica and China

The American Embassy at San José transmitted to the Department, by a despatch of July 18, 1944, a copy of Decree No. 31 by which the Costa Rican Congress approved on June 14, 1944 a treaty of peace and friendship between Costa Rica and China signed at San José May 5, 1944. The decree was approved by the President of Costa Rica on June 15, 1944 and is published in the Costa Rican *La Gaceta* of July 14, 1944.

Regulations Relating to Migratory Birds and Game Mammals

On July 27, 1944 the President, under authority of the Migratory Bird Treaty Act of July 3, 1918 (40 Stat. 755), as amended by the act of June 20, 1936 (49 Stat. 1555), approved and proclaimed regulations, submitted to him by the Secretary of the Interior, for the enforcement of the convention between the United States and Great Britain for the protection of migratory birds signed August 16, 1916 (Treaty Series 628), and the convention between the United States and Mexico for the protection of migratory birds and game mammals signed February 7, 1936 (Treaty Series 912). These regulations replace the Migratory Bird Treaty Act regulations approved August 11, 1939 (54 Stat. 2615) and all amendments thereof, and are published in the *Federal Register* for August 15, 1944, page 9873.

Treaty of Amity, China and Mexico

The American Embassy at Chungking has informed the Department by telegram that on August 1, 1944 a treaty of amity between China and Mexico was signed at Mexico City.

Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic

Dominican Republic

The Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State, by a letter dated August 9, 1944, of the deposit with the Pan American Union on August 4, 1944 of the instrument of ratification by the Government of the Dominican Republic of the Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on December 15, 1943. The instrument of ratification is dated July 24, 1944.



PUBLICATIONS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 6, August 25, 1944, to Revision VII of March 23, 1944. Publication 2163. 74 pp. Free.

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Message from the President of the United States Transmitting the Sixteenth Report to Congress on Lend-Lease

Operations, for the Period Ended June 30, 1944. (H. Doc. 674, 78th Cong., 2d sess.) 88 pp.

International Organization for the Maintenance of Peace and Security: Remarks of the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States of America, and remarks of Sir Alexander Cadogan, Leader of the United Kingdom Delegation, and the remarks of His Excellency, Ambassador Andrei A. Gromyko, Leader of the Soviet Delegation, at the opening of the informal conversations on the general nature of an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security, Washington, D. C., August 21, 1944. (S. Doc. 231, 78th Cong., 2d sess.) 7 pp.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

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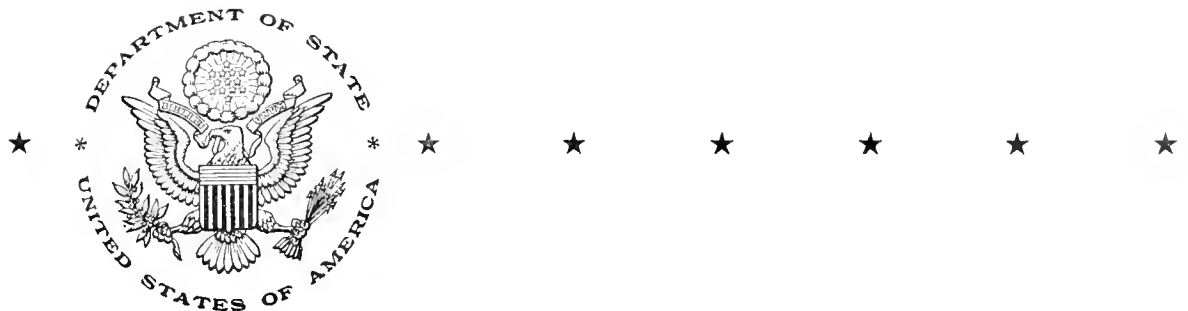
SEPTEMBER 3, 1944

In this issue

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY ORGANIZATION ☆

THE TWENTY-SIXTH INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

By Otis E. Mulliken ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆



BULLETIN

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September 3, 1944

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Information, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest is included.

Publications of the Department, cumulative lists of which are published at the end of each quarter, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

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International Peace and Security Organization

STATEMENT BY THE HEADS OF THE AMERICAN, BRITISH, AND SOVIET DELEGATIONS

[Released to the press by the State Department on the Washington Conversations August 29]

After a week of discussion the three heads of delegations are happy to announce that there is general agreement among them to recommend that the proposed international organization for peace and security should provide for:

1. An assembly composed of representatives of all peace-loving nations based on the principle of sovereign equality.
2. A council composed of a smaller number of members in which the principal states will be joined by a number of other states to be elected periodically.
3. Effective means for the peaceful settlement of disputes, including an international court of justice for the adjudication of justiciable ques-

STATEMENT BY THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE¹

[Released to the press August 29]

There has been some misunderstanding about the reasons for reticence in regard to our joint discussions at Dumbarton Oaks concerning an international organization to prevent war and secure peace.

The preliminary discussions which are now taking place there are exploratory and designed to reach a common understanding. Embarrassment would ensue to the conferring Governments if piecemeal reports of expressions of views advanced from day to day were construed as representing unalterable positions or as having a binding effect. I am sure that anyone who gives the subject careful consideration will understand this:

It has always been recognized, throughout the whole history of the United States, that an expression of opinions in confidence is an indispensable prerequisite to successful procedure in the

¹Made at the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks, Aug. 29, 1944. Mr. Stettinius is chairman of the American delegation.

tions, and also the application of such other means as may be necessary for maintenance of peace and security.

The delegations are continuing to discuss the structure and jurisdiction of the various organs and methods of procedure. These topics require a great deal of consideration, and a number of proposals are now being submitted to examination. Different proposals from the different countries do not necessarily indicate disagreement or conflicting points of view but stem from varied approaches to the common objective. After our work has advanced to a stage at which our fully considered recommendations have been formulated and our conclusions have been presented, our respective Governments will decide the appropriate moment for publication.

preliminary work involved in reaching agreements.

From the time of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 right down to the present, private discussions have always preceded public announcements.

In our national political conventions the committees hold public hearings but they go into executive sessions to draft the platforms of the parties.

In the halls of the Congress matters are referred to committees which hold public hearings and obtain the views of various elements, but the committees then go into executive session and draft documents which are submitted to the appropriate houses of Congress. Such is the practice of the Foreign Relations Committee, of the Foreign Affairs Committee, of the Appropriations Committees, of the Ways and Means Committee, and of all the committees of each house of Congress.

The object of this procedure is to obtain a calm exchange of views as a contributing factor

to eventual agreement expressive of the ideas upon which those responsible have been able to formulate a concurrence.

The conversations at Dumbarton Oaks are no different in this respect from any other conference except that in this instance it is a matter of international as well as of domestic concern.

The representatives of the other agencies of our Government invested by the Constitution with authority over these matters have been and are being consulted and kept thoroughly informed of developments.

It has been agreed that the heads of the three delegations will join in issuing statements which will carry information about the progress of the discussions. These statements will necessarily be general in form. To go beyond this and describe the discussions in detail would be not only discourteous but improper in view of the fact that the representatives of other governments represented at the Conference must enjoy the opportunity to consult their own governments before "meetings of minds" can be arrived at.

It needs to be kept in mind that there remain to be held the impending conversations with the Chinese. It should be obvious that, toward giving full consideration to all suggestions which may be advanced by the several Governments engaged at this stage in the formulating of common proposals, the participants in the present conversations should continue to maintain open minds as regards a common progress until opportunity has developed to discuss with the Chinese delegation the approach of their Government to the subject and to bring the views of all the delegations into a common alignment.

Before any binding commitments are made there will be full opportunity for public discussion. As Secretary of State Cordell Hull said so well at the opening of the conversations:

"It is the intention of the Government of the United States that after similar consultations with the Government of China the conclusions reached will be communicated to the governments of all the United Nations and of other peace-loving nations.

"It is our further thought that as soon as practicable these conclusions will be made available to the peoples of our countries and of all countries for public study and debate."

MEETINGS

[Released to the press by the State Department on the Washington Conversations August 28]

August 28 was devoted to a meeting of the Steering Committee.

On August 29, at 10:30 a.m., the chairmen of the three groups received the press at Dumbarton Oaks.

A Common Policy For Peace and Security

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press August 29]

A correspondent requested the Secretary of State to elaborate upon the joint statement which the Secretary and Mr. Dulles issued on August 25.¹ In reply Secretary Hull said:

"My discussions with Mr. Dulles last week were confined to the single question of a common policy to the effect that the problem of the establishment of an international peace and security organization must be kept out of politics. Each of us in the joint statement of August 25 supports this position. I consider that this is a real gain in the movement for a post-war peace and security organization."

W. W. Kintner Returns From China

[Released to the press August 29]

Mr. W. W. Kintner of Canton, Ohio, has just returned from China, where he served during the past year with the Chinese Government as a machine-shop specialist under the cultural-relations program of the Department of State.

Mr. Kintner's major work in China was connected with the four plants of the National Resources Commission: the Central Machine Works, the largest of the four; the Chemical Metallurgical Works; the Ipin Machine Works; and the Kansu Machine Works.

¹ BULLETIN of Aug. 27, 1944, p. 206.

Relief Supplies for Allied Nationals Interned in the Far East

[Released to the press September 1]

On June 6, 1944, by press release 214, the Department of State announced that a communication had been received from the Japanese Government, through Swiss Government channels, in regard to the onward movement by a Japanese ship of relief supplies which were forwarded to Vladivostok last fall and subsequent shipments of relief supplies via Soviet territory intended for American and other Allied nationals interned in the Far East.¹ As stated in that announcement, it was necessary to consult the Soviet Government in the matter. That Government kindly expressed its willingness to cooperate, naming a Soviet Pacific port adjacent to Vladivostok where the relief supplies already on Soviet territory might be picked up by a Japanese ship and naming an alternative port where subsequent shipments might be transhipped. The Soviet Government suggested also the possibility of forwarding subsequent shipments by an overland rail route to Japan.

Upon being informed of the foregoing proposal the Japanese Government indicated its general willingness to send a ship to the port adjacent to Vladivostok named by the Soviet Government, but the Japanese Government's response imposed certain additional conditions which had to be met before it would be willing to dispatch a ship for this purpose. Certain of those conditions were of concern to the Soviet Government, and accordingly the Japanese Government's response was promptly forwarded to the Soviet Government for its urgent consideration. In reply the Soviet Government stated that it had communicated directly to the Japanese Government the former's willingness generally to meet the additional conditions, and the Government of the United States has informed the Japanese Government through the Swiss Government of its willingness to meet those conditions laid down by the Japanese Government to which the sole assent of the United States was required.

As the matter now stands, the Soviet Government has granted permission for a Japanese ship to enter a Soviet port to take on the supplies now

on Soviet territory awaiting distribution to American and other Allied prisoners of war and civilian internees held by Japan. The Japanese ship will be accorded safe-conduct by the Soviet Government within Soviet waters and by the Allied military authorities outside those waters. The United States Government has agreed to pay all costs connected with the transportation of these supplies to Japan and has confirmed to the Japanese Government the willingness of the United States fully to reciprocate in regard to the transportation and distribution of relief supplies sent by Japan for Japanese nationals in United States custody.

As regards subsequent shipments of relief supplies, the Soviet Government has again suggested to the Japanese Government that shipments be sent overland to Japan if the Japanese Government continues to refuse to utilize the port named by the Soviet Government for this purpose. The United States Government for its part has urged the Japanese Government to use this means by which we can make regular and continuous shipments of supplemental foodstuffs, medicines, and clothing for American and other Allied nationals in Japan and Japanese-occupied territories. It is hoped that as a result of these developments supplies that have been so long awaiting onward shipment from Soviet territory will soon reach those for whom they are intended.

German Atrocities in Poland

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press August 30]

The Polish Government has communicated to this Government details of the unprecedented brutality with which the Germans are acting against the unarmed and helpless civilian population of Warsaw. This communication states that without regard for age or sex, tens of thousands of innocent men, women, and children are being herded into concentration camps where, under appalling conditions of want, they are being tortured and left to die.

We have repeatedly warned the Germans of the certain consequences of inhuman acts of this character. Those guilty of the present outrages against the civilian population of Warsaw will not escape the justice they deserve.

¹ BULLETIN of June 10, 1944, p. 536.

The Twenty-Sixth International Labor Conference

By OTIS E. MULLIKEN¹

The International Labor Organization held its twenty-sixth Conference in Phila-

delphia from April 20 to May 12, 1944. Enough time has now elapsed to attempt a descriptive appraisal of the accomplishments of the Conference, as the issues have settled into their proper perspective and the concrete achievements in the form of recommendations and resolutions are now enrolled on the official records of the Conference.

The Conference was attended by delegates from 41 member countries² and by official observers from Iceland, Nicaragua, and Paraguay. Twenty-five countries sent complete delegations: two government delegates, one worker, and one employer delegate. Eleven countries sent only government delegates, and two delegations included a worker delegate but no employer delegate. There were 360 members of delegations, including 131 government advisers, 54 workers' advisers, and 43 employers' advisers.

The Secretary of Labor, Miss Frances Perkins, and Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, headed the United States Government delegation. Congresswoman Margaret Chase Smith was one

A Conference that set forth a platform of human rights and laid the groundwork of the I.L.O. in the social and economic reconstruction of the post-war world.

of the Government advisers. Mr. Robert J. Watt, international representative of the

American Federation of Labor, represented workers, and Mr. Henry I. Harriman, former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, the employers.

Considering the scope of the agenda,³ the seriousness of the problems involved, and the relatively limited time at the disposal of the delegates, the volume and the quality of work accomplished were impressive. At the same time the Conference displayed measured judgment in not attempting to cope with some of the more complex and controversial matters suggested by the agenda, which in most instances after debate were referred to the Governing Body for further examination and action.

The Conference adopted unanimously a new declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the I.L.O.; it also adopted 7 recommendations and passed 23 resolutions. These actions arose under the five items on the agenda which have been described in an earlier article.⁴ It is obviously not possible to describe adequately all of these actions in a single article. Attention will consequently be focused on those phases of the Conference activities which are of international rather than of domestic interest: the action taken with reference to the future policy, program, and status of the I.L.O. (item I on the agenda); and recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy (item II on the agenda). Only passing reference will be made to the action taken on items III, IV, and V: employment, social security, and social policy in dependent territories. A few observations will be offered on the position taken by the United States delegation to the Conference and on what appears to be the official attitude of this Government toward the I.L.O.

¹ Mr. Mulliken, Chief of the Division of Labor Relations, Office of Economic Affairs, Department of State, was an adviser to the American delegation at the Conference. For other articles by Mr. Mulliken see BULLETIN of Mar. 18, 1944, p. 257, and Apr. 8, 1944, p. 316.

² The member countries cited include the following nations: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Haiti, India, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Peru, Poland, Union of South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

³ BULLETIN of Apr. 8, 1944, p. 316.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Future Policy, Program, and Status of the I.L.O.

The Conference adopted unanimously a new declaration of aims and purposes which modernized the statement formulated in 1919.¹ The Office had suggested a new declaration which, after being referred to a drafting committee, was with very few changes accepted by the Conference. The original draft was quoted in full in an earlier article, and, since the drafting changes made were not significant, the comments in that article remain relevant. The new declaration, variously known as the "Philadelphia Charter" or the "Declaration of Philadelphia", stands as the platform of principles, aims, and responsibilities of the I.L.O. in the post-war world and as such merits examination by everyone interested in international social progress. As President Roosevelt stated in addressing the Conference delegates at the White House:

"You have affirmed the right of all human beings to material well-being and spiritual development under conditions of freedom and dignity and under conditions of economic security and opportunity. The attainment of those conditions must constitute a central aim of national and international policy . . . Your Declaration sums up the aspirations of an epoch which has known two world wars. I confidently believe that future generations will look back upon it as a landmark in world thinking. I am glad to have this opportunity of endorsing its specific terms on behalf of the United States."²

Both item I and item II of the agenda raised serious problems for the Conference. Item I posed the questions of changes in the procedures of the I.L.O., problems of financing the Organization, and the relations of the I.L.O. to other international organizations. Item II raised the whole question of the appropriateness of making recommendations to the United Nations on present and post-war social policy and of what those recommendations might be. The Conference decided that it would consider these matters in plenary sessions rather than refer them directly to committees. It was only after three days of discussion in plenary session that they were referred to a committee.

With regard to constitutional questions, the Conference, although recognizing the importance of some of the problems involved and the need for

prompt action, nevertheless concluded that in view of the uncertainties then attending plans for general international organization, it could not take definitive action. Consequently it adopted a resolution referring some of the more important problems to the Governing Body.

The Conference in that resolution requested the Governing Body to appoint a committee to consider the future constitutional development of the Organization and to consider particularly the following matters:

1. The relationship of the Organization to other international bodies.
2. The constitutional practice of the Organization and its clarification and codification.
3. The status, immunities, and other facilities to be accorded to the Organization by governments as necessary to the efficient discharge of the responsibilities of the Organization.
4. The methods of financing the Organization.

The Governing Body is requested to bring to the attention of the next Conference such matters relating to those subjects as appear to require action by the Conference.

The Conference requested the Governing Body also to appoint representatives with power to negotiate, if necessary, prior to the next general session of the Conference, with international authorities on behalf of the Organization concerning any constitutional questions which at any time may require action including the matters listed above.

In its meeting immediately after the Conference the Governing Body appointed a negotiating committee of nine members, who with nine other members comprise the committee to consider the constitutional questions. The Government, employer, and worker representatives of the United States on the Governing Body were made members of those committees.

The resolution also provided that the Governing Body should take appropriate steps to assure close collaboration and full exchange of information between the I.L.O. and any other public international organizations which now exist or may be established for the promotion of economic and

¹ BULLETIN of May 20, 1944, p. 482, and June 3, 1944, p. 514.

² BULLETIN of May 20, 1944, p. 481.

social well-being. In furtherance of that objective it may instruct the Director to arrange with such organizations on conditions mutually agreeable for the exchange of information, views, reports, studies, and other documents regarding policies and measures of mutual interest and concern at appropriate stages in their formulation and execution; for the exchange of representatives without vote at meetings convened by the I.L.O. and such other organizations; and for the creation of such joint committees as may facilitate their effective cooperation.

The Conference faced realistically the situation existing at the time it convened. Although it took no conclusive action on these problems, it laid the groundwork for the development of full cooperative relations with other international organizations.

The following statement was made by Walter Nash, President of the Twenty-sixth Session of the I.L.O. Conference:

"Let us not deceive ourselves as to the difficulties which lie ahead. Serious men and women will see these difficulties, will determine to overcome them, will devote to this task all the goodwill, the energy, the skill, imagination and inventive genius at their command.

"There will be times when the problems seem insoluble, when the difficulties are such that it seems as though we won't be able to overcome them. There were times during this Conference when the prospects of reaching general agreement on the road that should be followed seemed most remote. Yet, there is scarcely a major issue that has been discussed in committees, in plenary session, in group meetings, on which we have not in due course reached an accepted basis of agreement. Differences there may have been as to procedure, but as to basic principles, I know of no issue on which this Conference has found itself impossibly divided."¹

Two other tasks which had been suggested to the Conference in connection with the future policy and program of the I.L.O. consisted of developing machinery to deal with the problems related to a given industry and providing for further regionalization of the Office and the Organization. The Conference requested the Governing Body to take effective steps as promptly as possible to deal with problems common to a region or to a particular industry and to report to the next Conference the steps taken and plans made. In a separate resolution the Conference expressed the view that the Office should set up industrial sections and that the Governing Body should elaborate regulations governing the activities of industrial committees.

Two further resolutions were adopted relating to regional activity: The first recommended that an Asiatic regional conference be held at as early a date as possible and that the question of the organization of social security be included on the agenda of the conference; the second invited the Governing Body to examine the possibility of convening at an early date a regional conference of the countries of the Near and Middle East to consider specific problems of that region. The Acting Director, in his reply to the discussion on his report, stated that a regional I.L.O. conference in Europe might be necessary and that whenever resources and transport facilities made it possible a third regional conference of the American countries would be held.

Recommendations to the United Nations

As has already been indicated, there was considerable discussion of the action to be taken under this item of the agenda. The absence of the Soviet Union from the Conference and the presence of some neutral countries created certain problems. The Conference finally adopted two principal resolutions under this item of the agenda.

The first was a resolution concerning social provisions in the peace settlement. It contained a draft of principles which the Conference believed was appropriate for inclusion in a general or special treaty or agreement between nations desirous of giving early effect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and article VII of the mutual-aid agreement. Since this resolution, adopted unanimously by representatives of gov-

¹International Labour Conference (26th sess., Philadelphia), *Provisional Record*, No. 36, May 12, 1944, p. 276.

ernments, workers, and employers, may be taken as a well-considered view of the social provisions which might be incorporated in peace settlements it will be described in some detail.

After reaffirming the declaration of aims and purposes of the I. L. O. adopted at Philadelphia, it next declared that each government recognizes its duty to maintain a high level of employment and that accordingly all arrangements for international economic cooperation should be framed and administered to serve the objectives of that declaration. Those arrangements should be directed to the expansion of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods, and to the liberation of economic activity from unreasonable restrictions. Particular attention should be given to measures for promoting the reconstruction of economic life in countries whose economic and social life has been disrupted as the result of Axis aggression.

Certain matters of international concern which should be among the social objectives of international as well as national policy are listed. These include the opportunity for useful and regular employment to all persons who want to work at fair wages or return, and under reasonable conditions, with provision for protection of health against injury in all occupations; the raising of standards of living to provide adequate nutrition, housing, medical care, and education; the establishment of minimum standards of employment; the provision of child welfare; the provision of a regular flow of income to all those whose employment is interrupted by sickness or injury, by old age, or by lack of employment opportunity; the effective recognition of the right of freedom of association and of collective bargaining; and the provision of facilities for training and transfer of labor.

With respect to those matters the governments would, through appropriate international agencies, develop standards and statistical measures and maintain and exchange information among themselves, with the I.L.O., and with other international bodies. In addition, the I.L.O. would collect and exchange with governments statistical and other information on employment, wages, conditions of work, standards of living, and other related matters.

Finally under this proposed provision of a peace settlement, the governments would undertake to report to the I.L.O. on the status of legislation

The 1944 session of the International Labor Conference was the third Conference of the I.L.O. to meet in the United States. The first was in 1919; the second, in 1941. The 1941 Conference laid much of the groundwork for the twenty-sixth session described in this article. The continuity of the International Labor Conference explains much of the effectiveness of the 1944 session.

and administration on subjects covered by draft international conventions and recommendations.

The Conference also recommended that the United Nations should undertake to apply to any dependent territories for which responsibility is assumed the principle that all policies shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories and to the promotion of the desire on their part for social progress and to apply the provisions of certain conventions adopted by the I.L.O. In addition it recommended that the governments should report periodically to the Office, indicating the extent to which effect has been given to the Social Policy (Dependent Territories) Recommendation adopted by the 1944 Conference. The Office should be asked to appoint a representative on any committee entrusted with the task of watching over the application of the principle of international accountability.

The Conference also recommended that in any negotiations regarding the organization, control, and operation of merchant shipping and the making of international arrangements for the disposal of merchant shipping, the United Nations should consult with the competent bodies of the I.L.O. in regard to the possibility of including stipulations concerning standards of crew accommodations and other appropriate standards. Similarly, in making international arrangements concerning transport by air, land, and inland waterways, the United Nations should consider the problem of working and living conditions of persons employed and should consult the I.L.O. on those problems.

The Conference, in the belief that advantage should be taken of the exceptional opportunity of the peace negotiations to secure an advance in the acceptance of binding obligations respecting

conditions of labor, recommended that the United Nations should wherever appropriate include provisions for labor standards and that the Governing Body should appoint a consultative committee on labor provisions in the peace settlement.

Two sections of the resolution refer specifically to conferences on employment problems. It is recommended that the Governing Body, when in its opinion there is danger of a substantial fall in employment levels, should call a special conference of the I.L.O. for the purpose of recommending appropriate national or international remedial measures. In addition, the Conference recommended that a conference of governments be called at an early date in association with the Governing Body to consider an international agreement on domestic policies of employment and unemployment.

In the second resolution the Conference expressed its views on the economic policies necessary for the attainment of the social objectives which the I.L.O. advocates. The resolution was divided into two parts: international policy and national policy. In the first part, the creation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was welcomed, and the continuation of international arrangements for the control of essential commodities for such period as serious shortages exist was urged. The establishment of a permanent international organization on food and agriculture was recommended, as was the establishment of international machinery for maintaining exchange stability, for promoting the international movement of capital, and for coordinating commercial policy. In the second part, recommendations are made with respect to economic reconversion, reconstruction, and expansion.

*Employment, Social Security, and Social Policy
in Dependent Territories*

Under the agenda items referring to these subjects the Conference took the formal action of adopting seven recommendations. The member governments are required by the constitution of the I.L.O. (art. 19, sec. 5) to bring the recommendation before the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies for the enactment of legislation or other action. Since these recommendations are concerned with somewhat technical specialized problems, only their titles and a brief description will be given here.

No. 67. INCOME SECURITY RECOMMENDATION, 1944

The purpose of this recommendation is to suggest the guiding principles which the I. L. O. believes should underlie national systems of social insurance and social assistance.

No. 68. SOCIAL SECURITY (ARMED FORCES)
RECOMMENDATION, 1944

This recommendation suggests the various forms of assistance which should be made available to persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services and presents some of the principles which should guide that assistance. The suggested forms of assistance are mustering-out grants to persons discharged from the armed forces, unemployment insurance and assistance, pensions in case of invalidity, old age, or death, as well as sickness, and maternity and medical benefits.

No. 69. MEDICAL CARE RECOMMENDATION, 1944

This recommendation provides a comprehensive and systematic outline of those general principles of medical care which the Conference wished to recommend for adoption by the governments.

No. 70. SOCIAL POLICY IN DEPENDENT TERRITORIES
RECOMMENDATION, 1944

This recommendation is designed to promote the economic advancement and social progress of the peoples of dependent territories by stating the fundamental principles which should characterize social policy in such territories.

No. 71. EMPLOYMENT (TRANSITION FROM WAR TO
PEACE) RECOMMENDATION, 1944

The purpose of this recommendation is to promote full employment by outlining the measures for effective employment organization. Those include the collection of adequate information by governments, development of national programs of industrial demobilization and reconversion in cooperation with employers' and workers' organizations, the widest possible use of employment-service facilities by employers and workers, provision of public vocational-guidance facilities, formulation by governments of a positive policy in regard to the location of industry and a diversification of economic activity, provision of training, retraining, and rehabilitation programs, and the adoption of measures to stabilize employment in

those industries and occupations in which work is irregular.

No. 72. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE RECOMMENDATION,
1944

This recommendation is designed to encourage the creation and development of efficient employment services. It sets forth the responsibilities of employment services and related authorities in discharging the duty to assist in the best possible organization of industrial, agricultural, and other employment in national programs for the full use of productive resources.

No. 73. PUBLIC WORKS (NATIONAL PLANNING)
RECOMMENDATION, 1944

The purpose of this recommendation is to supplement the public-works recommendation adopted by the International Labor Conference in 1937 by drawing attention to the need of co-ordinating public and private enterprise in the transition from war to peace and by outlining a few basic principles essential to such coordination.

No attempt will be made to discuss the other subjects with which the Conference dealt, many of which resulted in the adoption of resolutions. The official text of all recommendations and resolutions is printed in the *Official Bulletin* of the International Labour Office, vol. XXVI, no. 1, June 1, 1944.

Attitude of the United States

It may be appropriate here to record the position that the United States delegation to the Conference took on the seven recommendations and to indicate the attitude of this Government toward the I.L.O. as expressed in statements by the President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Labor.

The United States Government delegates voted in favor of all the recommendations except the one on medical care (No. 69). Since this recommendation called for measures going far beyond present practice in the United States, the Government delegates felt it necessary to abstain from voting. The worker delegate voted in favor of all the recommendations; the employer delegate voted in favor of five but voted against No. 67 (Income Security) and No. 69 (Medical Care).

The President, in his message to the Conference, referred to the fact that Secretary Hull had already publicly announced that the United States

was working on plans for an international organization to maintain peace and had referred to necessary economic and cooperative arrangements. In that message the President made the following statements:

“ . . . Within the field of your activity the United Nations have no need to extemporize a new organization—the ways and means for obtaining this underwriting of a permanent peace are among the items on the agenda of your Conference. In your recommendations will lie the foundation of those agreements in the field of labor and social standards which must be part of any permanent international arrangement for a decent world. . . . As part of these plans and international arrangements, I see in the I.L.O. a permanent instrument of representative character for the formulation of international policy on matters directly affecting the welfare of labor and for international collaboration in this field.

“I see it as a body with the requisite authority to formulate and secure the adoption of those basic minimum standards that shall apply throughout the world to the conditions of employment. As part of these arrangements, also, I see in the I.L.O. an organization which shall serve the world for investigation and research, for discussion and debate. But more than that—it must be the agency for decision and for action on those economic and social matters related to the welfare of working people which are practical for industry and designed to enhance the opportunities for a good life for peoples the world over. It is to the I.L.O. that we shall look as the official international organization where ideas, experience and movements in the field of labor and social development may find practical and effective expression.”¹

The Secretary of State in his message to the Conference stated:

“ . . . We are fortunate indeed to have the machinery of a well-established and experienced organization to facilitate international collaboration in matters directly affecting the interests and problems of employers and workers.”²

The Secretary of Labor, who was chief of the United States delegation to the Conference, said in her principal speech to the Conference:³

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 22, 1944, p. 383.

² *Ibid.*, p. 384.

³ International Labour Conference (26th sess., Philadelphia), *Provisional Record*, No. 5, Apr. 24, 1944, p. 22.

The following meetings are now on the docket of the I.L.O.:

General Conference
 Maritime Conference
 American Regional Conference
 Asiatic Regional Conference
 Near and Middle East Conference
 European Regional Conference
 Technical Conference on Safety and Industrial Hygiene in Factories

"The experience and techniques which the I.L.O. has built up, the faith that is put in it by the people of so many lands, and, above all, its character as an organization in which representatives of workers and employers have established rights to participate, give it a strength which no newly created instrument could possibly equal. I take it, therefore, that all the nations gathered here, including the United States of America, intend in the future, as in the past, to place primary reliance on the procedures of the I.L.O. to develop and implement international labour standards. . . .

"The International Labour Organisation has been and will continue to be a powerful instrument for social progress. I am proud to have shared in its work in recent years. It is an instrument through which labour and employers have a direct and continuing voice in shaping world social economic development, and as such, it will grow in influence in the years of peace that lie ahead of us, and for which we pray today, as we affirm our part and our share in making that peace a socially just peace."

On May 29, 1944 the President sent a message to Congress transmitting the declaration of aims and purposes of the I.L.O. and the resolutions concerning social provisions in the peace settlement and economic policies for the attainment of social objectives, and on August 22, 1944 he transmitted the seven recommendations to the Congress. In his message he said:

" . . . As these recommendations were developed with a view to promoting the social security and economic advancement of the peoples of the world, our own included, I believe the Congress will find them valuable in its current consideration of problems of demobilization, reconversion of industry, employment, and social security."¹

The President stated also that at a later time he might have occasion to direct further attention to

specific provisions of these recommendations and to suggest what action by the Congress might be appropriate.

The position of the United States Government in favor of continuing the I.L.O. and of strengthening it by appropriate means for the discharge of its proper functions appears unequivocal.

Conclusion

Even many of the most loyal supporters of the I.L.O. viewed with concern the scope of the agenda for the twenty-sixth Conference. It placed before the Conference a tremendous task and a grave responsibility. There had been no regular Conference since 1939. Could the institutional machinery be shifted into high gear? Would the representatives of governments, employers, and workers from all parts of the world succeed in agreement upon a common program for the post-war years?

Whatever fears there may have been were soon allayed. The Conference was an outstanding success. First and foremost it revived the I.L.O. and laid the groundwork for its effective participation in the social and economic reconstruction of the post-war world. Its Declaration of Philadelphia set forth a platform of human rights; its recommendations on social security contained invaluable services for guiding the progressive advance of social security throughout the world. The recommendations and resolutions on employment problems, public works, and other economic programs offered for the guidance of the world detailed principles and plans. The recommendation on social policy in dependent territories combined the best of earlier conventions with the results of experience and study during the intervening years in an outline of policies and practices to improve the social and economic status of dependent peoples. The Conference set forth succinctly and clearly the social principles appropriate for inclusion in the peace settlements and the economic policies necessary for the achievement of the social objectives the I.L.O. has formulated. The President, in his statement to the delegates meeting with him at the White House after the Conference, summarized the achievements of the Conference when he said that they had laid out a program of mutual helpfulness which would inspire all those in this generation who want to build and maintain a just peace.

¹ H. Doc. 671, 78th Cong., p. jii.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

A Report on the Case of Tyler Kent

[Released to the press September 21]

The Department of State has taken note of recent inquiries and newspaper reports regarding the case of Tyler Kent, former employee of the American Embassy at London, and the Office of Foreign Service Administration has been instructed to review the matter thoroughly and prepare a comprehensive report. The text of the report follows:

Tyler Kent, American citizen, an employee of the American Foreign Service assigned to London, was tried and convicted under the Official Secrets Act (1911) of Great Britain before the Central Criminal Court at the Old Bailey, London, in October 1940. The charges against him were the obtaining and delivering to an agent of a foreign country (Germany) copies or abstracts of documents which might have been directly or indirectly useful to the enemy and which were, at the same time, prejudicial to the safety or interests of Great Britain. Incidental to the proceedings against him, it was brought out that he had violated the Larceny Act of 1916 of Great Britain by the theft of documents which were the property of the Government of the United States in the custody of the American Ambassador, London. The above-mentioned charges were found proven by a jury on the basis of evidence presented during the trial. Kent had worked through a confederate who was allegedly anti-Jewish and pro-Nazi.

The background of the case and the circumstances leading up to Kent's arrest and trial were as follows: Kent, at the age of 22, had entered the Foreign Service as a clerk, his first assignment having been to the American Embassy at Moscow. He was later transferred to the American Embassy, London, arriving there in October 1939. He was assigned to the code room as a code clerk, where his duties were to encode and decode telegrams. Before entering the Service he had attended Princeton University, the Sorbonne (Paris), the University of Madrid, and George Washington University. He had acquired several foreign languages, including Russian, French, German, and Italian.

On May 18, 1940 a representative of the London Police Headquarters at Scotland Yard called at

the Embassy to report that Kent had become the object of attention by Scotland Yard through his association with a group of persons suspected of conducting pro-German activities under the cloak of anti-Jewish propaganda. Prominent in this group was Anna Wolkoff, a naturalized British subject of Russian origin, the daughter of a former Admiral of the Imperial Russian Navy. Miss Wolkoff had resided in Great Britain since emigrating, with her father, from Russia following the Bolshevik revolution, had been hospitably received, and had made a considerable circle of friends among Londoners of standing, some of whom had assisted in setting up the Wolkoff family in a small business. After the outbreak of the present war, the British police had become interested in Miss Wolkoff's activities, believing that she was in sympathy with certain of Germany's objectives, that she and some of her associates were hostile to Britain's war effort, that she was involved in pro-German propaganda, that she had a channel of communication with Germany, and that she was making use of that channel of communication.

Kent had been observed by Scotland Yard as having been in frequent contact with Anna Wolkoff and in touch with others of a group known to her. Among other things, it had been noted that Kent and Miss Wolkoff were sharing an automobile and that Miss Wolkoff frequently drove this car, using gasoline allegedly supplied by Kent. Scotland Yard was now convinced that Anna Wolkoff was receiving confidential information from Kent and stated that she would be arrested on May 20. The police added that on the same day they considered it highly desirable to search the rooms occupied by Kent. In reply to an inquiry made by British authorities, Ambassador Kennedy with the approval of the Department, informed such authorities of the waiver by this Government of the privilege of diplomatic immunity. Scotland Yard thereupon indicated that a search warrant would be issued and that Kent's rooms would be searched on May 20, 1940.

The possibility that an employee of the Embassy, having access to the confidential codes, was

making improper use of the material entrusted to him in the course of his work was of the utmost concern to Ambassador Kennedy and to the Government of the United States. Preservation of the secrecy of this Government's means of communication with its establishments abroad is a matter of fundamental importance to the conduct of our foreign relations. In the circumstances described it was imperative that Ambassador Kennedy ascertain, and ascertain immediately, whether Kent was guilty of a violation of trust. There was every reason, in the interest of the American Government, for the waiving of diplomatic immunity and for allowing the British authorities (who alone had the means of obtaining the evidence) to proceed in an effort to prove or disprove their suspicions. In this connection it may be noted that it is well established in international law that the so-called immunity of an employee of a diplomatic mission from criminal or civil processes may be renounced or waived by the sending state at any time.

The search of Kent's room was conducted according to plan, an officer of the Embassy being present throughout. It revealed that Kent had in his possession copies of Embassy material totaling more than 1,500 individual papers. He also had two newly-made duplicate keys to the index bureau and the code room of the Embassy, these being unauthorized and in addition to the keys furnished him officially for his use as a code clerk. He explained that he had had these keys made so that in the event he should ever be transferred from code work to another section of the Embassy he would still have access to the code room. Also found in his possession were two photographic plates of Embassy documents believed to have been made by confederates for the purpose of endeavoring to transmit prints thereof to Germany, and certain printed propaganda material which was prejudicial to the British conduct of the war. The police also established that some of the papers found had been transmitted to an agent of a foreign power.

An examination of the documents found in his room indicated that Kent had begun classifying the material by subject, but this work was far from completed. They covered practically every subject on which the Embassy was carrying on correspondence with the Department of State. As may be supposed, they included copies of telegrams

embodying information collected by the Embassy which otherwise would not have been permitted to leave Great Britain without censorship. As may be likewise supposed, they contained information which would have been useful to Germany and which Great Britain would not have permitted to reach Germany. It is of interest to note, in this connection, that Kent had, during his service in London, written to the Chargé d'Affaires of the American Embassy in Berlin asking his assistance in arranging for his (Kent's) transfer to Berlin. When questioned as to what he would have done with the documents in his possession had he been transferred to Germany, Kent replied that he could not state what he would have done with them; he regarded the question as a hypothetical one.

Regardless of the purpose for which Kent had taken this material from the Embassy, he had done so without authorization, in violation of the most elementary principles governing the rules for the preservation of the secrecy of the Government's correspondence. By his own showing he had, while occupying a very special position of confidence within the Embassy, displayed a shocking disregard for every principle of decency and honor so far as his obligations toward the United States were concerned. The removal of so large a number of documents from the Embassy premises compromised the whole confidential communications system of the United States, bringing into question the security of the secret ciphers. It was obviously impossible to continue his services, and Kent was dismissed from the Government service as of May 20, 1940. Thereafter the question of diplomatic immunity naturally did not arise.

So far as the British police were concerned, the evidence found in Kent's room was such as to convince them of the necessity of detaining him at Brixton Prison pending investigation of the use he had made of the documents in his possession and the true implications of his connection with Anna Wolkoff. Ambassador Kennedy, with the consent of the Department of State, agreed to Kent's detention.

On May 28 a representative of Scotland Yard informed the Embassy that investigations were proceeding, that the case became progressively more complex, and that it could not be cleared up quickly. It was believed, however, that there would be a case for prosecution against Kent and Anna Wolkoff under the Official Secrets Act of the United Kingdom.

Kent's trial eventually commenced August 8, 1940 and was attended by the American Consul General. It was held *in camera* because of the harmful effects to British counter-espionage efforts which were to be anticipated if certain of the evidence became public. Prior to the trial the American Consul General in London had called upon Kent (July 31, 1940) at Brixton Prison. The Consul General informed him that he would be taken to court the following day and formally charged with offense under the Official Secrets Act of the United Kingdom, i.e., obtaining documents for a purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the United Kingdom which might be directly or indirectly useful to an enemy. The Consul General inquired whether Kent had a lawyer to represent him, to which Kent replied that he had not and that he had not given the matter any thought. The Consul General advised him that he should be represented by a lawyer and agreed to assist in getting in touch with a suitable solicitor. Kent was subsequently placed in touch with a lawyer, whom he engaged to represent him during the trial.

On October 28, 1940 the jury found Kent guilty of violating the Official Secrets Act. The sentence was postponed until completion of the trial of Anna Wolkoff. On November 7, 1940 Kent was sentenced to seven-years' penal servitude, and Anna Wolkoff was sentenced to ten years. Kent's attorneys applied for permission to appeal. On February 5, 1941 this application was rejected by a panel of judges which included the Lord Chief Justice.

In reviewing the Kent case it is important to bear in mind the circumstances surrounding it. At the time of Kent's arrest and trial Great Britain was at war and the United States was not. The case involved a group of people suspected of subversive activities. The evidence relating to individuals of the group was inextricably mixed, and the activities of no single suspect could be separated from the activities of the others. The interest of Great Britain in such a case, at a time when it was fighting for its existence, was therefore preeminent. Deep as was the concern of the Government of the United States over a betrayal of trust by one of its employees, it is hardly conceivable that it would have been justified in asking the Government of Great Britain to waive jurisdiction over an American citizen in the circumstances described. Kent was within

the jurisdiction of the British courts, and all the evidence, witnesses, et cetera, were available to the British courts. Moreover, it was, as has been mentioned, in the interest of the United States to have determined immediately on the spot, where the evidence was available, whether or not one of its employees in a position of trust was violating such trust. The question whether the United States will prefer additional charges against Kent will be decided after his release from imprisonment in Great Britain and he again comes under the jurisdiction of our courts.

Harry C. Hawkins Assigned to London as Economic Counselor

[Released to the press September 1]

The Department of State announced on September 1 that Mr. Harry C. Hawkins, Director, Office of Economic Affairs, whose nomination as an officer in the Foreign Service has been sent to the Senate, will be assigned to London as Economic Counselor of the Embassy there. Mr. Hawkins will assist Ambassador Winant in dealing with economic matters of a long-range character.

Mr. Bernard F. Haley, now Chief of the Commodities Division in the Office of Economic Affairs, will succeed Mr. Hawkins as Director of the Office.

Death of Owen W. Gaines

The Department of State has learned with regret of the death of Owen W. Gaines at his post at Nogales, Mexico, on August 28.

Mr. Gaines was born in Atlanta, Georgia, on December 7, 1897. He studied law and attended the Instituto Libre de Enseñanza at Madrid, Spain, in 1928 and 1929. He served in the United States Army from 1917 to 1919 and entered Government foreign service in 1924 as a clerk in the American Consulate at Nuevitas. Later he was vice consul at that post and also at Nassau, Corinto, Madrid, Oporto, and Bilbao. In 1935 he became a Foreign Service officer and served at Santiago de Cuba and at Ciudad Juárez. He was appointed consul at Nogales on October 15, 1942.

Consular Offices

The Department has been informed that the American Consulate at Ceuta, Spanish North Africa, was reopened on August 1, 1944; that the American Consulate at Curaçao, Netherlands West Indies, was raised to the rank of Consulate General on August 15, 1944; and that the American Consulate at Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, was established on August 17, 1944.

Declaration Concerning Polish Home Army

[Released to the press August 29]

The Government of the United States has consistently adhered to the view that all members of the armed forces of the countries at war with Germany which are engaged in active combat should be treated by the German military authorities in accordance with the laws and customs of war. It has come to the attention of this Government, however, that the soldiers of the Polish Home Army which is now engaged in active military operations against the common enemy are not being so treated by the German military authorities. The Government of the United States, therefore, declares:

1. The soldiers of the Polish Home Army, which is now mobilized, constitute a combat force operating against the Germans.
2. The soldiers of the Polish Home Army are instructed to conduct their military operations in accordance with rules of war, and in so doing they bear their arms openly against the enemy and are provided with a distinctive emblem or with Polish uniforms.
3. In these circumstances reprisals by the German military authorities against the soldiers of the Polish Home Army violate the rules of war by which Germany is bound. The United States Government, therefore, solemnly warns all Germans who take part in or are in any way responsible for such violations that they do so at their peril and will be held answerable for their crimes.

TREATY INFORMATION

Regulations Relating to Migratory Birds and Game Mammals

On August 25, 1944 the President, under authority of the Migratory Bird Treaty Act of July 3, 1918 (40 Stat. 755), as amended by the act of June 20, 1936 (49 Stat. 1555), approved and proclaimed amendments to the regulations approved by Proclamation 2616 of July 27, 1944 (*Federal Register*, August 15, 1944, page 9873), submitted to him by the Acting Secretary of the Interior, for the enforcement of the convention between the United States and Great Britain for the protection of migratory birds signed August 16, 1916 (Treaty Series 628), and the convention between the United States and Mexico for the protection of migratory birds and game mammals signed February 7, 1936 (Treaty Series 912).

The above-mentioned amendments are printed in the *Federal Register* of August 29, 1944, page 10441.

Double Taxation Convention With Canada

The White House announced in a press release of August 31, 1944 that on that date the President transmitted to the Senate, with a view to receiving the advice and consent of that body to ratification, a convention between the United States and Canada for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion in the case of estate taxes and succession duties. The convention was signed in Ottawa on June 8, 1944.

Renewal of Naval-Mission Agreement With Ecuador

There has been effected by an exchange of notes signed in Washington on July 27 and August 22, 1944, between the Ambassador of Ecuador in Washington and the Secretary of State, a renewal, for a period of two years, of an agreement providing for the assignment of a United States Naval Mission to Ecuador signed at Washington on December 12, 1940 (Executive Agreement Series 188; see also Executive Agreement Series 206). The renewal is effective from December 12, 1944.

Visit of the President-Elect Of Cuba

[Released to the press August 28]

His Excellency Señor Dr. Don Ramón Grau San Martín, President-elect of Cuba, arrived in Washington on Wednesday, August 30, where he was received by an official reception committee, with military honors. The President-elect was accompanied by the following persons: Dr. Guillermo Belt, Dr. Germán Alvarez Fuentes, Ramón Gran Alsina, Francisco Grau Alsina, Gustavo Moreno, and Mrs. Gustavo Moreno.

Death of George W. Norris

[Released to the press September 3]

Secretary Hull sent the following telegram to Mrs. George W. Norris on September 3:

"The passing of your illustrious husband brings a sadness and a sense of great loss to me and to his many old friends in public and private life. His outstanding leadership as a great statesman and as a champion of liberalism has contributed immeasurably to the well-being of the nation and will not be forgotten. He has a marvelous record of outstanding service to his credit.

"Mrs. Hull joins me in the expression of our sincerest sympathy in your bereavement."

THE DEPARTMENT

Secretariat of the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy

DEPARTMENTAL ORDER 1280¹

Purpose. There has been established an inter-departmental Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy to examine problems and developments affecting the economic foreign policy of the United States and to formulate recommendations in regard thereto for the consideration of the Secretary of State, and, in appropriate cases, of the President.² The Committee consists of members designated by the Department of State, the Department of the Treasury, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor, the United States Tariff Commission, and the Foreign Economic Administration, and such representatives of other departments and agencies as may from time to time be invited to participate on the Committee when matters of special interest to them are under consideration.

In establishing this Committee the President stated in his letter of April 5, 1944 to the Secretary of State as follows:

"It is my expectation that major interdepartmental committees concerned with foreign economic affairs including those established in the Department of State will be appropriately geared into this Committee."

1 Scope of the Secretariat of the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy. In order that the responsibility for integrating interdepartmental committees concerned with foreign economic affairs may be discharged as effectively as possible, the Secretariat of the Executive Committee, located in the Office of Economic Affairs of the Department of State, will serve not only that Committee but also its subcommittees and maintain liaison with other related economic committees.

Although the number of subcommittees of the Executive Committee may be expected to increase as the work of the Committee progresses, at present they consist of the following:

- Committee on Trade Barriers
- Committee on Private Monopolies and Cartels
- Committee on Commodity Agreements
- Committee on Inter-American Economic Development
- Committee on Stockpiling (proposed)
- Committee on Economic Reconstruction Policies (proposed)

¹ Dated and effective June 30, 1944.

² BULLETIN of June 3, 1944, p. 511.

Committee on Wartime Trade Controls
Committee on Wool

The related economic committees with which liaison is maintained are at the present time as follows:

Committee on Shipping
Committee on Aviation
Committee on Communications
Committee on Trade Agreements
Committee on Labor Standards and Social Security
Committee on Migration and Resettlement
Committee for Reciprocity Information
Inter-American Post-War Economic Policy Committee
Committee for the Acquisition of Economic Data
Advisory Committee on Coffee
Advisory Committee on Cocoa
Liberated Areas Committee.

2 *Functions of the Secretariat.* In carrying out its responsibilities, the Secretariat will have the following functions:

(a) To maintain centrally, for the convenience of Committee members and officers of various interested agencies of the Government, complete and up-to-date information concerning the activities, work, membership, and terms of reference of the Executive Committee, its subcommittees and related economic committees; to maintain complete and current files of the agenda, minutes, memoranda, reports, and documents of the Executive Committee and its subcommittees and, in appropriate cases, of related economic committees.

(b) To duplicate, number, distribute, and to maintain a record of distribution of, all papers of the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy and its subcommittees and to maintain a central supply of extra copies of such papers for the convenience of members.

(c) To follow closely the minutes, reports, and other documents of all subcommittees of the Executive Committee and in appropriate cases of related economic committees and to advise such committees regarding the organization and presentation of their reports to the Executive Committee and to work out in the light of the progress of the various committees a schedule of such reports.

(d) To provide for regular consultation between the secretaries of the Executive Committee, its subcommittees, and, as occasion warrants, of re-

lated economic committees with a view to noting any inconsistencies in terms of reference or duplication of work, any developments of conflicting views between committees and possible needs for studies in related fields; to bring such matters, if necessary, to the attention of the Executive Committee.

(e) To maintain in such other ways as may be appropriate liaison between the Executive Committee and other related economic committees with a view to bringing to their attention matters of mutual interest.

(f) To work with staff of various Government agencies in preparation of memoranda for the consideration of the Executive Committee.

(g) To maintain a written record of the proceedings of the Executive Committee and to handle correspondence concerning the Committee or arising from its proceedings.

(h) To keep the chairman or secretaries of subcommittees informed of actions of the Executive Committee relating to their work and of changes in membership of their committees or terms of reference and to initiate procedure for the organization of new subcommittees established by the Executive Committee.

(i) To anticipate in so far as may be possible and bring to the attention of the Executive Committee problems which may require policy determinations and, after consultation with the appropriate Committee members or officers of various interested agencies, to supply background information and analysis of issues involved in such problems, and submit for consideration of the Executive Committee proposals regarding procedure for dealing with such matters, including establishment of subcommittees, together with suggested terms of reference and membership.

(j) To bring to the attention of the various offices of the Department of State questions before the Executive Committee or its subcommittees which may be of interest to them and to obtain their views for the information of the Department's representatives thereon.

(k) To maintain liaison between the Executive Committee and such joint committees of the legislative and executive branches of the Government as may be established to consider questions of economic foreign policy.

3 *Relation of the Secretariat to other Offices and Divisions.* The Secretariat will work closely with

all Offices and Divisions of the Department which have a concern in the matters with which it is dealing. All Offices and Divisions are requested to bring to the attention of the Secretariat any matters involving foreign economic policy which should receive the consideration of the Executive Committee. The Executive Secretary will work with the Executive Secretaries of the Policy Committee and the Post-War Programs Committee of the Department of State in seeing that major policy matters which should be considered by those Committees are brought to their attention.

4 *Routing symbol.* The routing symbol of the Secretariat of the Executive Committee on Foreign Economic Policy shall be ECA.

CORDELL HULL

JUNE 30, 1944.

Assignment of Functions to the Division of Research and Publication

DEPARTMENTAL ORDER 1284¹

Purpose. The purpose of this order is to assign to the Division of Research and Publication certain responsibilities and functions incident to the publication of constitutional amendments, the ascertainment of Presidential electors, and the performance of related duties by the Secretary of State.

1 *Assignment of responsibilities to the Division of Research and Publication.* There are hereby assigned to the Division of Research and Publication the following responsibilities:

(a) The preparation of the certification of the Secretary of State to the adoption by the States

¹ Dated and effective Aug. 28, 1944.

of amendments to the Constitution and to the publication of such amendments as provided by R.S. 205; (5 U.S.C. 160); and

(b) The receipt, preservation, and transmittal by the Secretary of State of certificates of ascertainment of electors of the President and Vice President furnished him by the executive of each State and the receipt, obtention, preservation and disposition by the Secretary of State of the certificates of votes given by the electors for President and Vice President, as provided by the act of May 29, 1928, ch. 859, as amended (45 Stat. 946, 48 Stat. 879; 3 U.S.C. 7a, 11a, 11b, 11c).

2 *Previous order amended.* This order amends Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944, page 44, paragraph 2, by supplementing the description of functions of the Division of Research and Publication.

CORDELL HULL

AUGUST 28, 1944.

PUBLICATIONS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

State Department Aid to Cultural Exchange With China: By Willys R. Peck, Special Assistant in the Office of Public Information. Far Eastern Series 6. Publication 2159. 20 pp. 5c.

War Documents. Publication 2162. iv, 40 pp. 10¢.

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Recommendations Adopted by the International Labor Conference: Message from the President of the United States transmitting an authentic copy of the recommendations adopted by the International Labor Conference at its twenty-sixth session. [Both English and French texts]. (H. Doc. 671, 78th Cong., 2d sess.) v, 89 pp.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

VOL. XI, NO. 272

SEPTEMBER 10, 1944

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BULLETIN



September 10, 1944

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Information, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest is included.

Publications of the Department, cumulative lists of which are published at the end of each quarter, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

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Liberation of Brussels

Statement by THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press by the White House September 4]

Brussels, the capital of another freedom-loving people, has been delivered from four terrible years of tyranny—the second such period in a generation. The American people are filled with admiration for the imperturbable conduct of the Belgian people toward the hated invaders and their unwavering devotion to the ideals which they share with the people of the United States and the other United Nations.

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press September 4]

Twice in a generation Belgium and its capital have been forced to endure four long years of German military rule, a rule rendered less bearable this time by the subtler poison of the Nazi political police. But whatever the methods of the oppressor, the gallant Belgian people have never faltered in their devotion to the principles of freedom and democracy. The liberation of Brussels is not only a symbol of German defeat—it is a challenge to all peace-loving men to insure that never again shall the cities of the smaller nations resound to the tread of the aggressor's marching feet.

The Greek Resistance Groups

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE

At his press and radio news conference on September 4 the Secretary of State made the following statement on the recent enlargement of the Greek Government to include representatives of EAM resistance groups from Greece:¹

“As you know, this Government has followed the Greek situation with friendly interest and on previous occasions the President and I have ex-

pressed the earnest hope that the Greeks would be able to solve their political differences among themselves for the more effective prosecution of the struggle against our common enemy. It is therefore a source of satisfaction to the American Government and the American people to learn that the representatives of the resistance group inside Greece have now joined the Government in-exile. We are confident that this action will speed the now imminent liberation of the tried Greek people and facilitate the re-creation of Greece and the Greek political life in accordance with the freely expressed desires of the Greek people.”

¹The term “EAM” is frequently used loosely to include not only EAM (National Liberation Front) but also other organizations within occupied Greece such as ELAS (National Army of Liberation), PEEA (Political Committee of National Liberation), and KKE (Communist Party of Greece).

Suggested Curb on Cartels

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT
TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press by the White House September 8]

The President, under date of September 6, addressed the following letter to the Honorable Cordell Hull, Secretary of State:

"DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

"During the past half century the United States has developed a tradition in opposition to private monopolies. The Sherman and Clayton Acts have become as much a part of the American way of life as the due process clause of the Constitution. By protecting the consumer against monopoly these statutes guarantee him the benefits of competition.

"This policy goes hand in glove with the liberal principles of international trade for which you have stood through many years of public service. The trade-agreement program has as its objective the elimination of barriers to the free flow of trade in international commerce; the anti-trust statutes aim at the elimination of monopolistic restraints of trade in interstate and foreign commerce.

"Unfortunately, a number of foreign countries, particularly in continental Europe, do not possess such a tradition against cartels. On the contrary, cartels have received encouragement from some of these governments. Especially is this true with respect to Germany. Moreover, cartels were utilized by the Nazis as governmental instrumentalities to achieve political ends. The history of the use of the I. G. Farben trust by the Nazis reads like a detective story. The defeat of the Nazi armies will have to be followed by the eradication of these weapons of economic warfare. But more than the elimination of the political activities of German cartels will be required. Cartel practices which restrict the free flow of goods in foreign commerce will have to be curbed. With international trade involved this end can be achieved only through collaborative action by the United Nations.

"I hope that you will keep your eye on this whole subject of international cartels because we are approaching the time when discussions will almost certainly arise between us and other nations.

"Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT"

Political Advisers to General Eisenhower

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press September 5]

At his press and radio news conference on September 5 the Secretary of State was asked by a correspondent whether there was any comment he could make on published reports that Mr. Murphy and Mr. Reber were really State Department appointees rather than appointees of General Eisenhower. The correspondent said that, in other words, the implication had been given that General Eisenhower had had nothing to do with their appointments. The Secretary of State said in reply:

"It would seem that the names of Murphy and Reber are somewhat intriguing to those who would rather condemn than commend at any time. The State Department is pounced upon unmercifully by two or three editors because Robert Murphy received a recent appointment as Political Adviser to General Eisenhower for Germany alone and Samuel Reber as a Political Adviser to General Eisenhower in connection with the French civil situation.

"It is alleged that Mr. Reber was not appointed at the request of the military authorities, whereas the truth is that he was specifically suggested for this recent appointment by General Eisenhower's Chief of Staff. There is no more capable person in the Foreign Service than Samuel Reber. He is far above such small prejudices as are imputed to him.

"It is also alleged that the State Department alone was responsible for the recent appointment of Robert Murphy, whereas the truth is that his appointment met with the full approval of the President and the military authorities, as well as the Department of State.

"Again, Mr. Murphy is severely berated in the face of the fact that for the period in part for which he is criticized he received the Distinguished Service Medal for faithful and efficient service. Mr. Murphy, as a subordinate of General Eisenhower, supported him earnestly in connection with our experience with Darlan, which, according to reliable military authorities, saved the lives of some 16,000 Americans. Mr. Murphy was the leader in the movement that saved North Africa

from German occupation and kept Mediterranean bases out of German hands, thus paving the way for the American-North African expedition, and yet he is severely criticized by a few."

A Common Policy For Peace and Security

LETTERS EXCHANGED BETWEEN GOVERNOR DEWEY AND SECRETARY HULL

[Released to the press September 6]

Governor Thomas E. Dewey to the Secretary of State

"AUGUST 25, 1944.

"MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

"I am deeply gratified at the result of the discussions you have had with Mr. Dulles, my representative. They constitute a new attitude toward the problem of peace.

"Heretofore, war has been the only matter which has been lifted above partisanship during a presidential campaign. I recently said that if we are to have lasting peace, we must wage peace as we wage war.

"I feel that we are now making a beginning toward doing that and it is my hope that we shall have great success to that end.

"With assurances of my high esteem, I am,

"Sincerely yours,

"THOMAS E. DEWEY"

The Secretary of State to Governor Thomas E. Dewey

"SEPTEMBER 4, 1944.

"MY DEAR GOVERNOR DEWEY:

"You may be sure that I appreciate your letter of August 25 expressing gratification at the result of the conversations recently concluded here with Mr. Dulles.

"These conversations and your letter constitute a heartening manifestation of national unity on the problem of the establishment of an international peace and security organization. I am convinced that with unity, and only with unity, we can successfully carry forward this project which means so much to the people of this generation and to the people of generations to come.

"Sincerely yours,

"CORDELL HULL"

United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

AMERICAN DELEGATION TO THE SECOND SESSION OF THE COUNCIL

[Released to the press September 6]

The President has approved the designation of the following persons to represent the Government of the United States of America at the Second Session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which will convene in Montreal, Quebec, Canada, on September 15, 1944:

Member of the Council

Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State

Alternate Member

Rupert Emerson, Director, Liberated Areas Branch, Foreign Economic Administration (Committee on Supplies; Standing Technical Committee on Industrial Rehabilitation)

Alternates on Committees of the Council

Harold Glasser, Assistant Director, Division of Monetary Research, Treasury Department (Special Committee on Capacity to Pay for Supplies; Committee on Financial Control)

Abbot Low Moffat, Chief, Division of Southwest Pacific Affairs, and Adviser, Liberated Areas Division, Department of State (Committee for the Far East)

Herbert W. Parisius, Director, Office of Food Programs, Foreign Economic Administration (Standing Technical Committee on Agriculture)

Thomas Parran, Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service (Standing Technical Committee on Health)

E. F. Penrose, Special Assistant to the American Ambassador, London (Committee for Europe)

George L. Warren, Adviser on Refugees and Displaced Persons, Department of State (Standing Technical Committee on Displaced Persons)

Mrs. Ellen S. Woodward, Member, Social Security Board (Standing Technical Committee on Welfare)

Adviser and Secretary General

Warren Kelchner, Chief, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

James H. Wright, Assistant to Director, Office of American Republics Affairs, Department of State

Press Relations Officer

Lincoln White, Department of State

Secretaries of the Delegation

Clarke L. Willard, Assistant Chief, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

Frederick E. Farnsworth, Foreign Service Officer, Consulate General of the United States at Montreal

A Historic Promise of Tolerance

Address by ASSISTANT SECRETARY BERLE¹

[Released to the press September 10]

This conference includes Americans of all races, all creeds, and all colors. Its object is to renew a great American pledge. That pledge is our historic promise of tolerance.

With it goes a pledge of something greater and more splendid tolerance: the pledge of friendship between men of different faiths and of different race.

By fulfilling this pledge we earn the right to call ourselves Americans.

We do this in the year of our Lord 1944; but the best of America has been doing it for more than 300 years. Most of us came to America, or are descended from men and women who came to America, because of prejudice or intolerance or race hatred or religious discrimination in other parts of the world. This has gone on throughout all American history. Refugees who were called Pilgrims came to Massachusetts so that they could worship in their own way, free from discrimination in Europe. Catholics, for the same reason, settled in Maryland, and Quakers in Pennsylvania. Decade after decade saw new and ever-greater groups arriving. In our own lifetime the great Jewish immigration which followed the anti-Semitic pogroms at Kishinev is an outstanding example.

Americans are proud to remember that these groups not only have achieved tolerance of each other's beliefs, but that they also have formed bonds of friendship which hold together the great and living organism that is the United States.

This is a great achievement in statecraft and in morals. The finest tributes to it have been the attacks made on that structure by our enemies. An America united in friendship and mutual respect is invincible. Knowing this, the Nazi high command planned and tried to carry out a campaign to break up this great union; to split faith from faith; to set race against race; to Balkanize this country.

Their plan was crafty, and, like all Nazi plans, was aimed to capitalize on whatever evil instinct could be roused. Every document we have makes it clear that the spearhead of the attack was to be the creation of an anti-Semitic movement: to rouse hatred against Jews and, having done that, to create whatever other race hatreds they could stir up. Agents were trained in many methods of doing this; and they were placed in various parts of the world, including the United States, for that purpose. Some of them at least are now in jail, where they belong.

There is reason to believe that although the rousing of anti-Jewish prejudice was tops on the Nazi list of secret weapons, they planned other campaigns when time and opportunity permitted. America united was unconquerable; but if America could be divided into a huge series of minority groups each inflamed against the other, then the United States might be weakened or even rendered powerless. They little understood the spirit that is this country. They assumed that because certain great groups have Jewish names and are proud of them, and others Irish names and are proud of them, and others Italian names and are proud of them, and others Polish names and are proud of them, and that these and other groups remember their ancient culture—from this they believed that minorities could be created within our country as they have been created in various parts of Europe. They failed completely, save for a scattering handful of unbalanced people who count for nothing in our national life. How completely they failed is proved by the fact that a very great group of men of German ancestry with practical unanimity rejected this hateful doctrine. There is a man of that group who is proving it to them mile by mile and hour by hour; and his name is General Eisenhower.

We do not have, and God willing we will not have, minorities in the United States. We know only other Americans; and they are just as good as any other Americans, whatever their religion or their race. This is accomplished not merely by Government policy, great as that policy is—the policy

¹Delivered at the Inter-Faith Conference, New York City, Sept. 10, 1944.

of the Declaration of Independence and the guaranties of freedom and equality in the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights. It is accomplished by the day-to-day contacts and friendships which are the life of all of us. You cannot make tolerance and friendship by legislation or even by constitutions. You create it first in the minds and hearts of men and make it living and active in daily life.

That is why, properly, this subject is of concern to the churches of all faiths, such as those here represented. It is easy to talk about sweeping measures in Government and in international policy—measures intended to control somebody else. It is not always so easy for each of us to make rules for ourselves. Our churches can help us to do that; indeed it is due to the influence of our churches in an earlier century that we have this splendid structure of friendship and tolerance which has protected and saved our country in two successive World Wars.

If we had any doubt as to the soundness of American instinct on this point, we have only to look at the other side of the water. The Nazi structure was built on hatred; and progressively it carried that hatred to lengths so hideous that we now have the picture of an apparently insane people destroying themselves. You have read recently the reports of the German murder plants near Lublin in Poland; and you may have wondered whether such things could possibly be true. I am sorry to say that they are true—and more besides. For the information at hand seems to indicate that the hideous death plant at Lublin was merely one of several, operated by human butchers to accomplish the slaughter of millions of defenseless men, women, and children. Though they were primarily intended as instruments of anti-Jewish hatred, it would appear that other races likewise contributed victims to this nightmare in real life. And we also see the madness which created this horror steadily bringing retribution toward the fiends who conceived and executed it. At long last, and in terrible convulsion, the practice of hate destroys the hater. You are seeing the grim drama of terrible justice unrolling itself day by day. It is an awful lesson which no one can, and no one will, forget.

Happily, the sound human instincts do prevail. I have had the rare privilege of talking to airmen

who have had to bail out from broken planes and who have landed in almost all parts of the world. One who had landed in China not far from the Japanese lines was picked up, wounded, by a Chinese family and taken 800 miles to Chungking at the expense of the Chinese doctor who tended his wounds. Another fell in the mountain region of central Italy and was cared for by Italian peasants as tenderly as though he had been one of their own boys. Others have landed in different parts of Yugoslavia—controlled by Mikheilovitch and controlled by Tito. Still others came down in German-occupied France. In no case did anyone ask whether the boy in khaki was a Jew or a Gentile, a Catholic or a Protestant, a Nordic or a non-Aryan. In some cases, indeed, the boys came from racial stocks historically the enemies of the population where the parachute let them down. But in the vast majority of cases there was an immediate demonstration of friendship and kindness, even when showing kindness endangered the lives of the people who took care of our boys. We have had this happen all the way from the Solomon Islands to eastern Europe. We have had this same friendship from little people of every race and language and class. These rescued boys know that decent humanity knows no prejudices and that all men are created equal.

I am glad to pay this tribute to many people whose names we shall never know. Sometimes we can express our appreciation: we did find the Chinese doctor who rescued General Doolittle's flyer and arranged for him to complete his medical study in America on a Government scholarship. We have tried to find others where we could. But this is secondary to the main fact: we know that friendship brings friendship in return; and that those who love their neighbors find those same neighbors a mighty fortress of help in time of trouble.

This is good statesmanship. It is good government. It is good religion, Protestant or Catholic or Jewish. It is good Americanism.

On this great principle of common equality, conceived in toleration and friendship and denying race and religious prejudice and hatred, this country has been founded and has grown strong. Each of us is the keeper and protector of this common faith.

Twenty-Sixth International Labor Conference

REPORT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION¹

[Released to the press September 5]

The following report on the Philadelphia Conference of the International Labor Organization has been received by the Secretary of State from the Secretary of Labor, who was the Chairman of the American Delegation to the Conference.

COMPOSITION OF THE CONFERENCE

The Twenty-Sixth Conference of the International Labor Organization was held in Philadelphia from April 20 to May 12, 1944. Forty-four states in all took part, three as observers.² Twenty-eight nations sent fully tripartite delegations. Costa Rica was readmitted to membership.

The President of the United States and the Secretary of State, as officials of the host country, sent greetings to the Conference during its opening days. After the close of the Conference, delegates were invited to Mr. Roosevelt's study, where he congratulated them on the work they had done and, on behalf of the United States, endorsed the specific terms of the "Declaration of Philadelphia".

AGENDA ITEMS RELATING TO THE AIMS AND POLICIES OF THE I.L.O., AND OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The first two items of the agenda of the Conference were:³

- I. Future policy, program, and status of the International Labor Organization
- II. Recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy

The cautious language employed to designate these items of the agenda gives only a hint of their scope. How shall the activities of the I.L.O. be related to those of other international organizations now in existence or still to be created? Shall its work be expanded or contracted? Is the Constitution of the Organization an adequate instru-

ment for the great tasks of the future? What changes are to be considered? The second item addresses itself to the war against poverty. It seeks to make concrete the concept of absence of poverty.

After discussion in plenary session the Conference deemed this set of items to be closely interrelated, and its action was to adopt a series of resolutions and a declaration, which form a unified pattern. The elements of this pattern are:

1. The mitigation of poverty and unemployment is recognized as an important goal of the United Nations.
2. Wherever low levels of living exist locally they must be regarded as endangering prosperity and security everywhere.
3. The I.L.O., as the international instrument most concerned with the mitigation of unemployment and poverty, must be strengthened.
4. Human beings are not the creatures of fate; by taking thought and by making deliberate, humane, and moral choices of action they may themselves abolish poverty and fear of want.

The declaration and the most important resolutions adopted that make up this pattern are designated as follows in the record of the Conference:

1. Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the I.L.O. (also known as the "Declaration of Philadelphia" and the "Philadelphia Charter")⁴
2. Resolution concerning social provisions in the peace settlement⁵
3. Resolution concerning economic policies for the attainment of social objectives⁶
4. Resolution concerning constitutional practice
5. Resolution concerning social insurance in the peace settlement

The first of these, the so-called "Declaration of Philadelphia," restates the fundamental objectives of the I.L.O., reaffirms the basic principles of its Constitution, holds that the raising of labor standards should not be regarded as a negative process of correcting abuses but the positive one of abolishing poverty, and declares that the cen-

¹ Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor.

² See also *post*, p. 262.

³ BULLETIN of Apr., 8, 1944, p. 316.

⁴ BULLETIN of May 20, 1944, p. 482.

⁵ BULLETIN of June 3, 1944, p. 514.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 517.

tral aim of all governmental policies is the attainment of conditions under which all men everywhere may pursue "their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security, and equal opportunity." The remaining clauses of the Declaration define the specific responsibilities of the I.L.O. in contributing toward the achievement of the goals defined in the early clauses.

The Declaration of Philadelphia was adopted by acclamation, and the text differs little from that originally put forward by the International Labor Office. The other texts adopted under items I and II were, however, objects of much discussion. A question raised by an Australian governmental delegate was whether nations, in addition to recognizing their duties to maintain employment, should not also contract with each other to initiate and carry into execution domestic policies that will induce full employment. In support of this position that nations should contract with each other to maintain high levels of employment, it was argued that full employment in the United States and the United Kingdom was essential to the welfare of countries having, like Australia, "dependent economies."

Some workers' delegates objected to the Australian proposal because it implied governmental action solely in the realm of social and economic policy and a repudiation of the tripartite principle. The following paragraph in one of the resolutions was finally adopted:

"The Conference recommends to Governments that a Conference of representatives of the Governments of the United, Associated, and other Nations, willing to attend, be called at an early date, in association with the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, to consider an international agreement on domestic policies of employment and unemployment; and this Conference pledges the full cooperation and the assistance of the I.L.O. in calling such a conference on employment, and in helping to carry into effect appropriate decisions it might make."

Resolutions 2 and 5 designated above relate to the social provisions of the peace settlement. The former states that high levels of employment and the raising of standards of living are matters of international concern. It proposes that the peace settlement should be taken as an opportunity to

secure international agreement on certain minimum labor standards. Resolution 5, also related to the social terms of the peace settlement, seeks to protect those who have been brought into "Hitler's slave market". It proposes a method whereby social-insurance rights that would have been acquired by Axis nationals shall become the rights of those displaced persons who have been recruited to work for the Axis from occupied areas. Two committees, both to be selected by the Governing Body, are to carry out the policies embodied in the resolutions above. On the social-insurance committee, places are reserved for all states primarily affected.

The third resolution, on economic policies to attain social objectives, has a section on national policies and another on international policies. The national policies endorsed by the Conference recommend, among others, an orderly industrial demobilization, avoidance of inflationary or deflationary policies, discouragement of monopoly. On the international plane, UNRRA is endorsed, and the creation of other special technical international instruments is urged (e.g., food, monetary). The international movement of capital should be promoted; world trade should expand on a multilateral basis; orderly migration should be established.

To strengthen the I.L.O. and to permit it to develop the program entrusted to it, the I.L.O. adopted the fourth resolution identified above. By the terms of this resolution, the Organization will develop its specialized activities industry by industry and region by region. Of greater importance are the provisions relating to the I.L.O.'s relations with other international organizations, now in existence or to be created. The resolution instructs the Director and Governing Body to carry out certain functions that cannot now be performed by the League of Nations (official communication of documents to members and vice versa). The Governing Body is directed to appoint a committee with the power to consider the relationship of the Organization to other international bodies, desirable constitutional changes, and methods of financing the Organization. Immediately after the Conference the Governing Body selected this committee and, to permit the Organization to enlarge its activities, doubled the budget of the Office.

This last question, finance, merits further discussion. An important bond between the I.L.O.

and the League is the financial one, the League still being *de jure* the collector of contributions and the final budgetary arbiter. No action was taken at the Conference to alter this situation, though it may be noted that chapter 6 of the secretariat's report on the first item of the agenda intimates that the I.L.O. should adopt its own budget and collect its own contributions. An American employer and a French governmental delegate advocated the loosening of League ties in the Conference debates. Any proposal tantamount to revision of the I.L.O. Constitution is now impracticable both because of the cumbersomeness of the normal amendment procedure and still more because of the impossibility of intelligent revision until the future status of a new "general international organization" is determined.

Other adopted resolutions relating to items I and II were:

- Resolution concerning the action of federal states on conventions and recommendations
- Resolution concerning the international character of the responsibilities of the Director and staff
- Resolution concerning a regional conference of the countries of the Near and Middle East
- Resolution concerning industrial committees
- Resolution concerning the protection of transferred foreign workers, their organizations, and employers' organizations
- Resolution concerning the problems involved in labor provisions for internationally financed development works

The action of a subcommittee devoted to a subitem under item II deserves mention. The subcommittee was asked to make its recommendation on "Government and Administration of Germany and Other Totalitarian Countries in Europe by the United Nations". A British governmental delegate opened the debate by saying that the absence of the Soviet Union made inopportune the discussion of this matter. Others shared this view. A French governmental delegate suggested that this question be referred to the Governing Body, which, at a more appropriate time, might express its opinion. A representative of the United States Government supported this view, which was adopted by the Conference.

ITEMS RELATING TO TECHNICAL QUESTIONS

The three remaining items on the agenda were:

- III. The organization of employment in the transition from war to peace
- IV. Social security; principles, and problems arising out of the war
- V. Minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories

These three items may be grouped together because they were a continuation of the technical, pre-war work of the I.L.O. They differed from the two items discussed above in that action on them involved no novel questions of policy. They may be disposed of by listing the recommendations and resolutions adopted under each heading, though it should be noted that this year, for the first time, the United States took an important part in discussions related to dependent territories.

Organization of employment

- Recommendation on employment in the transition from war to peace
- Recommendation on the organization of the employment services
- Recommendation on the planning of public works
- Resolution concerning the application of previous decisions of the conference regarding the organization of employment
- Resolution concerning the exchange of information on the subject of public works

Social security

- Recommendation on income security
- Recommendation on social security for the armed forces
- Recommendation on medical care
- Resolution concerning a conference on social security in Asiatic countries
- Resolution concerning international administration to promote social security

Dependent territories

- Recommendation on social policy in dependent territories
- Resolution placing the question of social policy in dependent territories on the agenda of the next conference
- Resolution concerning the setting up of an advisory committee on standards of social policy in dependent territories

DECLARATION BY DELEGATIONS OF OCCUPIED COUNTRIES

A French governmental delegate stated before a plenary session of the Conference that for occupied and devastated countries the question of mere transition from a war economy to a peace economy is of less importance than the question of economic and social reconstruction. With other delegates from occupied countries, he placed before the Conference a declaration asserting that, during the period of reconstruction, occupied countries "are justified in counting upon the full collaboration of countries less impoverished than they". Their representatives are convinced "that the countries that have known neither occupation nor devastation will wish to give them priority in the supply of the essential consumption and capital goods required for their economic and social restoration".

In response to this declaration, Miss Perkins (delegate of the United States) introduced a resolution expressing the hope that the United Nations and other members of the Conference would promote in every way the social and economic recovery of devastated and occupied countries. This was unanimously adopted.

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEES

Nothing worthy of special note was done by the Selection Committee or the Committee on the Application of Conventions. In the Resolutions Committee, a resolution concerning action by federal states on conventions and recommendations was adopted providing that federal governments may transmit conventions and recommendations to constituent states for their separate action.

The work of the Credentials Committee is summarized in the table below. Its final report, accepted by the Conference, questioned no credentials, since all objections raised in the Committee had either been met by reasonable explanations or had been withdrawn.

OBJECTIONS WERE RAISED

<i>Concerning:</i>	<i>By:</i>
1. Indian workers' delegate and advisers (members of Indian Federation of Labor)	All India Trade Union Congress

Rival labor groups; Indian Government intends to recognize each group in alternating years; Conference accepts this explanation

<i>Concerning:</i>	<i>By:</i>
2. Yugoslav workers' delegate and advisers	Yugoslav Seamen's Union (London representative)
	London representative of Yugoslav Seamen's Union does not recognize Royal Yugoslav Government-in-exile; members of I.L.O. do, however; objection has no support
3. Yugoslav Government delegates	United South Slav Committee
	Members of I.L.O. recognize Royal Yugoslav Government-in-exile; objection has no support
4. Argentine workers' delegate and advisers	Secretary, workers' group, I.L.O. Conference
	Objection withdrawn by Secretary of workers' group
5. Greek workers' delegate and advisers	Panhellenic Federation of Maritime Trade Unions
	Credentials Committee unanimously agrees that, under prevailing circumstances of German repression, Greek Government could not have made choice by any better method

GOVERNING BODY ELECTION

This year the electoral colleges met. Their function is to select occupants for non-permanent governmental seats on the Governing Body of the Office and to name appropriate representatives of workers and employers. Changes were made, though the new Governing Body retains most of its former members. Peru and Greece were selected to fill vacancies created by the now-effective withdrawal of Spain and by a previous decision to include China as a permanent rather than non-permanent member. Several new regular members were selected to replace former worker and employer members who cannot now be reached in occupied Europe. The following list of members and delegates gives full details.

The election of the electoral college is valid for approximately a year or until the next general conference permits of an election. Thus, if applications for membership in the I.L.O. are received from non-member governments, consideration can be given to whatever wishes they may express concerning representation on the Governing Body.

PARTICIPATION IN CONFERENCE OF INTERNATIONAL
LABOR ORGANIZATION 1944

1. States represented by full tripartite delegations:

*United States of America	*Ecuador
*Argentina	*Egypt
*Australia	*France
*Belgium	*Greece
*Bolivia	*India
*Brazil	*Mexico
*British Empire	*Netherlands
*Canada	*New Zealand
*Chile	*Norway
*China	*Panama
*Cuba	*Peru
*Czechoslovakia	*Poland
*Dominican Republic	Sweden
	*Union of South Africa
	*Yugoslavia

2. States represented by incomplete delegations:

a. Employer absent

*Colombia	Costa Rica
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b. Employer and worker absent

Haiti	Turkey
Iraq	*Venezuela
*Luxembourg	

c. Local diplomatic representation only

Ethiopia	Liberia
*Iran	Switzerland
*Ireland	*Uruguay

3. Non-member states sending observers:

Iceland	Paraguay
Nicaragua	

4. Member states that attended neither the 1941 nor the 1944 conference:

Afghanistan	Finland
Albania	Hungary
Bulgaria	Latvia
**Denmark	Lithuania
Estonia	Portugal

*Participated in both the 1941 and 1944 conferences. Thailand participated in 1911 but not in 1944.

**In 1944 the Minister in the United States for the Danish people briefly addressed a plenary session of the Conference.

COMPOSITION OF GOVERNING BODY

1. Government seats

a. Permanent

United States of America	France
Belgium	Great Britain
Canada	India
China	Netherlands

b. Temporary

Brazil	Norway
Chile	Peru
Greece	Poland
Mexico	Yugoslavia

2. Workers' seats

Regular

Mr. Hallsworth (British Empire)
Mr. Watt (U. S. A.)
Mr. Andersson (Sweden)
Mr. Laurent (France)
Mr. Rens (Belgium)
Mr. Ch u Hsueh - fan (China)
Mr. Lombardo Toledano (Mexico)
Mr. Bengough (Canada)

Deputy

Mr. Crofts (Australia)
Mr. Oldenbroek (Netherlands)
Mr. Kosina (Czechoslovakia)
Mr. Ibañez (Chile)
Mr. Downes (Union of South Africa)
Mr. Adamczyk (Poland)
Mr. Mordahl (Norway)
Mr. Mehta (India)

3. Employers' seats

Regular

Col. Antoine (France)
Col. Chapa (Mexico)
Mr. Erulkar (India)
Sir John Forbes Watson (British Empire)
Mr. Gemmill (Union of South Africa)
Mr. Harriman (U. S. A.)
Mr. Joassart (Belgium)
Mr. Morawetz (Czechoslovakia)

Deputy

Mr. Li Ming (China)
Mr. Pahl (Norway)
Mr. Macdonnell (Canada)
Mr. Cowley Hernández (Cuba)
Mr. Falter (Poland)
Mr. Kulukuudis (Greece)
Mr. Waruing (Netherlands)
Mr. Bauats (Yugoslavia)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Consular Offices

The American Consulate at Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, was opened to the public on September 2, 1944.

On September 15, 1944, the American Vice Consulate at Adana, Turkey, will be raised to the rank of a Consulate.

Fifth Anniversary of the German Attack on Poland

[Released to the press September 4]

The texts of messages between the President of the United States and the President of the Republic of Poland on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the German attack on Poland follow:

The President of the United States to the President of the Republic of Poland

Five years ago on September first, Poland, the first nation to take up arms against our common enemy, rose to defend herself against a powerful and brutal aggressor. The indomitable people and soldiers of Poland, in spite of intolerable repression, have never slakened in that fight and today are still striking valiant and effective blows in the cause of liberty.

I wish to assure you, Mr. President, of the deep admiration and sympathy of the people of the United States for the heroic Polish people and to thank you for your telegram conveying expressions of faith and admiration for my country.

The President of the Republic of Poland to the President of the United States

On the fifth anniversary of the outbreak of this World War provoked by Germany's treacherous assault on Poland on September 1, 1939, I desire to convey to you, Mr. President, a message of friendship to the American nation and the expression of our admiration for its gigantic achievements and for the heroic part which American soldiers, sailors and airmen are so decisively playing in forging the coming victory.

Polish forces have been fighting for five years on land, on the seas and in the air and today in the streets of the martyred city of Warsaw. The Polish people are once more fighting openly sustained by the unshakable faith that the high ideals in defense of which the United Nations took up the challenge will find their full realization in a peace of freedom and justice and the respect of the inalienable rights of nations.

International Peace And Security Organization

MEETINGS

[Released to the press by the State Department on the Washington Conversations September 4]

The Steering Committee met on the morning of September 4. The Subcommittee on Security Organization met in the afternoon.

Declaration Concerning Czechoslovak Army

[Released to the press September 7]

The Czechoslovak Government in London on September 2, 1944 proclaimed all military forces fighting against the Germans in Czechoslovakia to be members of the regular Czechoslovak Army.

With reference to the operations of Czechoslovak forces in Europe, including the forces which have begun combat in Slovakia, the Government of the United States reiterates its view that all members of the armed forces of the countries at war with Germany which are engaged in active combat should be treated by the German military authorities in accordance with the laws and customs of war.

The United States Government therefore declares:

(1) The soldiers of the Czechoslovak Army, including those in Slovakia and other parts of Czechoslovakia, constitute a combat force operating against the Germans.

(2) The soldiers of the Czechoslovak Army are instructed to conduct their military operations in accordance with the rules of war and in so doing they bear arms openly against the enemy and are provided with Czechoslovak uniforms or a distinctive emblem.

(3) In these circumstances reprisals by the German military authorities against the soldiers of the Czechoslovak Army violate the rules of war by which Germany is bound. The United States Government, therefore, solemnly warns all Germans who take part in or are in any way responsible for such violations that they do so at their peril and will be held answerable for their crimes.

Food as a Facet in International Trade

By LEROY D. STINEBOWER¹

[Released to the press September 7]

I

Foodstuffs have more than once occupied a prominent place in discussion at critical turning points in the history of the commercial policies of nations. The repeal of the Corn Laws in England, Bismarck's famous "compact of iron and rye," and the Austro-Serbian "pig war," which played an important role in leading to real war in the Balkans, are only a few of the more striking instances out of many that could be cited. In this country the first step in the return to high protectionism following the last war was the Emergency Tariff Act of 1921, which dealt principally with agricultural products, and the tariff revision which became the Tariff Act of 1930 was initiated on behalf of, and was originally supposed to be confined to, the relief of agriculture.

But while *foodstuffs* and their producers have often been very much at the core of international trade policies, until recently there has been little public discussion of the relation of international trade to *food* and the people who have to eat it to live.

II

At the outset it will be useful to have in mind some rough quantitative characteristics of the place of foodstuffs in international trade. In the pre-war decade, 1929-1938, foodstuffs accounted for roughly one fourth of the value of all commodities moving in international trade, but with a tendency for the proportion to stand somewhat lower at the close of the period than at the beginning. The year-to-year fluctuations in this proportion were considerably greater than in the case of manufactured articles and somewhat less than for raw materials.

The international movement of commodities in this decade was, of course, greatly affected by the

fluctuations in the level of economic activity throughout the world and by a marked growth in the number, variety, and severity of restrictions on international trade and international payments. In addition the wide fluctuations in prices and in foreign-exchange rates make necessary a certain reserve with respect to summary generalizations about changes in value and volume of trade over the period. But with these reservations it is approximately true that by 1938 the value of all world trade in terms of current dollars had recovered from its depression low points to about two thirds its 1929 level, and its quantum (an approximation of volume) to a little less than 90 percent. Foodstuffs, like raw materials, had experienced much wider price fluctuations than had manufactured products. The quantum of foodstuffs was relatively more stable from year to year than that of the other major categories of commodities but even so fell by 18 percent and only recovered half of the loss and at the end of the period was still about one twelfth below the 1929 volume.

There was during the thirties a substantial shift in the composition of international trade, with raw materials gaining in relative volume as compared to foodstuffs and with foodstuffs declining relatively in value in comparison with both raw materials and manufactured articles.

It will be useful to bear in mind also that international trade in foodstuffs is a comparatively concentrated trade. Roughly two thirds of the total in 1938 was made up of three meats (beef, mutton, and pork), three cereals and flour (wheat, corn, and rice), butter, sugar, citrus fruits, vegetable fatty oils and oilseeds, coffee, tea, and tobacco. The mere enumeration of these commodities also serves to indicate the high degree of concentration of the exports of many of them in a few countries or areas.

But while the major foodstuff exports are highly concentrated in a few countries, production is not. Agriculture is not only the world's leading industry, it is also the one most widely distributed. Each country can and does produce a large part of its

¹ Paper presented before the Twentieth Institute of the Norman Wait Harris Foundation, University of Chicago, Sept. 7, 1944. Mr. Stinebower is an Adviser in the Office of Economic Affairs, Department of State.

own food supply and, except for some of the distinctive foodstuffs of the tropics, each country produces some part, usually substantial, of nearly every kind of food consumed. This would continue to be true in the absence of any trade restrictions. For most countries there tends naturally and without interference to be more self-sufficiency in food than in other broad categories of commodities. In part this flows from the fact that agriculture is an industry subject to conditions of increasing cost, in part because transportation costs over long distances would be prohibitive in relation to value, and in part because of the perishable nature of some of the foods. In part it is also because food production is often a by-product of other activities. For example, a dairy farm, a cotton plantation, or a coffee ranch usually produces a large part of its own food even though it may produce none for sale. Finally, food habits are more flexible and adaptable to locally available supplies than is true of most other items of consumption. In the United States the North eats white potatoes, the South, sweet potatoes; northern China eats millet and wheat, southern China, rice; Norwegians eat more fish than do Swedes; and Normandy drinks cider and apple brandy, while the rest of France drinks wine. The pattern of consumption in fuel, clothing, or even of gadgets is far less variable in terms of local resources.

There is an important corollary of this. Because the factors of food production are so widely distributed and can be combined in such a variety of proportions, each country can, at a cost, greatly increase the production of almost all important foods or of substitutes therefor. Under such circumstances the gains from international trade do not always seem apparent. It is self-evident to anyone that if there are no tin or copper deposits within a country, the only way to acquire these materials is by trade. Until a country has a steel industry, it can have railroads only by buying rails. It is even simple to understand that Honduras cannot support an automobile industry or that grapes cannot be commercially produced in Scotland. But in meat and wheat, sugar and butter, a stimulated increase in production will appear to be an addition to the national income, whether actually so or not, rather than a cost. The cost becomes apparent in daily experience, if at all, only when the process is

driven to extremes where the domestic price of the commodity begins to be several times what it could be imported for, or when the country's own export markets begin to dry up as a result of its restricted imports. Furthermore, once production has been increased by protection or by other price-supporting devices, it begins to be assumed that the entire output is dependent on such support for remunerative prices and that the alternative to these policies is not merely less production but no production at all.

There are no satisfactory figures on which to base any estimates, but as a rough guess the six billion dollars of foodstuffs and related products which entered international trade in 1938 would not appear to have exceeded, at most, 5 or 6 percent of the total volume of foods and feeds consumed in that year and may well have been much less. Even under much freer trade and with the most optimistic estimate of expanding and improved food consumption and levels of income in general, it would not appear likely that as much as 10 percent of the world's food would become an object of international trade. The smallness of this percentage is not, however, a measure of the significance of such trade. For small as it is, it is in large part a determinant of the standard of food consumption in many countries of the world. Within the framework of commercial policies affecting it, it determines whether the consumers of a given country must obtain their food from domestic sources, no matter how high the costs of production may be, or whether they may benefit by the lower-cost production of other countries. In the case of the bread grains, policies which drive the price to as much as three times world levels may not greatly reduce the consumption of bread; they may even increase it because it is still the cheapest food. But they do cause the consumer's food budget, which is inadequate in most of the world in any case, to be increasingly exhausted on these staples, leaving an even narrower margin or no margin at all for the more expensive protective foods. When the restrictive or other price-enhancing policies are applied to such items as butter, fruits, and meats, for which the demand is more elastic, the effect is a direct reduction in the consumption of these foods and a deterioration of the quality of diets as well as a reduction in international trade.

But the effects do not stop there, for these reductions in food imports induce an inability or unwillingness of the food-exporting countries to maintain their imports. The results are declining incomes for the consumers in both sets of countries and reduced levels of production and consumption in both.

Although stated abstractly, this is not based solely on theoretical analysis. It is in essence what happened to international trade in the inter-war period.

III

The first World War greatly disrupted and reduced European agriculture and even more greatly stimulated food production outside Europe, especially in North America, Argentina, and Australia. European agricultural recovery was not immediate, deficits in food supply continued, and the severe restrictions on trade which characterized the early post-war years were applied in general more against manufactured goods than against foodstuffs. Some export restrictions were even maintained on foodstuffs and raw materials. As a consequence world trade in the principal foodstuffs remained higher than it had been in 1914. By 1925, however, European wheat production and the animal population were roughly back to the pre-war level. In the same year, Italy instituted its "battle of grain" with the objective of freeing the country as far as possible from imports of foodstuffs, and Germany celebrated the recovery of its right, under the peace treaties, to impose customs duties by promptly applying high tariffs on food items. French duties on food products were increased in 1926 and 1927. From then on the rise in agricultural duties throughout most of Europe was steady, whereas duties on manufactures were on the whole being stabilized or even slightly reduced. England, Belgium, and the Netherlands alone remained significant exceptions to the trend. In the United States the first post-war tariff action was to raise duties on a considerable number of agricultural products in the Emergency Tariff Act of 1921. These rates were further increased in 1922 and 1930, and between these years the "flexible" tariff provision was used almost exclusively to increase duties on agricultural products. For the most part the American increases remained more or less ineffective since, with a few important exceptions, this country was on an export basis in the major protected items.

Beginning in about 1925, therefore, the balance which had existed between European and non-European agriculture was impaired and prices of foods in international markets began to decline. The decline was countered by higher duties still further aggravating the position of the exporters. As the depression developed and world prices continued to fall, nearly every country attempted to protect its own agriculture from the impact and even to expand its own production. European tariff rates continued to rise, even to three or four hundred percent of world prices and were supplemented by even more effective devices such as quotas, import licenses, mixing requirements, absolute prohibitions of imports, state monopolies, exchange controls, and exchange depreciation. Discrimination and trade diversion were superimposed on this restrictive picture through imperial and other preferences, differential tariff rates, multiple exchange rates, and clearing and payments agreements. Germany took advantage of the opportunity offered by agricultural depression to draw the countries of eastern and southern Europe into its economic orbit by paying high prices in their own currencies for their agricultural products, thus divorcing them from the world price level and rendering them almost wholly dependent on Germany as a market.

The food and raw-material exporting countries in turn increased restrictions on their imports, blocked payments for the goods they did import, depreciated their currencies, competitively subsidized their exports, adopted price or income supporting devices for their producers (in some cases with, in others without, restrictions on production), and entered into preferential or barter arrangements for limited outlets for their crops.

It would be wholly erroneous to infer that all these developments arose solely out of agricultural restrictions or that they were confined to agricultural products, or that the depression was predominantly an agricultural phenomenon. But so significant were they in the field of agriculture and so extensively were their effects felt in industrial and agricultural countries alike that by 1932 the Senate had called on the Department of Agriculture in this country and in 1934 the League of Nations had called on its Economic Committee for reports on the world situation in agricultural protectionism.

What recovery in trade did occur in the five years following 1933 was more in response to

general economic recovery than to any general relaxation of restrictions, in fact in many countries the restrictions increased. The sole major effort to reverse the trend was that embodied in the trade agreements concluded by this country. A large majority of the agreements of other countries, even when they did open up trade channels to some extent, were bilateral and discriminatory in character and, if in some instances they did stimulate trade along lines of greatest economic advantage, this result was largely fortuitous.

The principal conclusion that stands out in retrospect from this experience is that the measures taken with respect to agriculture and international trade in food products, Draconian as they were, did not even remotely achieve the results they sought. They did not bring agricultural prosperity and stability to the importing countries. Even less did they bring economic balance and stability in their economies as a whole. And some doubt may be felt today by the peoples of Europe themselves, as to whether the achievement of a considerable measure of food self-sufficiency for strategic reasons was worth the cost.

On the other hand, subsidies, two-price systems, import and production restrictions, and special measures to move surpluses through non-commercial channels, did not bring equilibrium in the trade relations of the exporting countries, nor did they prevent the growing accumulation of stocks in those countries. In varying degrees in different countries, these measures did, however, achieve one of their objectives; they did improve the money incomes of farmers as a group.

What these measures did produce was an intensification of maladjustment in the world pattern of agricultural production, depressed world prices for food staples which were not allowed to be passed on to consumers, the discouragement of consumption, and an intensification of governmental intervention in the processes of production and trade. The shifting of production away from efficient producers toward high-cost producers was twofold. First, in the importing countries the extremes to which governments had to go in order to sustain increased agricultural production furnish measures of the higher costs and competitive disadvantage of the producers whom they were trying to protect. Furthermore, what imports were permitted were more and more brought within the framework of preferential arrangements, clearing agreements, and other trade-di-

verting devices, the general effect of which was to shift production away from the more efficient foreign sources of supply to other foreign sources which could not have competed except with the aid of these special arrangements. Second, in the "surplus" countries there was little tendency for production to concentrate in the hands of the lower-cost producers. Both political and social considerations dictated that governmental measures to support incomes of producers should be applied with a more or less impartial hand, supporting high-cost and low-cost producers alike, and for the most part, when production was reduced, it was through a proportional reduction of the output of all.

The repercussions on consumption were also twofold. Protective measures, on the one hand, resulted in substantially increased prices which, as might be expected, were accompanied by a marked deterioration in the quality of consumption. The other effect on consumption was a result of the general diminution of purchasing power arising out of conditions of depression and restricted foreign markets. In addition, the burden of the higher prices was necessarily borne to a disproportionate extent by the lower-income groups, whose consumption was already inadequate.

Another effect of these measures was the development of the concept that there was a "surplus" of the major foodstuffs, at just the time that there was developing an increasing awareness of the nutritional inadequacies of a large part of the world's population, even in the countries of relatively high average incomes. The concept of agricultural surpluses is an ambiguous one. In the physical sense of extraordinarily large stocks, such surpluses did not come into being until there was governmental intervention to support prices above the world level in the principal exporting countries. Despite the mass of restrictions that were developing, the world did currently absorb substantially all that was produced. But the contracting markets in which these foods could be disposed of and the low elasticities of demand for them meant that they found outlets only at disastrously low prices, and in this sense the concept of surplus production arose even before physical stocks began accumulating and was of course the principal reason for those forms of intervention which resulted in the accumulation of stocks.

In the United States we have since 1934, by one device or another, maintained the incomes of pro-

ducers of our major food products, including those with respect of which we are on an export basis, at levels substantially above those which world prices would have yielded, and, except for the period when this was accomplished by means of the processing tax, we have done it by devices which maintain domestic prices, as well as producers' returns, well above world price levels. In spite of some success through trade agreements in regaining foreign markets for these products, and, in spite of substantial reductions in acreage devoted to some of them (but not necessarily in the amount produced), the higher American price has meant either that stocks have continued to accumulate or that they have been sold abroad at lower prices than they bring in this country.

IV

Now we are in another war and again European agriculture is gravely disrupted and non-European agriculture has been greatly expanded. We may feel with a certain weariness that this is where we came in and that we have seen the show. Unfortunately, however, we cannot now walk out. What we can attempt to do is to learn something from the inter-war period and endeavor not to see the same show again.

As compared with conditions at the end of the last war, the prospective situation at the close of this war promises to contain problems of even greater dimensions.

First. There will be the same general situation with respect to production: food deficits which may in a few years turn into "surpluses."

Second. There will be a greater need than before for Europe to maintain for at least one crop year the maximum possible output of energy foods which in the longer run it would be uneconomic for Europe to produce on so large a scale, with the resulting risk of perpetuation of such a production pattern. Both the Food Conference at Hot Springs and the Council of UNRRA at Atlantic City have recognized that freedom from hunger must take priority over more desirable nutritional and agricultural goals, and that, so long as a general shortage of food persists, every effort should be made to increase the production of foods for direct human consumption "even if this involves a departure from the use of the resources which in the long run will be required, and even if it delays a return to production pol-

icies which are desirable for technical, economic, or nutritional reasons."

Third. In the interest of the greatest possible mobilization of resources for the prosecution of the war, there has been a greater degree of government intervention in the processes of trade, especially international trade, in this war than in the last, with the prospect that general or localized scarcities may make the retention of at least some of these controls necessary and desirable for a time. Shortages of supply and shortages of shipping have led to the almost complete displacement of private trade and have substituted centralized control for the more ordinary processes of the market place. Practically all international purchases are now conducted on a bulk basis by official public agencies, and a large part of these purchases are made under intergovernmental contracts governing the entire output of supplying countries. Through the Combined Food Board, the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada virtually determine how the output not only of their own countries but of all other areas whose supplies are available to the United Nations shall be allocated between the armed forces and civilians and how civilian supplies shall be allocated among the consuming countries. Furthermore, the same agency allocates a large part of the areas of supply, as fields for exclusive purchasing activity by either the United States or the United Kingdom, and frequently helps decide the prices at which purchases shall be made. The procurement activities themselves are not carried on by the Board but by agencies of one or the other Governments.

These wartime economic controls, including direct participation on the part of government agencies in international trade, have been adopted solely as means of furthering the prosecution of the war and not as instruments of commercial policy. If they are not to become powerful instruments of commercial policy, it will be essential, however, that they be terminated as quickly as is compatible with the war effort or with the need for assuring equitable distribution of scarce supplies. There are already disturbing signs, however, that unless there can be some assurance of reasonably adequate supplies for deficit countries and reasonable assurance of opportunity to market available supplies abroad, these wartime state-trading arrangements may be continued into the

post-war period for other than purely emergency reasons. For example, the British Minister of Food on August 3 of this year announced in the House of Commons the conclusion of an agreement between the New Zealand and British Governments for the sale to the United Kingdom of the total exportable surplus of New Zealand of butter, cheese, beef, veal, mutton, and lamb for the next four years and of pork until June 1946. The prices at which these sales will be made are fixed for the first two years but are subject to review in the third and fourth years.

Finally, as compared with 1918, we have in practically every country a background of higher pre-war protection for domestic agriculture as well as a background of national price and income supporting programs, generally involving subsidies and two-price systems. In addition the food producing countries have not only used price stimuli in their own countries to bring out a greater production of food, but the economies of other countries have been geared to the prices and contracts which the United States and the United Kingdom have made with them to stimulate and to assure their production. Even if the contracts are terminable at the end of the war or period of shortage, we cannot be indifferent to the effects of a sudden economic slump in those areas.

V

International trade in food obviously does not exist as something apart from the rest of the economy. The problems of readjustment and reconstruction in this field are, therefore, only one way of looking at the problems of international trade and of agricultural and industrial readjustment in general.

It is not difficult to define what the major problems are. They include the need for relaxation of special wartime controls of production and trade as rapidly as is consistent with an orderly transition period. They include the need for measures to maintain employment and income at high levels and to mitigate extreme economic fluctuations. And they include the need to insure that as production is readjusted, it will be along lines that correspond with the natural and economic advantages of each country or area. In some few cases they will require that the world as a whole shift production away from goods of which rela-

tively too much has been produced to goods of which too little is being produced.

There is nothing new or novel in what this requires in the field of international economic policy. It requires international agreement on the widest possible base for the reduction of prohibitive tariffs. It requires agreement for the elimination or progressive relaxation of quotas, export restrictions, and exchange controls, particularly where these are used as instruments of trade control. It requires that such measures of protection for domestic industry and agriculture as are retained shall be administered on a non-discriminatory basis. It requires that trade be again allowed to flow in response to conditions of economic advantage through the elimination of preferential systems and of bilateral trade arrangements. It requires that state monopolies shall not be used as instruments of trade diversion. It requires a recognition that export subsidies and two-price systems are as disruptive to international trade as are import restrictions. It requires that there be international cooperation for the maintenance of orderly exchange arrangements among countries, for the provision of short-term credits, and for the revival of international capital movements, and thus for the creation of conditions under which trade can begin to move more freely and payments can be made on a multilateral basis. It requires the development of resources and industries in less developed countries.

It is reasonably clear that there will be a disposition in few if any countries to wait for readjustments from wartime production to be brought about solely through the functioning of the price system. There is an increased insistence that high levels of employment and income can and must be sustained for peacetime needs as well as for the prosecution of war. There is also evident a general feeling that this goal will not be reached automatically but will require a considerable measure of public direction and assistance. The problem that this presents is whether these measures will be so conceived and administered as to reinforce each other and facilitate adjustment to a situation in which farms, mines, and factories can remain fully and efficiently employed; or whether the measures will be haphazard improvisations, heavily loaded with restrictions on production and trade, which make no fundamental contribution toward such adjustment and hence require the continued maintenance of the underpinning.

That these measures can be conceived so as to reinforce each other is nowhere better illustrated than in the approach which has in recent years been made to the problems of nutrition. Beginning particularly with the work of the Mixed Committee of the League of Nations, there has been an increased awareness of the adverse impact of agricultural protectionism on the quantity and quality of the diets of large segments of the population in many countries.

There has also been increased awareness of the contribution which national food programs could make, on the production side, to agricultural adjustment. This contribution is as significant internationally as it is domestically. Larger production of such foods as milk, vegetables, fruit, and meats, coupled with the fact that many of these need to be produced in areas near urban centers of consumption would afford greater opportunity for the areas best adapted for the production of energy foods. If, for example, the resources devoted to one fourth of the average wheat production in recent years in Europe, excluding the Soviet Union, could be diverted to the production of protective foods and to feed grains, and if that amount were added to the trade of the major wheat-exporting countries, international trade in wheat and flour would exceed its level in any previous peacetime year. A 25-percent reduction of output is of course a very substantial shift, but it would only carry European production back to roughly the 1926 level. As Denmark and the Netherlands demonstrated in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, such adjustments can be made and with profit to agricultural producers themselves.

In some respects, the immediate future offers a unique opportunity. Tremendous readjustments in production are going to have to be made in all of the leading countries. In industry these readjustments are of even greater magnitude than they will be in agriculture. It may be hoped that so far as national security is concerned, the nations will be disposed to seek a solution in international agreement for the maintenance of peace rather than in economic self-sufficiency behind trade barriers. There is also some reason to hope that many of the nations are rather thoroughly disillusioned as to the effectiveness of their trade-restrictive policies as means of promoting domestic prosperity. The tasks of reconstruction in war-devastated countries and the backlog of accumulated purchasing power in many other countries give a prospect of a high

level of production and employment for at least a time in Europe, in the United States, and in other industrial countries. Reconversion and reconstruction could, if there were desire and will and co-operation among nations, be more easily directed into rational lines in the immediate post-war years than has been true for at least a quarter of a century or may be true again for a long time to come. Some of these considerations are, it is true, more directly applicable to manufacturing than to agriculture. But a sustained level of industrial income will also tend to facilitate adjustment in agriculture and may prove to be politically prerequisite in some countries to the abandonment of subsidies, domestic price supports, two-price systems, guaranteed export prices and the other devices of governmental intervention which have developed in the United States and in many other countries and which are basically incompatible with international trade along lines of economic advantage and lines which will not generate international political friction.

At the same time, the immediate future will be a period with its own particular problems. Countries with difficult balance-of-payments positions arising out of the war and with great tasks of rehabilitation and reconstruction will be reluctant entirely to abandon controls over their foreign trade and foreign exchange. Countries which have greatly expanded their production, especially agricultural production, for war needs and for post-war relief will find it difficult rapidly to reduce that production and will feel impelled to maintain some floor under the incomes of their producers. There will be pressures to follow lines of least resistance and to minimize the immediate dimensions of reconversion and adjustment by keeping out imports on the one hand and subsidizing exports on the other.

These problems and the fears to which they give rise are real. They indicate the need for transitional measures as well as for long-term policies. Agreements for the demobilization of trade restrictions will have a greater prospect of acceptance if in some cases they provide for reductions by stages and if they include, under appropriate safeguards, provisions for emergency action to prevent the worsening of a seriously adverse balance-of-payments situation. The proposed financial institutions submitted by the Bretton Woods Conference will, if adopted, help to

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Wartime Visa-Control Procedure

By GRAHAM H. STUART¹

THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM

It is recognized, as a basic principle, that a state in the absence of treaty obligations is under no duty to admit aliens to its territory. If a state admits aliens it does so in accordance with the dictates of its national interests. The United States, until recent years, has followed a very liberal immigration policy and has been open to all aliens who have been free from certain mental, physical, racial, or moral disabilities. The policy of restricting the number of immigrants to be received in a given year was an innovation resulting from the conditions in Europe at the end of the first World War.

As long as the sole limitations on immigrants were qualitative, in spite of an increasing series of restrictive provisions, the influx of aliens into the United States mounted rapidly. At the turn of the century about 450,000 aliens were being admitted annually. Five years later the number had reached a million, and by 1914, the year of the outbreak of the first World War, the number had climbed to about 1¼ million. Even during the four years of the first World War, in spite of the drastic limitation of transportation facilities, the United States admitted an average of over a quarter of a million immigrants annually.

At the end of the first World War a veritable flood of foreign immigrants threatened to engulf the United States. Congress, finally recognizing the urgent necessity of limiting drastically the number of aliens who could be admitted into the country, passed, on May 19, 1921, the first law restricting the total number of immigrants eligible to enter the United States in a given year. This is the so-called "quota system," and with certain substantial modifications it is still our basic law pertaining to numerical restriction.

LIMITATION BY NUMBERS

The new approach to limitation of immigration by numbers necessitated a change in the handling

of the control. Where formerly little control was exercised abroad and the immigrant was often excluded from admission to the United States upon arrival, it was now found desirable to check immigration by the system of consular visas abroad.

The earliest provision for consular participation in a form of partial immigration control abroad was established by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, but that act related solely to certain classes of persons of that race. The general practice of requiring all aliens, with certain exceptions, to obtain visas from consular officers abroad began as a war measure. According to instructions from the Department of State, dated April 17, 1917, followed by a joint order of the Departments of State and Labor dated July 26, 1917, consular and diplomatic officers were required to refuse visas to enemy aliens and to warn all other aliens applying if it appeared that they might be excluded under existing legislation. Subsequent legislation of May 22, 1918 and March 2, 1921 authorized diplomatic and consular officers to refuse visas to aliens whose entry into the United States appeared to be contrary to the public safety.

Although the act of May 19, 1921 established numerical limitation of immigrants by annual quotas, consular officers abroad could not exercise control with regard to numerical limitations of immigrants. They ceased to issue visas only when officially notified from the United States that a sufficient number of immigrants had been admitted at ports of entry to exhaust the quotas. The act of May 26, effective July 1, 1924, remedied that serious defect by giving the diplomatic or consular officers abroad the control of the quotas to be filled by means of immigration visas. Each quota nationality was assigned a fixed quota for the year and the issuance of immigration visas was limited to a maximum of 10 percent of the annual quota in any one month. The consular visa could be granted only after the consul had passed upon the eligibility of the alien under both the qualification tests and the allotted quota.

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Definition of "Immigrant"

The term "immigrant" as used in the Immigration Act of May 26, 1924, as amended, means any alien departing from any place outside the United States destined for the United States, except (1) a government official, his family, attendants, servants, and employees, (2) an alien visiting the United States temporarily as a tourist or temporarily for business or pleasure, (3) an alien in continuous transit through the United States, (4) an alien lawfully admitted to the United States who later goes in transit from one part of the United States to another through foreign contiguous territory, (5) a *bona fide* alien seaman serving as such on a vessel arriving at a port of the United States and seeking to enter temporarily the United States solely in the pursuit of his calling as a seaman, and (6) an alien entitled to enter the United States solely to carry on trade between the United States and the foreign state of which he is a national under and in pursuance of the provisions of a treaty of commerce and navigation, and his wife, and his unmarried children under 21 years of age, if accompanying or following to join him.

VISA DIVISION ESTABLISHED

The considerable additional work entailed by the control of immigration by consular visas required a corresponding effort in the Department of State. As originally established, the Visa Division was merely a section in the Bureau of Citizenship. The Section was set up as a Visa Office in the Division of Passport Control on August 13, 1918 and detached December 1, 1919 to be operated as a separate unit. A departmental order dated January 1, 1931 changed the Visa Office to the Visa Division.

Although it was the consul abroad who was made responsible for the proper administration of our immigration laws with respect to the issuance of visas, it was the Visa Division's function to advise the officers in the field on the interpretation of law in connection with questions which arose in the cases of individual aliens. That problem was increased materially during the period of the depression when it was found necessary to enforce the immigration laws realistically under a positive application of the provision in the act of 1917—classifying as inadmissible all aliens who were likely to become public charges in the light of unemployment conditions in the United States.

As might have been expected, that drastic restriction policy which reduced immigration to about 10 percent of the allotted quotas brought about protests on the part of interested parties in the United States. Not only did relatives and friends of disappointed aliens bombard consuls and the Visa Division with letters, but Members of Congress also took up cudgels in their behalf regardless of the fact that both consuls and the Department of State were merely enforcing a law that Congress itself had passed. The correspondence carried on by the Division in that connection was a difficult and thankless task.

From its establishment in 1918 until 1938, that is, during the first 20 years of the Division's existence, the staff increased very slowly. However, with the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939, the size of the Division rapidly increased. In October 1940 there were 47 on the staff, of which 4 were Foreign Service officers. By July 1, 1941, when visa control was centralized in the Department of State, the staff had increased to 83.

CENTRALIZATION OF VISA CONTROL IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

As a result of information received from American Foreign Service officers abroad to the effect that certain foreign governments were endeavoring to introduce agents into the United States in the guise of immigrants, visitors, or seamen, it was thought necessary in the interest of national security to exercise greater care in granting visas to prospective visitors or immigrants to the United States.

A circular telegram was sent on June 5, 1940 to American missions and consulates directing that all aliens seeking admission into the United States be examined with the greatest care. Particular attention was given to non-immigrants, and it was directed that a visa should be issued only when the applicant had conclusively established a legitimate purpose or reasonable need for his presence in the United States. He was required to specify what place he intended to visit in the United States and how long he would remain in each place. He must also, as formerly, present conclusive evidence that upon departing from the United States he would be readmitted into the country of his nationality, or to some other foreign country which he intended to visit.

The next step toward greater security was taken with the enactment in June 1940 of the Alien Reg-

istration Act, which required on and after August 27, 1940 the registration and fingerprinting not only of all aliens in the United States but the registration and fingerprinting in duplicate also of all aliens receiving visas of any kind abroad.¹

With regard to control over foreign government officials coming to the United States, the act of July 1, 1940 provided that only those foreign officials who were accredited to the United States should thereafter be accorded "official" classification under section 3(1) of the act of 1924. Previously any foreign official whether or not accredited to the United States was given "official" status. Further, by a directive of September 20, 1940, no diplomatic or official visa for a foreign government official could be issued to a national of a continental European country without prior authorization of the Department.

The final step taken was to centralize all visa control in the Department of State. That policy had been considered on several occasions, but because of the large increase in staff required, action had been deferred. However, evidence of foreign attempts, notably Nazi, to infiltrate "tourists" and other agents called for action. On February 28, 1941 Assistant Secretary of State Berle recommended that, during the war, every visa application be referred to the Department. The Visa Division concurred and worked out the procedure.

A departmental order dated June 20, 1941 authorized the Visa Division to establish the new control. Under the regulations, effective July 1, 1941, every alien seeking permanent residence, temporary entry, or transit to a foreign destination, except native-born citizens of countries of the Western Hemisphere, officials of foreign governments, and seamen, were required to submit to the Visa Division of the Department of State a biographical statement and two affidavits of sponsorship.²

An Interdepartmental Advisory Committee would then check each case with regard to all available information on the visa applicant, including his sponsorship, the purpose of his entry into the United States, his attitude toward the American form of government, and his assurance of support in this country. Those committees under the chairmanship of a representative of the Visa

Division of the Department of State were composed of one representative each of the Immigration Service of the Department of Justice, of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, of the Military Intelligence Service, and of the Office of Naval Intelligence. Those Interdepartmental Committees were to consider the cases of visa applicants from the standpoint of national security.

After the cases were considered by the Visa Division, with the assistance of the Interdepartmental Committees, they were referred to the permit-issuing authority with appropriate recommendation for final consideration after careful examination of the applicants in the light of the information furnished by the Department. If the case still failed to meet the requirements of the law in the opinion of the permit-issuing authority, he was instructed to suspend action and present the facts to the Department for the further consideration by the Interdepartmental Committees.

Upon entry of the United States into the World War, in order to protect the security of the United States, it was now made illegal for an American citizen to leave the United States without a valid passport or for an alien to leave the United States without a valid permit to depart. It was further provided that no alien should be permitted to depart if it appeared to the Secretary of State that such a departure would be prejudicial to the interests of the United States.

The new regulations thus provided three additional functions for the Division relating to control over aliens: The issuance of *exit permits* for aliens (other than those coming within a few exempted classes) departing from the United States; a *formal review procedure* under which interested persons might appear before an Interdepartmental Review Committee on cases unfavorably recommended by a Primary Interdepartmental Committee; and an *Appeal Board* composed of two persons appointed by the President from outside the Government to review the record of cases rejected by a Review Committee.

This new procedure entailed a considerable increase in work in the Visa Division and a corresponding increase in the staff. Under the new arrangement not only was the control of the entry and departure of aliens centralized in the Visa Division of the Department of State, but the control of quotas formerly handled in 50 offices abroad was also handled in the Visa Division. In November 1941 the Visa Division had 179 employees; by

¹ BULLETIN of June 8, 1940, p. 620.

² BULLETIN of June 28, 1941, p. 764 and Aug. 28, 1943, p. 144.

June 30, 1942 the number had increased to 278. In spite of the large addition to the staff, the officers and clerks could carry on this work only by excessive overtime work. In fact, in the fiscal year July 1, 1941 to July 1, 1942, they worked 27,400 hours overtime.

In the month of August 1943 the Visa Division absorbed the Immigration Section of the Division of Communications and Records. That absorption involved the transfer of both functions and its personnel of 33. That change placed the files under direct control of the Visa Division, eliminated the duplication of records and searches, and reduced the time involved in finding the momentary location of cases under consideration.

The huge volume of work which reached its zenith in the early months of 1942 gradually decreased. With the entrance of the United States into the second World War, transportation facilities available to the traveler in times of peace were quickly transferred to war activities. New and more stringent regulations controlling the entrance of persons into the United States were issued. All direct immigration from enemy or enemy-occupied territory automatically ceased. The Division was also able to combine certain overlapping functions and simplify some of the more complicated procedures.

COMMITTEES FOR CONSIDERING VISA APPLICATION

A great amount of preliminary work on all visa applications is required before they go to the proper committee in the Visa Division for consideration and action. The Research and File Unit must investigate any application which refers to previous immigration cases. All applications are indexed in the Record Unit and are then sent to the Review Unit for careful examination regarding completeness and correctness. Many applications, as in the case of seamen, are given special procedures. Some are found to be exempt; others are clearly ineligible under the law or regulations. Sometimes more information is required before the case can be presented. Finally the preliminary application for visa in completed form goes to the Suspense File Unit, which sends out check sheets with a copy of the application to the five security agencies to report on the case.

Until April 1944 all visa applications which had been cleared by the Suspense File Unit went directly to one of the Primary Interdepartmental

Committees for consideration. Although the Interdepartmental Committee's sole function was to consider the applicant's case from the standpoint of his entry's being prejudicial to the public interest, the committee regularly considered many cases where no such element existed. The routing of such cases to the Interdepartmental Committees caused a considerable loss of their time and serious delays in acting upon the cases which did require careful consideration.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE

To simplify procedure and reduce the volume of work to be handled by the Interdepartmental Committees, the Department of State, after consultation with the Attorney General, set up a Special Committee to consider carefully every visa application and to refer to the Interdepartmental Committees only those cases on which the Interdepartmental Committees were required to express an opinion concerning the existence of evidence that the entry of the alien would be prejudicial to the public interest. In such cases when no adverse factors were apparent, the Special Committee was authorized to recommend to the Chief of the Visa Division that the permit-issuing authority which would receive the application should be informed that the Department had no objection to the issuance of an appropriate visa.

Where doubt of any sort existed as, for example, regarding the identity or the whereabouts of a person, the Special Committee requested an investigation through the office of the Chief Special Agent of the Department or through the appropriate intelligence agencies. If the investigation showed that the derogatory information did not apply to the applicant, the case was cleared. If, after the investigation, any doubt still remained that the derogatory information might apply, the case was then referred to a Primary Committee for consideration and decision.

The Special Committee was set up on May 11, 1944 and has functioned continuously since that time.¹ It consists of four officers of the Visa Division, under the chairmanship of a Foreign Service officer. It passes upon about 50 visa applications daily, and, according to its records up-to-date, about 40 percent of those examined are cleared and therefore do not have to go to the Interdepartmental Committees.

¹ BULLETIN of May 20, 1944, p. 490.

As an adjunct to or as a part of the Special Committee work, it has been found necessary to give certain cases exceptional treatment. For example, a case which has previously been approved sometimes has to be reopened, particularly one dealing with applications for visitors' visas for businessmen. Although considered as an entirely new case, a more expeditious treatment is sometimes justified. In the same way cases approved for immigration visas in which for some reason the applicant has not been able to take advantage of the entry permission accorded, but finds it possible to do so later, have to be rechecked before the approval may be renewed.

Sometimes cases require urgent action because of business or medical reasons. Some of these cases have a semi-diplomatic character. For example, a former Minister of a friendly power wished to bring with him to Washington his Italian chauffeur. As an alien enemy without diplomatic status the chauffeur's application normally would be subject to a lengthy procedure in which the contract-labor clause might be involved. As a gesture of good-will a quick check of intelligence files was made and the case was cleared immediately by the summary procedure which the Department employs in emergency cases. Another type of case which is fairly prevalent is the transit visa, which easily lends itself to expeditious treatment.

In those special cases the Department acts promptly and directly. The officer charged with expediting such cases assumes full responsibility for recommending to the Chief of the Division such action as he deems proper. The case then goes to the permit-issuing authority, where the final action on the visa can be taken within a very brief time following the original application. The normal procedure would take possibly several months.

PRIMARY COMMITTEES

An application for an immigration visa which is not cleared by the Special Committee is brought to one of the Primary Interdepartmental Committees. The Primary Committees are composed of one representative each from the State Department, the Military Intelligence Service, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Office of Naval Intelligence, and the United States Immigration Service, the State Department's representative serving as chairman. The function of the

Although the United States did not require visas on alien passports prior to the first World War, certain other states had for many years required that formality of Americans. In 1889 the Turkish Minister at Washington notified the Secretary of State that passports of travelers visiting Turkey must be visaed by an Ottoman consular officer. The State Department issued a notice in 1901 that all persons entering Russia must have a passport visaed by a Russian diplomatic or consular official. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, except for the countries of the Far East and Near East, both passports and visas had become almost obsolete.

In the post-war period practically every state required an alien entering its territory to have a passport visaed by its consul. Those restrictions and the charges entailed made traveling both onerous and expensive. In fact the handicap to travel was so great that the League of Nations held two conferences, one in 1920, and another in 1926, to try to eliminate the worst features of the passport nuisance. Although costs have been somewhat reduced, the visa system is still a very burdensome restriction upon travel. According to figures issued by the United States Passport Bureau in 1933 before the United States depreciated the dollar, an American planning to visit Europe and the Near East, stopping in Great Britain, France, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Greece, Rumania, Spain, Portugal, Egypt, and Turkey, would have to expend \$10 for his passport and about \$60 for visas.

Primary Committee is to consider the facts presented for an advisory opinion regarding the effect that the entry of the applicant would have on the safety of the United States. The principal reasons for negative action on the part of the committee considering the case are based upon part 58 of the regulations of November 19, 1941, as amended, regarding aliens entering the United States. One section of the regulations lists the various types of aliens whose entry is deemed prejudicial to the public interest, such as Nazis, Fascists, communists, spies, saboteurs, fifth columnists, and alien enemies. Another section provides that aliens leaving close relatives in certain foreign countries unfriendly to the United States are possibly unsuitable for admission into the United States at the present time if other unfavorable factors also exist.

The information received by any of the security agencies is read to the committee by its representa-

tive, after which each member of the committee considers the information given and individually decides whether the applicant is admissible. A majority vote in a favorable sense for any alien not a native of an enemy country is final regarding security provisions unless the minority votes an appeal. A negative majority on any case requires submission of the case automatically to the Review Committee. All cases of aliens from enemy countries must go automatically before a Review Committee. The Primary Committee makes a favorable report, which is final upon approximately one third of the cases heard.

In the first seven months of its work, that is from July 1, 1941 until January 31, 1942, the Primary Committees considered 22,100 cases, of which 14,100 were approved, 5,200 disapproved, and 2,800 deferred. The work in 1942 increased to such an extent that in May 1942, six Primary Committees were functioning. The two Review Committees aided from time to time. In that one month 3,017 cases were considered. By the first of September 1942, the work had decreased to such an extent that three Primary Committees were able to pass upon all the cases presented, which averaged under a thousand monthly. In March 1943 there was another increase requiring three Primary Committees to pass upon over 1,000 cases. By the end of 1943 the average had dropped to about 600. Since February 1, 1944, only one Primary Committee has functioned, although in March 1944 the Review Committees were brought in to assist. The total number of cases for April 1944 was about 600, involving 1,200 persons.

REVIEW COMMITTEES

The Interdepartmental Review Committees are composed of one State Department official as chairman and, like the Primary Committees, of officers furnished by the Military Intelligence Service, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Office of Naval Intelligence, and the United States Immigration Service. The function of the Review Committee is primarily to hear the testimony of witnesses appearing in behalf of aliens in order to supply information and to give evidence regarding the cases under consideration. On the basis of the testimony, the documentation, and the facts presented, the committees render advisory opinions.

The procedure in the Review Committee is somewhat similar to that of the Primary Committee. Before hearing a sponsor or witness in a case, the dossier of the applicant is brought in and all relevant information is presented by the committee members and discussed. The various members of the committee hear and examine the witness. The committee takes a vote to determine whether the admission of the alien would be prejudicial in any way to the security of the United States. The judgment of the committee is based largely upon the regulations regarding aliens entering the United States.

The Review Committee passes upon all cases of enemy aliens and upon all other cases which have been reported adversely by a Primary Committee. Generally speaking, the Review Committee sustains the action of the Primary Committee. It is estimated that only 10 to 15 percent of cases which have received an adverse vote in the Primary Committee will receive a favorable vote in the Review Committee.

During the year 1942 from five to six Review Committees worked constantly, hearing from 1,000 to 1,400 cases monthly. Of these cases the committees disapproved from two to three times as many cases as they approved. For example, a report for the month of September 1942 discloses the following results:

Enemy aliens approved	121
Others approved	155
Disapproved	800
Withdrawn	32

TOTAL CASES CONSIDERED 1,108

In September of 1943 occurred a considerable decrease in the number of cases presented with only two Review Committees functioning, but the ratio remains about the same:

Enemy aliens approved	64
Others approved	88
Disapproved	287
Withdrawn	17

TOTAL CASES CONSIDERED 456

At the present time two Interdepartmental Review Committees are able to hear all the cases which are sent on from the Primary Committees.

THE BOARD OF APPEALS ON VISA CASES

The Board of Appeals on visa cases is the last consultative body which may pass upon the case

in reference to the security aspect of the applicant's entrance into the United States. The Board was appointed on December 3, 1941 as an evaluative rather than as an investigative agency. It was expected to take cognizance of all the factors to which consideration should be given in visa applications and to clarify by its findings the general policies of the procedure. The two classes of cases where the Board could best exercise its judgment, and was therefore given jurisdiction, were, first, those cases decided adversely by the Review Committee and, secondly, all cases involving enemy aliens. In those cases the Board might reverse the findings of the Review Committees on the ground that the rules and principles were applied too strictly in individual cases, in that sufficient consideration had not been given to broad consideration of national policy, or that lack of uniformity had developed in the findings of the several Review Committees.

The procedure of the Board of Appeals is very informal. No hearings are held. The findings are based upon the written record from the Review Committees. The dossier of each case comes to the office staff, which makes a careful summary of the material elements and a tentative recommendation regarding the disposition of the case. The dossiers go separately to both members of the Board of Appeals, and each writes an opinion. In complicated cases or cases which involve the reversal of a Review Committee recommendation, both members of the Board and the alternate must give unanimous approval. In these doubtful cases the Board of Appeals meets with the law officer, who is the alternate member. All three members discuss each case, and, unless unanimous agreement is reached, the case is remanded to the Interdepartmental Committee for further information or further consideration.

The Board of Appeals, in its action, tends to open rather than close the door to the alien seeking admission. In fact, its decisions reverse the findings of the Review Committee in a favorable direction in from 20 to 25 percent of the cases considered. In all cases where the Board reverses a unanimous adverse finding of the Review Committee, an opinion is written by one member of the Board.

The Board of Appeals' task has been a heavy one. For the first half of 1942 the Board passed upon approximately 500 cases a month, but by

the end of the year it was considering over a thousand cases monthly. In September of 1942, a representative month, the Board passed upon 1,021 cases, of which it affirmed 777, reversed 274, and remanded 10. The work for 1943 was not quite so heavy, and the report for September of 1943 reveals that the Board considered 369 cases, affirming 268, reversing 98, and remanding 3. Since 1942 the Board of Appeals has rarely considered more than 500 cases in any one month.

In its first report to the President made on November 9, 1942, the Board noted the fact that from its appointment in December 1941 through October 1942 it had passed upon 6,152 applications for visas.¹ Of these applicants the Board had approved the recommendation of the Review Committee in 4,683 cases; had reversed the Review Committee's recommendation in 1,334 cases, and had remanded 135 cases for further inquiry. Of the reversals it should be noted that only in the rarest instance does the reversal work to keep out an applicant. The overwhelming majority of reversals are in favor of the applicant's admission. In fact 157 of the cases noted above were reversals in which the Board's recommendation that the visa be granted had found no support either in the Primary or Review Committees.

According to that report the Board bases its reversals on what the Board believes to be errors of fact, errors of omission, or errors of interpretation. The errors of fact occur most frequently with reference to whether the applicant is or is not an enemy alien. Europe's jumbled geographical status since the war makes such errors easily possible. Errors of omission involve documents in the record apparently overlooked which appear to be of significance to the Board. Errors of interpretation involve the significance of the various items of information to be found in each record, the light which each throws upon the basic questions of safety and benefit to the United States, and an approximation of the weight to be given to the record as a whole.

As originally constituted, the Board of Appeals consisted of Mr. Robert J. Bulkley, former United States Senator from Ohio, Dr. Frederick P. Koppel, President of the Carnegie Corporation, and Dean F. D. G. Ribble of the University of Virginia Law School, as alternate. Upon the death of Dr.

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 5, 1942, p. 982.

Keppel in 1943, Judge Milton J. Helmick, formerly of the United States Court of China was appointed. Dr. Robert Gooch, Professor of Political Science in the University of Virginia, was appointed in May 1944 as alternate in the place of Dean Ribble, who now serves in another capacity in the Department of State.

On the whole the interdepartmental visa-review procedure has worked well. Under it an opportunity is given to interested persons to appear at a hearing before a committee on behalf of visa applicants, and provision is made for a final review of advisory recommendations by a Board of Appeals unconnected with any of the departments participating in the procedure.

Exchange of American and German Nationals

[Released to the press September 8]

The State Department and the War Department announce that the M.S. *Gripsholm* arrived at Göteborg, Sweden, Thursday afternoon, September 7, to carry out a further exchange with Germany of disabled prisoners of war and protected personnel entitled to repatriation under the terms of the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention and the Geneva Red Cross Convention. The exchange of personnel is scheduled to take place September 8.

The M.S. *Gripsholm* carried to Göteborg seriously sick and seriously wounded German prisoners of war and surplus protected personnel who have been held in the United States and Canada, as well as prisoner-of-war mail and cargo consisting of relief supplies for American prisoners of war and civilian internees held in Germany.

Next of kin of the American repatriates will receive notification as soon as possible after the identity of the repatriates has been established beyond the possibility of doubt. Arrangements have been made to enable repatriates to communicate with their friends and relatives at the earliest possible moment.

It is expected that the *Gripsholm* will arrive at New York late in September with American and Canadian repatriates after having stopped at a port in the United Kingdom.

Arrangements for the repatriation operation were concluded between the United States and German Governments through the Swiss Government. The Swiss Government has placed a representative aboard the *Gripsholm* to act as a neutral observer and has made arrangements for a Swiss representative to travel with American repatriables between Germany and Göteborg.

The exchange is taking place on Swedish territory with the consent and cooperation of the Swedish Government, which has offered to appoint an umpire for the exchange operation.

Representatives of the International Red Cross Committee and the interested National Red Cross societies have been active and helpful in arrangements for the exchange operation.

The Governments of the British Commonwealth and the German Government have agreed to repatriate disabled prisoners of war, protected personnel, and civilians at the same time and place. The British Government is sending two vessels to Göteborg carrying German prisoners of war and German civilian internees. No civilian internees will be included in the American repatriation operation.

Brazilian Independence Day

MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

[Released to the press September 7]

The President has sent the following message to the President of the United States of Brazil, His Excellency Getulio Vargas, on the occasion of the Brazilian Independence Day:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
September 7, 1944.

The celebration of Brazil's Independence Day comes at a particularly happy time this September of 1944. On this third anniversary of Independence Day since Brazil's courageous decision to join the forces fighting for the freedom of mankind, our goal of total defeat of the Axis Powers is within sight of realization. I am happy to convey to Your Excellency and through you to the Brazilian people, the congratulations and fraternal salutations of the people of the United States on this auspicious anniversary.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The American Foreign Service in Tropical Africa

By PERRY N. JESTER¹

The important work of the American Foreign Service in connection with the foreign relations of this country is not concentrated

entirely in the great capitals of the world which are so frequently in the limelight of public events. In fact, the interests abroad of the American Government and its citizens are so diversified in nature and extent that one may safely say the majority of the day-to-day problems connected with those interests is handled by the smaller consulates and missions throughout the world where both in peacetime and in war Foreign Service officers strive, often under difficult and trying conditions, to keep the Government informed of developments which affect American interests, to enforce applicable American laws, and to carry out American foreign policies.

The consulates in tropical Africa are typical of the important and strategic outposts which must be maintained for those purposes. The term "outposts" is sometimes used to describe them, since those offices do not, in the main, function under the direct supervision of an embassy or legation as would be the case in Europe. They are in direct contact with the Department of State, and for that reason many officers prefer them despite unattractive, difficult living conditions. Such officers have the opportunity of dealing individually with the full range of this Government's interest regarding the territory of their jurisdiction instead of with some small segment of the work as would be the case in a large mission or consulate general in another country.

Since the invasion of North Africa, American officers at Dakar have been concerned with the procurement and requirement programs in French West Africa and with the development of the military air routes which have passed through Dakar en route to destinations farther to the east. American officers at Dakar have also been concerned with the future of American trade interests in French West Africa.

A tribute to the American Foreign Service officers in tropical Africa who are performing successfully their many wartime duties dealing with various economic controls, lend-lease operations, and detailed surveys of economic requirements.

The American Legation at Monrovia has been occupied with many new problems arising from the participation of Liberia in

the war and the stationing of American troops in that country as a part of our defense effort.² The development of strategic air routes to and from West Africa has involved the creation of important seaplane and land-plane terminals in Liberia. These facilities will be of increasing importance and value to American interests in the post-war period. The increasing production of rubber in Liberia by American interests has also created many problems which currently require the attention of that Legation.

The Consulate at Accra, Gold Coast Colony, in conjunction with representatives of the Foreign Economic Administration, has been concerned with the procurement of important strategic materials in the Gold Coast and with many time-consuming duties in connection with the large-scale air traffic, both passenger and freight, which has been constantly channelized through the air terminal at that outpost. Although that air traffic is principally in the hands of the Air Transport Command of the United States Army, it nevertheless involves considerable activity on the part of that Consulate.

The Consulate General in Lagos, Nigeria, is the supervisory office for all official American interests other than military in the four colonies of British West Africa. It has been concerned also with important procurement programs in the Colony of Nigeria, with certain duties in connection with the supplying of the requirements of that colony, and with lend-lease activities. That office performs numerous services for several hundred American citizens resident in its district and to-

¹ Mr. Jester is a Foreign Service officer formerly Consul at Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa, now detailed to the Division of African Affairs, Office of Eastern and African Affairs, Department of State.

² BULLETIN of July 23, 1944, p. 102.

gether with the Consulate at Accra it prepares reports of considerable value on present and future trends, both political and economic, in that part of the world.

The Consulate General at Brazzaville maintains contact with the colonial government of French Equatorial Africa and with its economic and social development programs for that territory. It also performs numerous services for American citizens resident in that area and is concerned with the dissemination of information about the United States designed to reach French-speaking people in various parts of the world by means of the Brazzaville radio.

The Consulate General at Léopoldville, Belgian Congo, is perhaps the most important American outpost in tropical Africa. A ranking Foreign Service officer is now in charge. In conjunction with representatives of the Foreign Economic Administration that office is actively engaged in procurement programs of strategic materials in the Belgian Congo; and in cooperation with the Belgians and with the British, it determines and controls the supply program for that large and important area. The future of American interests of all kinds in central Africa is under constant review by the officers stationed at Léopoldville.

The Consulates at Luanda, Angola, and Beira, Mozambique, and the Consulate General at Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, are active in the operation of sisal procurement programs in those two Portuguese colonies and also in the matter of supplies needed for the maintenance of the civil economy of those areas. Those Consulates, furthermore, perform numerous services for American citizens resident in those Colonies, as well as for other official American representatives who are temporarily stationed at those places in connection with various phases of the war effort. Since they are in neutral territories in which Germans and Italians reside, those offices participate in Proclaimed List work and other activities designed to minimize the economic support which our enemies might obtain from such territories.

The Consulate at Mombasa, Kenya, and the Consulate General at Nairobi are both active in the sisal and pyrethrum¹ procurement programs in British East Africa including Tanganyika and

in the search for and production in that area of several strategic metals. War Shipping Administration activities on the east coast of Africa are assisted by the Consulate at Mombasa, which is also in constant liaison with the British Naval Headquarters at that port. The Consulate General at Nairobi maintains contact with the British East African Military Command, which at present controls the British and Italian Somaliland territories and Eritrea. The varied political and economic scene in East Africa, which includes developments that may be of considerable interest in the future to the United States, is under constant review by those two offices.

The American Legation at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, is active in connection with the program of Emperor Haile Selassie for the future economic development of that newly liberated country, in which American interests may be concerned to an important degree.

Whatever our interests may be in any of those territories, whether of short-term war importance or of long-term economic and political value, our officers are there to maintain the necessary working relationships with governing officials, to assist the operations of other Government agencies and of private interests, to study and analyze current trends and developments, and to take an active part in the promotion and protection of American foreign trade regarding both markets for our exports and access to the raw materials of that continent.

In times of peace American officers at those posts must struggle not only against the psychological handicap of a sense of frustration in being so far removed from the more active currents of world affairs to which must always be added the physical strain resulting from the enervating heat and humidity of tropical regions; Disease and illness are ever-present dangers which require constant vigilance; insect pests of all kinds including the dread malarial mosquito never relent in their attack.

The amenities of life which characterize the large cities of other continents are frequently lacking in those relatively undeveloped areas of Africa, but on the other hand there are compensations which arise particularly from one's sense of being engaged in important and vital work for one's country and countrymen and from pleas-

¹ A plant used mainly for the manufacture of insecticide.

ant associations in the social life of the European communities of those outposts.

The impact of the war on the far-away African posts has intensified the usual demands made on the officers in those colonies. The pioneering of the American Air Transport Command in laying down air routes across that continent and in constructing air fields and installations and the subsequent procession across the scene of high-ranking officials and other important persons has called for the assistance of American representatives in countless new ways. In all of these new and stirring developments American Foreign Service officers have acquitted themselves well and have brought great credit to the Service. The war has created many new problems to claim their attention in the form of various economic controls, lend-lease operations, and detailed surveys of the economic requirements of each of the territories that make up that part of tropical Africa.

In the background there is always the unfolding development of the colonial policies of the powers exercising sovereignty. In the warp and woof of those growing forces run the threads of American interests, and it is the vital, challenging task of the Foreign Service officers to detect the pattern and delineate the shape of this Nation's concern with those portents of the future. Their days may not be filled with dramatic incidents of world importance; their environment may lack the color and pageantry of the age-old civilizations of other areas. Their job, however, is no less important to the American Government and people, nor is it less satisfying in actual accomplishment than are the assignments of those officers who labor in the more highly organized offices of the great capitals.

STINEBOWER—Continued from page 270

justify confidence that the pattern of trade can begin to rebuild itself on a multilateral basis without subjecting some countries to severe deflationary effects. With proper safeguards, commodity arrangements may be useful devices for orderly transition out of distress situations and not merely a means for the maintenance of prices and the perpetuation of unbalance. What is important is that such transition measures as are needed should be designed in connection with

longer-run policies and so directed as to hasten the transition. Even so, they will need constant scrutiny, for the experience of countries which have embarked upon trade controls, trade diversion, commodity agreements, and other restrictive devices under the plea of emergency need bears eloquent witness to the fact that such devices tend to create their own justification for continuance. Emergencies may change their nature or their label but they seldom pass.

Piecemeal approaches brought us close to economic chaos once before. If the various measures which are taken to speed the transition from an economy geared to war needs to a peacetime economy and to maintain stability in an expanding world economy are to fit together and reinforce each other, there will be needed a clear concept of the pattern of the goals sought and of the manner in which each measure is designed to contribute to that pattern. Otherwise we and other countries are likely to find ourselves resorting once again to makeshift devices to bolster up and alleviate particular conditions of distress, in what someone has called "a scurrying hither and thither in chase of the unapprehended consequences of ill-considered actions".

Theodore P. Dykstra Returns From China

[Released to the press September 6]

Dr. Theodore P. Dykstra of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Department of Agriculture, has just returned from China, where he served for 20 months with the Chinese Government under the Department of State's cultural-cooperation program.

While in China Dr. Dykstra worked with the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry in the developing of a national potato-production and research program. During his stay in China Dr. Dykstra traveled in the central, southwest, and northwestern provinces of China. Although rice is the principal popular food product in China, Dr. Dykstra points out that the Irish potato provides the main diet for approximately 50 percent of the population in the northwestern provinces, and in recent years its popularity has been growing all over China.

Dr. Dykstra is very enthusiastic about the cooperation he received from the Chinese Ministry of Agriculture and the officials of the National Agricultural Research Bureau. He feels assured that a sound potato industry will be developed in China and that this will contribute greatly toward increasing food production in that country for the benefit of the Chinese people.

Visit of Mexican Authority On Indian Affairs

[Released to the press September 9]

Dr. Manuel Gamio of Mexico, director of the Inter-American Indian Institute, is a guest of the Department of State while conferring on Indian Affairs with Government officials and specialists in the field. Dr. Gamio is interested especially in obtaining data for the statistical census of Indians throughout the Americas which is being compiled by the Institute. He says that it is a surprising fact that there have never been any reliable figures on the total number of American Indians at any period of history, including the present, nor for any given country, including our own. The United States has the best information on the subject, he states, although even in this country such factors as the dropping of Indian names and the adoption of English as the language of the home have caused many Indians not to be classified according to race.

Dr. Gamio made a similar tour of four of the other American republics earlier this year, visiting Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, and Brazil. He expresses especial admiration for the work of the Brazilian Government with relation to Indian affairs.

In addition to its work of research and investigation, the Inter-American Indian Institute is concerned with the problem of improving living conditions among the Indians. In Mexico the Institute has completed the study of a typical Indian village in all its aspects; is carrying on a public-health campaign with especial emphasis on curing the Indians of hookworm, a widespread affliction; and is attempting to raise the nutritional standard of the Indian diet. An interesting feature of the last-named measure is the

increasing popularization of the soybean. Dr. Gamio says that it is being used in the form of soy-bean milk and curd, and even more widely as an ingredient of the tortilla, principal item of the Indian's diet.

Visit of Judge Venturino Of Chile

[Released to the press September 9]

The Honorable Pascual Venturino, a judge in the court at Antofagasta, Chile, is observing the organization of juvenile courts and child-welfare services while visiting this country as a guest of the Department of State. The Chilean Government has requested Judge Venturino to make a report, with recommendations, on his findings. His interest in the welfare of children and in the problems of labor has resulted in two books, on the legal organization of the family and on man as a factor in production, respectively. Before assuming his present post at Antofagasta, Judge Venturino was on the faculty of the Sociology Department of the University of Chile at Santiago.

While in Washington he is interested especially in observing the functioning of the Supreme Court and in visiting its library and the Library of Congress. Another of his official missions is to examine collections of books on medical jurisprudence with the purpose of making a recommended list of such works for translation into Spanish.

Although this is his first visit to an English-speaking country, Judge Venturino speaks the language fluently. He explained his proficiency by saying, "I have been preparing for 20 years for this trip to the United States!"

PUBLICATIONS

OTHER AGENCIES

Foreign War Relief Operations: Communication from the President of the United States transmitting a cumulative report of the American Red Cross of refugee and foreign war relief operations from July 1, 1940, through April 30, 1944. S. Doc. 228, 78th Cong. viii, 85 p.

THE DEPARTMENT

Functions of the International Information Division¹

Purpose. Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944 and Departmental Order 1229 of February 21, 1944 describe the functions of the Motion Picture and Radio Division of the Office of Public Information in broad and general terms. This new Departmental Order is intended to change the name of the Motion Picture and Radio Division and to clarify its functions and activities.

1 *Change in title.* The name of the Motion Picture and Radio Division is hereby changed to the International Information Division.

2 *Functions of the International Information Division.* The International Information Division shall have responsibility for the initiation and coordination of policy and programs in respect to the Department of State's interest and participation through the media of films, radio and certain publications.* This includes the development and furtherance of international film, radio, and publications programs (other than books and specialized periodicals), advising on foreign policy aspects of the overseas information programs of other Federal agencies, particularly the war agencies, and advisory liaison with private organizations and industries on international information problems.

The major functions of the Division are:

(a) Initiation and formulation of over-all policy of the Department regarding the role and scope of official overseas information programs and projects of the Government in the conduct of United States foreign relations.

(b) Initiation and development of the Department's program of overseas information services, by means of films, radio broadcasts, and publica-

tions and publications materials (other than books and specialized periodicals which are handled by the Division of Cultural Cooperation).

(c) Advising and cooperating with officials of other Government agencies, particularly war agencies such as the Office of War Information and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, in planning and developing overseas information programs, and on the relationship of these programs and activities to United States foreign policy.

(d) Development, in cooperation with appropriate geographic and other Offices of the Department, and issuance of instructions to United States foreign service establishments regarding the Department's overseas information policies.

(e) Preparation, in collaboration with other agencies, of operational and other instructions to United States foreign service establishments carrying on informational programs in countries where the Office of War Information and the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs have no representation.

(f) Participation in development of policy recommendation regarding transitional and post-war overseas informational activities.

(g) Participation on interdepartmental and intergovernmental committees and in international conferences concerned with the content and informational use of international informational media.

(h) Advisory liaison with commercial and other private organizations and interests within the field of the Division's responsibilities for foreign policy aspects of overseas informational activities.

(i) The official attestation of the international educational character of documentary films.

(j) Cooperation with the Division of International Conferences in planning and arranging for appropriate motion picture, radio and related presentations at international conferences and meetings.

(k) Liaison with the office of the Special Assistant on press matters in relating the operations of

¹ Departmental Order 1285, dated Aug. 31, 1944; effective Sept. 1, 1944.

*Note: Nothing in this order alters the informational activities of the Office of Special Assistant on press matters as provided in Departmental Order 1229 of February 21, 1944. [Note in the original.]

the International Information Division to current press and psychological warfare activities.

(l) Preparation and maintenance of instructions to the Foreign Service establishments for comprehensive and interpretive reporting on overseas information activities.

(m) Collaboration with the Office of the Foreign Service in evaluating and making recommendations regarding stalling needs in Foreign Service establishments to implement effectively the programs of the Division.

3 *Relationship of the Division to other Divisions.* In carrying out its responsibilities, the International Information Division shall work in close collaboration with other Divisions of the Department, particularly the geographic Divisions, the Division of Cultural Cooperation, the Office of the Foreign Service and the Telecommunications Division which shall continue to handle in cooperation with the appropriate divisions the commercial aspects of motion pictures.

4 *Routing symbol.* The routing symbol of the International Information Division shall be INI.

CORDELL HULL.

AUGUST 31, 1944.

Appointment of Officers

John M. Begg as Chief of the International Information Division, effective September 1, 1944.

Forrest H. Kirkpatrick as Consultant on Personnel Administration, effective July 5, 1944.

Andrew B. Foster as Executive Assistant to Assistant Secretary Shaw, effective September 1, 1944.

John Parke Young as Adviser on International Financial Institutions in the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs, effective August 16, 1944.

Frank W. Fetter as Adviser on British Commonwealth Financial Affairs in the Division of Financial and Monetary Affairs, effective August 16, 1944.

John T. Forbes as Executive Officer of the Office of American Republic Affairs, effective September 1, 1944.

John W. Carrigan as Chief of the Division of Mexican Affairs, effective September 1, 1944.

Ruth Bacon as Adviser in the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, effective September 1, 1944.

Hugh S. Cumming, Jr., as Executive Officer of the Office of European Affairs, effective August 25, 1944.

TREATY INFORMATION

Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic

Nicaragua

The Director General of the Pan American Union informed the Secretary of State by a letter of September 1, 1944 of the deposit with the Pan American Union on August 31, 1944 of the instrument of ratification by the Government of Nicaragua of the Convention on the Regulation of Inter-American Automotive Traffic, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union on December 15, 1943. The instrument of ratification is dated July 18, 1944.

Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences

[Released to the press September 8]

The Convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, which was opened for signature at the Pan American Union in Washington on January 15, 1944 and was signed on that day on the part of the United States, was proclaimed by the President on September 8, 1944. In accordance with the provision in article XV of the convention that the convention shall enter into force three months after the deposit of at least five ratifications, the convention will enter into force on November 30, 1944.

Instruments of ratification of the convention have been deposited with the Pan American Union by the following countries: The United States of America on July 4, 1944; El Salvador on May 31, 1944; Guatemala on July 6, 1944; Costa Rica on August 14, 1944; and Nicaragua on August 31, 1944.

LEGISLATION

Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Military Affairs, United States Senate, 78th Congress, 2d session, on S. 1478, S. 1609, S. 1680, S. 1775, S. 1794, S. 1803, S. 1815, S. 2045, S. 2065; Part 13, Utilization and disposition of surplus war property. Appendix: Letters from government agencies. [Department of State p. 911] iii, pp. 887-947.

Amending the Nationality Act of 1940. S. Rept. 1073, on H. R. 1680, 78th Cong. [Favorable report.] 2 pp.

Amending Section 342 of the Nationality Act of 1940 In Respect to Certain Naturalization Fees. S. Rept. 1074, on H. R. 3722 78th Cong. [Favorable report.] 2 pp.

Amending the Nationality Act of 1940 To Preserve the Nationality of United States Citizens Residing Abroad. S. Rept. 1077, on H. R. 4271, 78th Cong. [Favorable report.] 2 pp.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

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SEPTEMBER 17, 1944

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BULLETIN

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Information, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest is included.

Publications of the Department, cumulative lists of which are published at the end of each quarter, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

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Armistice Terms for Rumania

[Released to the press September 13]

Following are the terms of the Rumanian armistice agreement which has been signed in Moscow: ¹

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE UNITED KINGDOM ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE GOVERNMENT OF RUMANIA ON THE OTHER CONCERNING AN ARMISTICE

The Government and High Command of Rumania, recognizing the fact of the defeat of Rumania in the war against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, and the United Kingdom, and the other United Nations, accept the armistice terms presented by the Governments of the above mentioned three Allied Powers, acting in the interests of all the United Nations.

On the basis of the foregoing the representative of the Allied (Soviet) High Command, Marshal of the Soviet Union, R. Y. Malinowski, duly authorized thereto by the Governments of the United States of America, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom, acting in the interests of all the United Nations, on the one hand, and the representatives of the Government and High Command of Rumania, Minister of State and Minister of Justice L. Patrascanu, Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Adjutant of His Majesty the King of Rumania, General D. Damaceanu, Prince Stirbey, and Mr. G. Popp, on the other hand, holding proper full powers, have signed the following conditions:

1. As from August 24, 1944, at four a.m., Rumania has entirely discontinued military operations against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on all theaters of war, has withdrawn from the war against the United Nations, has broken off relations with Germany and her satellites, has entered the war and will wage war on the side of the Allied Powers against Germany and Hungary for the purpose of restoring Rumanian independ-

ence and sovereignty, for which purpose she provides not less than twelve infantry divisions with corps troops.

Military operations on the part of Rumanian armed forces, including naval and air forces, against Germany and Hungary will be conducted under the general leadership of the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

2. The Government and High Command of Rumania undertake to take steps for the disarming and interning of the armed forces of Germany and Hungary on Rumanian territory and also for the interning of the citizens of both states mentioned who reside there. (See Annex to Article Two)

3. The Government and High Command of Rumania will ensure to the Soviet and other Allied forces facilities for free movement on Rumanian territory in any direction if required by the military situation, the Rumanian Government and High Command of Rumania giving such movement every possible assistance with their own means of communications and at their own expense on land, on water and in the air. (See Annex to Article Three)

4. The state frontier between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Rumania, established by the Soviet-Rumanian Agreement of June 8, 1940, is restored.

5. The Government and High Command of Rumania will immediately hand over all Soviet and Allied prisoners of war in their hands, as well as interned citizens and citizens forcibly removed to Rumania, to the Allied (Soviet) High Command for the return of these persons to their own country.

From the moment of the signing of the present terms and until repatriation the Rumanian Government and High Command undertake to provide

¹ This text was telegraphed to the Department of State by the American Embassy in Moscow.

at their own expense all Soviet and Allied prisoners of war, as well as forcibly removed and interned citizens, and displaced persons and refugees, with adequate food, clothing and medical service, in accordance with hygienic requirements, as well as with means of transport for the return of all those persons to their own country.

6. The Rumanian Government will immediately set free, irrespective of citizenship and nationality, all persons held in confinement on account of their activities in favor of the United Nations or because of their sympathies with the cause of the United Nations, or because of their racial origin, and will repeal all discriminatory legislation and restrictions imposed thereunder.

7. The Rumanian Government and High Command undertake to hand over as trophies into the hands of the Allied (Soviet) High Command all war material of Germany and her satellites located on Rumanian territory, including vessels of the fleet of Germany and her satellites located in Rumanian waters.

8. The Rumanian Government and High Command undertake not to permit the export or expropriation of any form of property (including valuables and currency) belonging to Germany, Hungary or to their nationals or to persons resident in their territories or in territories occupied by them without the permission of the Allied (Soviet) High Command. They will keep this property in such manner as may be prescribed by the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

9. The Rumanian Government and High Command undertake to hand over to the Allied (Soviet) High Command all vessels belonging or having belonged to the United Nations which are located in Rumanian ports, no matter at whose disposal these vessels may be, for the use of the Allied (Soviet) High Command during the period of the war against Germany and Hungary in the general interests of the Allies, these vessels subsequently to be returned to their owners.

The Rumanian Government bear the full material responsibility for any damage or destruction of the aforementioned property until the moment of the transfer of this property to the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

10. The Rumanian Government must make regular payments in Rumanian currency required by the Allied (Soviet) High Command for the ful-

fillment of its functions and will in case of need ensure the use on Rumanian territory of industrial and transportation enterprises, means of communication, power stations, enterprises and installations of public utility, stores of fuel, fuel oil, food and other materials, and services in accordance with instructions issued by the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

Rumanian merchant vessels, whether in Rumanian or foreign waters, shall be subject to the operational control of the Allied (Soviet) High Command for use in the general interest of the Allies. (See Annex to Article Ten)

11. Losses caused to the Soviet Union by military operations and by the occupation by Rumania of Soviet territory will be made good by Rumania to the Soviet Union, but, taking into consideration that Rumania has not only withdrawn from the war, but has declared war and in fact is waging war against Germany and Hungary, the parties agree that compensation for the indicated losses will be made by Rumania not in full but only in part, namely to the amount of three hundred million United States dollars payable over six years in commodities (oil products, grain, timber products, seagoing and river craft, sundry machinery, et cetera).

Compensation will be paid by Rumania for losses caused to the property of other Allied states and their nationals in Rumania during the war, the amount of compensation to be fixed at a later date. (See Annex to Article Eleven)

12. The Rumanian Government undertakes within the periods indicated by the Allied (Soviet) High Command to return to the Soviet Union in complete good order all valuables and materials removed from its territory during the war, belonging to state, public and cooperative organizations, enterprises, institutions or individual citizens, such as: factory and works equipment, locomotives, railway trucks, tractors, motor vehicles, historic monuments, museum valuables and any other property.

13. The Rumanian Government undertakes to restore all legal rights and interests of the United Nations and their nationals on Rumanian territory as they existed before the war and to return their property in complete good order.

14. The Rumanian Government and High Command undertake to collaborate with the Allied

(Soviet) High Command in the apprehension and trial of persons accused of war crimes.

15. The Rumanian Government undertakes immediately to dissolve all pro-Hitler organizations (of a Fascist type) situated in Rumanian territory, whether political, military or para-military, as well as other organizations conducting propaganda hostile to the United Nations, in particular to the Soviet Union, and will not in future permit the existence of organizations of that nature.

16. The printing, importation and distribution in Rumania of periodical and non-periodical literature, the presentation of theatrical performances and films, the work of wireless stations, post, telegraph and telephone shall be carried out in agreement with the Allied (Soviet) High Command. (See Annex to Article Sixteen)

17. Rumanian Civil Administration is restored in the whole area of Rumania separated by not less than fifty-one hundred kilometers (depending upon conditions of terrain) from the front line. Rumanian administrative bodies undertaking to carry out, in the interests of the reestablishment of peace and security, instructions and orders of the Allied (Soviet) High Command issued by them for the purpose of securing the execution of these armistice terms.

18. An Allied Control Commission will be established which will undertake until the conclusion of peace the regulation of and control over the execution of the present terms under the general direction and orders of the Allied (Soviet) High Command, acting on behalf of the Allied Powers. (See Annex to Article 18.)

19. The Allied Governments regard the decision of the Vienna award regarding Transylvania as null and void and are agreed that Transylvania (or the greater part thereof) should be returned to Rumania, subject to confirmation at the peace settlement, and the Soviet Government agrees that Soviet forces shall take part for this purpose in joint military operations with Rumania against Germany and Hungary.

20. The present terms come into force at the moment of their signing.

Done in Moscow, in four copies, each in the Russian, English and Rumanian languages, the Russian and English texts being authentic. *September 12, 1944.*

By authority of the Governments of the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom.

By authority of the Government and High Command of Rumania.

Annex to the Armistice Agreement between the Governments of the United States of America, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom on the one hand and the Government of Rumania on the other hand.

A. Annex to Article 2.

The measures provided for in Article 2 of the agreement regarding the internment of citizens of Germany and Hungary now in Rumanian territory do not extend to citizens of those countries of Jewish origin.

B. Annex to Article 3.

Under cooperation of the Rumanian Government and High Command of Rumania, mentioned in Article 3 of the Agreement, is understood the placing at the disposal of the Allied (Soviet) High Command for use at its discretion during the armistice all Rumanian military, air and naval constructions and installations, ports, harbors, barracks, warehouses, airfields, means of communication, meteorological stations which might be required for military needs in complete good order and with the personnel required for their maintenance.

C. Annex to Article 10.

The Rumanian Government will withdraw and redeem within such time limits and on such terms as the Allied (Soviet) High Command may specify, all holdings in Rumanian territory of currencies issued by the Allied (Soviet) High Command, and will hand over currency so withdrawn free of cost to the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

D. Annex to Article 11.

The basis for settlements of payment of compensation provided for in Article 11 of the present Agreement will be the American dollar at its gold parity on the day of signing of the Agreement, i. e. thirty-five dollars for one ounce of gold.

E. Annex to Article 16.

The Rumanian Government undertakes that wireless communication, telegraphic and postal correspondence, correspondence in cypher and

courier correspondence, as well as telephonic communication with foreign countries of Embassies, Legations and Consulates situated in Rumania, will be conducted in the manner laid down by the Allied (Soviet) High Command.

F. Annex to Article 13.

Control over the exact execution of the armistice terms is entrusted to the Allied Control Commission to be established in conformity with Article 18 of the Armistice Agreement.

The Rumanian Government and their organs shall fulfill all instructions of the Allied Control Commission arising out of the Armistice Agreement.

The Allied Control Commission will set up special organs or sections entrusting them respectively with the execution of various functions. In addition, the Allied Control Commission may have its officers in various parts of Rumania.

The Allied Control Commission will have its seat in the City of Bucharest.

Moscow: September 12, 1944.

International Peace and Security Organization

Statement by THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE¹

[Released to the press by the State Department on the Washington Conversations September 14]

The conferees at Dumbarton Oaks have made excellent progress. Drafts of their suggestions are nearing completion. Work on the drafts will require a few more days. In the meantime, Sir Alexander Cadogan has gone to Quebec by plane on a brief visit. Several days ago the Prime Minister indicated that he would like to see Sir Alexander on important matters not in any way connected with the talks at Dumbarton Oaks. Because of the vital importance of the Dumbarton Oaks conversations, Sir Alexander postponed his visit to Quebec until we got farther along with the work here. He felt that the work has reached such a stage that he could leave for a few days. Sir Alexander left this morning and will be back in time for the finishing touches and the completion of the first phase of the conversations.

Suggested Curb on Cartels

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press at Quebec September 13]

The Secretary of State sent the following reply to President Roosevelt's letter of September 6 in which was urged a curb on cartels through collaborative action by the United Nations:²

SEPTEMBER 11, 1944.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I have your letter of September 6 concerning the importance of taking whatever steps are necessary for the elimination of the political activities of German cartels, and the curbing of cartel practices which may restrict the free flow of goods in foreign commerce in the post-war world.

As you say, the elimination of the restrictive practices of cartels is an objective that consistently follows from the liberal principles of international trade which this Government, under your direction, has constantly sought to implement through the trade agreement program and other aspects of commercial policy. It is also an objective which consistently follows from this country's traditional and long-standing program designed to protect the consumer against monopoly and to preserve individual enterprise on a freely competitive basis.

For more than a year the Department, together with other interested agencies, has been giving careful attention to the issues which you mention, as well as other related subjects. An interdepartmental committee was established at my suggestion, and has been giving constant and current consideration to cartel matters and the methods by which the objectives set forth in your letter may best be achieved and most appropriately be coordinated with other facets of our foreign economic policy.

I shall continue to follow closely the progress of this work on the subject of international cartels, and I am bringing your letter and my reply to the attention of the Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy with the request that this Committee and its subsidiary units expedite their

¹ Chairman of the American delegation.

² BULLETIN of Sept. 10, 1944, p. 254.

work so as to be ready on short notice with definitive policy proposals. In the near future, and consistent with the pressing demands of the war upon your time, I want to present to you in more detail plans for discussions with other United Nations in respect to the whole subject of commercial policy.

Faithfully yours,

CORDELL HULL

Liberation of Luxembourg

Statement by THE PRESIDENT

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

To no people who have borne the Nazi yoke can liberation mean more than those of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. Ruthlessly attacked and occupied by the German military in May 1940, their country was not only incorporated into the Third Reich and German citizenship thrust upon them, but their sons were forced to serve in the ranks and wear the hated uniform of their oppressors. With unparalleled sacrifice and fortitude the heroic Luxembourgers have resisted every Nazi effort to break their spirit. On the occasion of their release from tyranny and their return to the free institutions which they hold so dear, the American people salute the brave people of Luxembourg.

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press September 11]

Although their country is one of the smallest of those overrun and crushed by the hated Nazis, the people of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg have shared the same fierce spirit of resistance which has greeted the German tyrant wherever he has gone and which has from the outset shown the futility of his dreams of conquest. We rejoice with the people of Luxembourg that the day of their liberation is at hand.

Visit of Chilean Writer

Miss Lenka Franulic, Chilean journalist and translator, arrived in Washington on September 11 as a guest of the Department of State. Next month she will join the six weeks' tour of women

journalists from the other American republics sponsored by the Women's National Press Club and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. She will fill several lecture engagements, including New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and San Francisco.

Miss Franulic is interested in meeting in the United States writers whose works she has translated into Spanish and has made available to a large reading public in her own country. Miss Franulic will write a series of articles on her interviews with eminent authors of the United States. She plans later to gather her impressions of the trip into book form.

One Hundred Contemporary Authors and Anthology of the American Short Story are two of Miss Franulic's recent translations. She has translated several plays, among them John Steinbeck's *The Moon Is Down*, which was presented at a benefit showing for the Free French Committee at the Municipal Theater in Santiago. Miss Franulic was not only the translator of this play but also one of the cast. She translated Archibald MacLeish's *The Fall of the City* for radio production in Chile.

The Jewish New Year

Message of THE PRESIDENT

Upon this celebration of the New Year, I extend to my fellow citizens of the Jewish faith most cordial greetings, mindful of the tragedy in which so many of their faith still live and die abroad, and determined withal to persevere until justice, tolerance, and peace are reestablished throughout the world.

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press September 12]

On this occasion of the celebration of the Jewish New Year, as I send cordial greetings to all our citizens of Jewish faith, I should like also to express my sincere hope that the coming months will bring to an end the present devastating world conflict, and with it the solution to the tragic problems that endure for others of your faith on the continent of Europe.

Economic Controls in the Post-War World

Address by CHARLES P. TAFT¹

[Released to the press September 12]

My responsibility in the Department of State is with the wartime and transitional problems of our foreign economic relations other than finance. We guide the policy involved in foreign purchase of strategic materials; in the supply of our own scarce items to the foreign countries whose basic economy we are interested in maintaining; in war trade agreements with the European neutrals and in the blockade problems which now, we can rejoice, are diminishing in scope and importance; in the blacklist of Axis business companies and individuals, especially the spearhead firms who were their messengers of war and birds of prey in third countries; and finally in the supply and other economic planning for the liberated areas, west and east.

Nearly all these problems were based on the war economy of scarcity. Already by this summer extreme shortages were disappearing except for a limited number of tight materials and products. Of course end uses in the United States were limited, and, if these restrictions were lifted by the War Production Board, there would not be enough to meet all demands for all products. But this change from relative scarcity to relative sufficiency meant that more and more the problems of our procurement and export programs became trade problems. Our exporters and importers, who loyally accepted wartime trade controls needed for the prosecution of the war, now began to chafe that these controls were being retained to promote trade interests, not always our own. I would add the footnote that foreign interests were equally convinced and vociferous that the pressure from us to relax restrictions was an effort to give American traders the jump over their own on post-war business. So also economic planning for the restoration of the liberated areas has obvious implications for business and commerce the moment supplies of essentials begin to look easy.

¹ Delivered before a joint meeting of the Rotary Club and the Chamber of Commerce, Akron, Ohio, Sept. 12, 1944. Mr. Taft is Director of the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs, Department of State.

Is all this argument with foreign interests, including the British, and among ourselves, worthwhile? Is post-war foreign trade worth getting excited about? I don't think I need to argue that one with a representative group of northeastern Ohio businessmen. On X-Day, civilian supply for the United States will be the world's greatest market, dammed up now for three years at least, but foreign outlets are an important, if not an essential, extra. When Germany is defeated many contracts will be terminated and reconversion to civilian supply will begin. On V-Day, when Japan goes under, many more contracts will evaporate. Export will have to fill part of that gap. Some items like automotive products, especially from certain areas specializing in export, machine tools, and specialized machinery—all these depend in great part on foreign buying in ordinary times. Post-war surpluses of these and many other products have to seek foreign markets.

Narrow nationalism with the affection for self-sufficiency is gone. It was always a Nazi weapon of economic warfare. We can never be satisfied with anything but the kind of full production we have seen in these two last years—turning out the things the world needs. We have the mechanical genius and friendly enterprise of the youngest great Nation of the world, and we want to send abroad the overflow of technical competence and social progress from this home of modern democracy. We don't need to worry about taking away our own market for finished goods. Narrow-minded Englishmen of the eighteenth century, who thought backward countries should be kept agricultural, lost England's greatest colony, but these same United States proved in less than 100 years—from 1776—that the very industrialization those Englishmen opposed made us Britain's best customer and did it in no lengthy period. An increasing reason in the next 50 years why we should trade abroad is the strategic materials we don't have and will have to buy abroad. That helps to pay for what we ship out to the ends of the earth. But it isn't enough, or anything like enough, to

enable foreign buyers to finance the contribution to raising world standards of living. We shall have to buy other people's goods if we want to sell to them, and it does not hurt us to do so. It is in fact the essential element for world stability in the economic field. Without that stability all our plans for world organization and peace will probably fail.

But all this is wishful thinking, say the ones who call themselves realists; at least, say they, it won't happen in the liberal free-world tradition. Every great trading nation is going to provide a government-directed foreign-trade program with the tightest kind of trade and exchange controls, from China in the Far East through Russia to the liberated areas; and England itself, the great originator of free trade, will join the group. They have to, and therefore *we* have to, so we are told; our traders need a great powerful government foreign-trade organization to protect them and lead them by power and threats past these foreign discriminations and exclusions. In effect, say these "realists", the war in the economic world is to continue an economic warfare that is not distinguishable from what we have ourselves conducted against our enemies for nearly three years of actual war.

For all the plausibility of the argument, we reject it instinctively and for very good intellectual and political reasons also. Let us examine the facts.

What are these controls that we are asked to continue? They are controls which grow from shortages and fear of shortages—shortages of goods and materials, shortages of ships, shortages of foreign exchange. Sometimes it is hard to know which is more effective, the fear or the shortages; for controls of some articles and materials continue long after everybody knows there is no shortage but, on the contrary, a whale of a surplus. In the case of exchange, that is, of foreign currencies, where psychology is such an important part of relative values, fear can of course be devastating, so that you must not think I am depreciating its importance.

These controls begin with control of what each nation has itself. In the United States the controlled-materials plan allocates the non-food raw materials to the uses which are important for war,

and the semi-finished goods and the manufactured articles are assigned to the uses required in the war. The War Production Board Requirements Committee makes these allocations on the recommendations of the divisional requirements committees, 30 or more of them. The Food Requirements and Allocations Committee of the War Food Administration does it for food and agricultural products, with joint committees with the WPB for things like fertilizer or agricultural machinery. Britain has similar allocating bodies.

But supply, like this war, is global, and so are shortages. So Britain and the U. S. come together in what are known as Combined Boards, with Canada added to some of them. The Munitions Assignment Boards in London and Washington assign arms, ammunition, and implements of war, which have a long definition, including military-type trucks (and jeeps), and all airplanes. The Combined Shipping Adjustment Board assigns shipping, and the Combined Raw Materials Board and the Combined Food Board are what their names imply. These two Boards recommend what nations shall get what supplies and from what source the supplies shall come. Where prices could be run up by indiscriminate buying, they designate the buyer. The Combined Production and Resources Board seeks to equalize the burden of war production between the Allied nations and studies and handles shortages of a few key manufactured items. Of course it is always short supply items other than arms, etc., or items involving shipping problems that the Boards control, but the controls are generally respected and market areas and quotas are being definitely assigned to one nation or the other. The national allocating agencies, whose personnel make up the Boards, almost always accept the recommendations.

When an item is extremely short, like rubber, we have put on special development programs in foreign countries at great expense. We have made government contracts with other governments for the entire exportable surplus of a scarce commodity, like cinchona bark (quinine), or pyrethrum (bug powder), or casein, or peanuts, or linseed-oil.

Because the U. S. and U. K. have been fighting for their lives, they have said to other countries, You get from what we control only what you have to have; to implement that we assign shipping pri-

curities and we require export licenses. To prevent shipments of non-essentials or to control essentials, we put on import controls. England's import controls are total; ours are partial. The French and others are equally tight. Some of these others, the French in particular, permit no private trade at all. In North Africa or in this country the French buy and sell everything, whether in long or short supply, from or to our traders, for their own.

It should be noted that lend-lease is of necessity a government-to-government process. What is equally important, reverse lend-lease is the same, a type of public purchase. When we get raw materials on reverse lend-lease, we prevent the creation for the other supplying nation of dollar exchange with which it could buy our goods. That is no reason for not getting reverse lend-lease where we can, but it is one definite draw-back to it. Proposals for its continuance post-war are exceedingly dangerous to an economically stable world.

The next major control is control of exchange. The British bank all the dollar exchange of the Empire and of certain other countries and use it for the purposes most needed for the prosecution of the war. So now we can't sell hand-tools in India or Australia or consumer goods in the Middle East unless the British Treasury allots the dollars. If the U. S. and U. K. have worked out a combined program of exports to those areas, the dollars are provided automatically for the goods coming from the United States. But it is very difficult to get those programs increased to any substantial degree that requires additional dollars.

On the other hand, to the countries from which Britain does not get lend-lease, she pays for supplies she buys with pounds that can be spent only in Britain—blocked sterling it is called. And the total of blocked sterling is huge and growing, way beyond the British dollar balances or the whole dollar pool. At the end of the war Britain will have to find ways to fund those sterling debts and ultimately must pay with exports.

Along with these controls are the economic warfare financial controls. All the funds in the U. S. of the occupied countries, and of most of the neutrals, are frozen and are released only on special or general license of our Treasury.

How can we ever get rid of these controls? Or should we get rid of them? That is the question the "realists" raise about post-war trade.

The controls exist in part because of economic warfare—that is, to keep scarce materials away from our enemies as well as from uses that are not essential. The blockade is more and more successful, obviously, so that use by the enemy is no longer anything to worry about; we have more and more of his European sources of supply. But we will have a very difficult similar problem with the neutrals in this respect. They have not helped us by joining our war effort; and, while they have given us a little, they have also supplied our enemies in varying degrees. They have not been devastated like the occupied United Nations; they have dollars and pounds. Shall we let them move into post-war markets and push out France and Belgium and Holland and Norway, who are forced to rebuild first before they can trade? That problem is not easy to solve, but it too is separable from the main question of post-war trade abroad and the question of a liberal trade policy versus the economic warfare theory.

Essentially this argument continues because of differences in estimates of shortages and variations in confidence that ways can be found and will be found to eliminate or neutralize shortages.

Is there going to be enough food to give Europe a decent diet when X-Day comes? Increasingly informed opinion says that we shall have substantial food surpluses in a relatively short time after X-Day.

Will industry convert fast enough after X-Day to provide the short- and long-time demands from the devastated countries and the increasing requests from China and Latin America for industrialization? And if WPB controls are taken off, won't our own pent-up demand absorb all that can be produced? That is exactly the question upon which the WPB has just expressed its opinion a week ago in announcing that most of its controls will stop after X-Day. All available information supports their judgment that there will be sufficient surplus to satisfy our important export demands.

But if controls are off, it is difficult to put them back. That is where the question of confidence in our capacity to meet the future becomes important. Certainly there is the possibility, in fact the certainty, that when controls come off some items may get a little attempted manipulation until the price stabilizes on a basis of confidence in supply. In the case of items that have been on public pur-

chase for some time, the supply has come through channels of government buyers and shippers; it may well take time before private channels are reestablished. That is exactly the trouble with public purchase. But the way to get away from it is to take the chance and start. Waiting does not help any. Enterprisers had better be risk takers.

Is shipping going to be short after X-Day? That is another matter on which there are varying opinions. It is unquestionably true that target tonnages to Latin America have been substantially exceeded during the last six months, and the inflationary tendencies among a number of our good neighbors to the south have been substantially checked by good supplies of many important items. One without responsibility or inside information in that field may be permitted to guess that shipping will not be too tight after X-Day.

Into this situation comes the WPB order taking off many controls after X-Day. Shall the requirement of specific export licenses continue on the present scale? It would seem difficult to justify it for supply reasons, though the authority still continues under the War Powers Act, of course. Import restrictions, issued by WPB, will be rare, obviously. So import and export controls perforce are to be relaxed.

That leaves us with financial controls and the exchange problem. The financial controls for the liberated areas will no doubt disappear when recognized governments appear, since the freeze was to protect them from the Germans. Exchange problems remain, and there will be a shortage of dollars in the Eastern Hemisphere. Latin America has large supplies of dollars and the neutrals have much exchange also, but not Britain or many of the areas we want to help in Europe and the Far East.

So we are back with the "realist". Should we keep our controls on exports and imports and our public-purchase techniques because the governments of these areas have to use some or all of these controls to protect their financial and exchange position?

The "realist" argues that our controls are a trading point to get them to take off their controls. The argument is unsound, for the continued existence of the controls in the United States gives moral support to those in the other countries who are only too close to winning out anyway in their efforts to establish a state trading system. The

relaxation of our controls makes it easier for them to get our exchange and helps their situation. It gives us a better chance to persuade them to take off controls. Moreover, provisions in the peacetime trade agreements we have with many of the countries concerned are an important safeguard against the misuse of trade controls, once their wartime necessity has ceased.

The United States must also take the leadership in attempting to secure adherence to a liberal and non-discriminating foreign-trade policy, including the relaxation of trade barriers throughout the world, and particularly by countries like England, France, and the others struggling to rebuild themselves and get on a normal export basis with a sufficient balance of payments to stabilize their exchanges. That problem is out of my direct field of responsibility, but everywhere my associates and I turn we run into it. I can perhaps contribute a few remarks concerning the fundamental element in its solution, the attitude with which we as a nation approach the financial and reconstruction problems of England and the other United Nations, Russia, China, and France above all.

The fact is that if we want stable economy around the world, we have to concern ourselves with the financial position of these major trading countries, beginning with England. It is essential for our national interest to have a strong England, soundly reconstructed, and exporting enough goods to pay for the goods she must import, including what she buys from us. England was and must continue our best customer. There is a natural outburst of sympathy for the millions disrupted by aerial bombing and the millions made homeless by the horrible 10 weeks of buzz-bombs. I share that sympathy, but I am asserting a primary selfish United States interest in a strong healthy Britain. We must find ways to help them solve their financial problems.

The same direct interest applies only in lesser degree for the others. The question in each case is how we can send our goods that they need so desperately. They are not going to starve. We were unlucky in entering Europe by southern Italy first, a deficit area, for, except for coal, Europe as a whole can be largely self-supporting quickly in the items essential to life. The latest news from France supports this view to a surprising degree. The goods we want to send most

International Conference on Civil Aviation

[Released to the press September 12]

More than 50 countries have been invited by this Government to an international conference on civil aviation to take place in this country beginning November 1. Exploratory conversations with several countries which have been held in recent months have indicated the desirability of holding such a conference as soon as practicable. The course of military events has already freed great areas of the world from military interruptions which forced the cessation of civil air traffic. When Germany is defeated, military interruptions will have virtually ended in all areas save those presently held by the Japanese. The approach of German defeat underlines the need for prompt arrangements by which peaceful traffic through the air may be promptly resumed.

The invitation extended by the Department of State suggests that the forthcoming conference make arrangements for immediate establishment of provisional world air routes and services which would operate during a transitional period. The proposal is also made that an interim council with subordinate committees be set up by the conference.

Through this council the data of practical experience obtained during the transition period could be collected, recorded, and studied, and further recommendations for improving international air-transport arrangements could be made in the light of that experience. Such a council operating through working committees could likewise recommend future action to be taken with respect to technical standardization and uniform procedures.

The conference would likewise discuss the principles and methods to be followed looking toward the adoption of a new over-all aviation convention.

The invitation, as sent to the governments and authorities listed below, follows:

"The Government of the United States has concluded bilateral exploratory conversations with a number of other governments which have displayed a special interest on the subject of post-war civil aviation, with particular emphasis on the development of international air transport.

"These discussions have indicated a substantial measure of agreement on such topics as the right of transit and non-traffic stops, the non-exclusivity of international operating rights, the application of cabotage to air traffic, the control of rates and competitive practices, the gradual curtailment of subsidies, the need for uniform operating and safety standards and the standardization or coordination of air navigation aids and communications facilities, the use of airports and facilities on a non-discriminatory basis, and the operation of airports and facilities in certain areas. It was also generally conceded that international collaboration, probably by means of an international aeronautical body, would be desirable in achieving and implementing the aforementioned objectives, although there was some diversity of opinion as to the extent of regulatory powers on economic matters which should be delegated to this international body.

"The approaching defeat of Germany, and the consequent liberation of great parts of Europe and Africa from military interruption of traffic, sets up the urgent need for establishing an international civil air service pattern on a provisional basis at least, so that all important trade and population areas of the world may obtain the benefits of air transportation as soon as possible, and so that the restorative processes of prompt communication may be available to assist in returning great areas to processes of peace.

"The Government of the United States believes that an international civil aviation conference might profitably be convened within the near future for the purpose of agreeing on an increase in existing services and on the early establishment of international air routes and services for operation in and to areas now freed from danger of military interruption, such arrangements to continue during a transitional period. This conference might also agree so far as possible upon the principles of a permanent international structure of civil aviation and air transport, and might set up appropriate interim committees to prepare definitive proposals. Definitive action on such proposals, based on practical experience gained during the interim period, might be taken either as

a result of a later conference, or by direct approval of the governments without the necessity of conference.

"This Government suggests that the international conference proposed for the immediate future could have the following objectives:

"I. (a) The establishment of provisional world route arrangements by general agreement to be reached at the Conference. These arrangements would form the basis for the prompt establishment of international air transport services by the appropriate countries.

"(b) The countries participating in the conference would also be asked to agree to grant the landing and transit rights necessary for establishing the provisional route arrangements and air services referred to above.

"(It would be highly desirable if each delegation were sufficiently familiar with its country's plans for international air services to permit formulation of an international air transport pattern referred to in paragraphs (a) and (b) above.)

"II. The establishment of an Interim Council to act as the clearing house and advisory agency during the transitional period. It would receive and consider recommendations from each of the working committees referred to in item III; it would report upon desirable revisions in routes and services during the interim period, subject to the approval of the countries served by these routes and services; it would maintain liaison with each of the participating countries; it would supervise studies and submit information to the interested governments concerning the development of air transport during the transitional period; and would make recommendations to be considered at any subsequent international conference.

"III. Agreement upon the principles to be followed in setting up a permanent international aeronautical body, and a multilateral aviation convention dealing with the fields of air transport, air navigation and aviation technical subjects; and, for the purpose of developing the details and making proposals for carrying into effect the principles so agreed, the establishment of the following working committees, which would be under the supervision of the Interim Council:

"(a) A committee to follow developments relating to the establishment of the routes and services to be established under item I, to correlate

traffic data, to study related problems and to recommend desirable revisions in routes and services. This committee would also make studies and recommendations concerning the future pattern of these routes and services.

"(b) A central technical committee, with subordinate sub-committees, which would work closely with the committee described in subparagraph (c) below, to consider the whole field of technical matters including standards, procedures, and minimum requirements, and to make recommendations for their application and adoption at the earliest practicable time.

"(c) A committee to draft a proposal with respect to the constitution of a permanent international aeronautical body and a new multilateral aviation convention.

"Having in mind the foregoing considerations as a basis for discussion, the Government of the

(Continued on page 305)

GOVERNMENTS AND AUTHORITIES TO WHOM INVITATIONS HAVE BEEN EXTENDED

Afghanistan	Ireland
Australia	Lebanon
Belgium	Liberia
Bolivia	Luxembourg
Brazil	Mexico
Canada	Netherlands
Chile	New Zealand
China	Nicaragua
Colombia	Norway
Costa Rica	Panama
Cuba	Paraguay
Czechoslovakia	Peru
Dominican Republic	Philippines
Ecuador	Poland
Egypt	Portugal
El Salvador	Saudi Arabia
Ethiopia	Spain
French Delegation	Sweden
Great Britain	Switzerland
Greece	Syria
Guatemala	Turkey
Haiti	Union of South Africa
Honduras	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Iceland	
India	Uruguay
Iran	Venezuela
Iraq	Yugoslavia

The Danish Minister in Washington
The Thai Minister in Washington

The Relief of Occupied Greece

By

FOY D. KOHLER¹

The Greek-relief program, which has been a unique operation during this war, involved the only large-scale breach of the economic blockade of occupied Europe. Through that breach have poured almost 450,000 tons of foodstuffs, medicines, and related supplies to save a heroic people from extinction by starvation and disease. The operation has required the close cooperation of several Allied and neutral nations and has necessitated agreement between the belligerent powers on both sides.

People might well ask, as many have: "Why Greece?" "Hasn't the program benefited the enemy; if not, why not?" "How did it start?" "How does it work?" The following account may provide answers to these questions.

Greece is about the size of the State of New York, comprising a mountainous, deeply serrated mainland, surrounded by some 50 habitable islands and countless islets which dot the surrounding Ionian and Aegean Seas. Of the total land area of 50,000 square miles, only one fifth, or 10,000 square miles, can be cultivated. Some cereals and potatoes are produced in the plains of Macedonia and Thrace, but in the narrow valleys and on the mountainous slopes of the mainland and the islands the principal products are tobacco, olives, grapes and citrus fruits, and a little cotton. These are mainly luxury products, of which a large part is normally exported to help pay for the 600,000-odd tons of wheat, fats, and animal products which must be brought from abroad each year to feed the Greek people. The rest of the bill for these food imports is met largely from the earnings of the Greek Merchant Marine and remittances from Greek emigrants in foreign lands.

In June 1941 Greece finally fell to the enemy, after seven months of inspired and inspiring resistance which shattered the myth of Axis invincibility, forced Hitler to send the Wehrmacht to

the rescue of his battered Fascist vassal, and delayed, perhaps decisively, the timetable of the Nazi attack on Soviet Russia.

Greece promptly began to pay the price of her resistance in terms of starvation. The domestic harvest was a third below normal that year as a result of the mobilization of manpower and the requisition of tractors and farm animals for the struggle in Albania. The granary of eastern Macedonia and Thrace was in the hands of the Bulgarians, sealed off from the rest of Greece. The Greek Merchant Marine and Navy had gone away with the Government to pursue the war from abroad. Internal food reserves, already unwontedly low because of shipping priorities given war goods, were soon exhausted. Replacement was impossible, for Greece was cut off from her Allies and her normal sources of supply. Within a few months the daily bread ration was cut successively from 12 ounces to 9, to 6, and finally to 3½ ounces, in a country where bread, in truth the staff of life, was consumed normally by laborers in quantities up to 3 pounds per day.

American Foreign Service officers, who were obliged to leave Greece in the middle of July 1941, had seen workers faint from hunger in the streets of Athens. The officers had received desperate appeals for American intervention and aid from representatives of all Greek factions and classes. Those appeals were forwarded to the Department of State with factual reports on conditions and with comments and recommendations. The Department was receiving appeals also from other sources on behalf of Greece. The Greek Government-in-exile was actively seeking a method of providing for its suffering people. Greek diplomats were exploring all possible avenues. In the United States a Nation-wide Greek War Relief Association to centralize the collection of funds for the embattled Greek population had been formed promptly after the Fascist attack. Before Greece fell, it had sent several million dollars into that country as a tangible expression of American sympathy. After the Axis occupation, the Association continued to keep the Greek cause actively

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before the public and before the governmental authorities, ably seconded by established philhellenic organizations such as the Near East Foundation, the American Friends of Greece, and by auxiliary Greek-American societies.

Appeals for Greek relief were accumulating in London, and the Greek situation was a subject of frequent discussion between the American and British authorities. The British, fighting with their backs to the wall, were understandably reluctant to permit a breach in the blockade and thus jeopardize one of their major weapons. The United States, still neutral, embarked on a policy of aid to those people resisting aggression, but it was equally reluctant to urge the adoption of a policy which might eventually result in providing important economic aid to the Axis.¹ The Germans, depending upon well-intentioned humanitarians in various neutral countries and even in the United Kingdom itself, were endeavoring to blackmail Britain into relaxing the blockade by laying the distress of their victims to "British desertion of their Allies" and by proclaiming their own readiness to permit the feeding of the occupied countries from the outside world.

Accumulating evidence soon indicated that distress in Greece was mounting disastrously and that the Germans were particularly callous in their disrespect of their obligations toward that conquered country. In August 1941, following agreement between the British, Greek, and American Governments, the approval of the Turkish Government was obtained for the purchase of food in Turkey and for its shipment in a chartered Turkish vessel to Greece. Turkey was regarded as constituting a part of the continental area. The transaction, therefore, did not involve an increase in the total foodstuffs inside the blockade. The United Kingdom Commercial Corporation made the purchases and shipping arrangements for the account of the Greek Government and the Greek War Relief Association, whose active participation this Government officially authorized. The International Red Cross Committee, which had stationed a delegate in Greece following the outbreak of hostilities with Italy, agreed to receive and to supervise the distribution of the Turkish supplies. For that purpose it organized in occupied Athens an administrative committee including members of the IRCC, the Greek Red Cross, and other Greek organizations. It operated under a supervisory committee

composed of the principal IRCC delegates and representatives of the Greek, German, and Italian Red Cross Societies. The United States Government sent an observer from its Embassy at Rome, a diplomat formerly stationed at Athens, who was able to follow the operation at first hand until interned, and finally exchanged after the entry of the United States into the war. Shipments from Turkey began in October 1941 and terminated in August 1942. Eleven round trips were made and 20,000 tons of Turkish foodstuffs transported to Greece. Unfortunately Turkey's own stocks of foodstuffs were low. Some dried vegetables were secured, together with other miscellaneous items, but the primary necessity, wheat, was unavailable. The program was thus pitifully inadequate. Many supplementary methods, short of an outright breach of the blockade, were explored. Most of them proved impracticable, including the proposed evacuation of Greek children and nursing mothers, but some of the plans were adopted. During the fall and winter of 1941 the United States Treasury authorized the Greek Government, the American Red Cross, and the Greek War Relief Association to make several remittances from the United States to Switzerland for the purchase of medicines and milk for Greece. On January 27, 1942 the British and American Governments announced that in view of the conditions in Greece they had agreed exceptionally to authorize the shipment to that country of 8,000 tons of wheat from the Near East.² In February the British agreed, on the recommendation of this Government, to a further proposal of the Greek War Relief Association to charter the Swedish ship *Sicilia* for the transport direct to Greece from the United States of 2,300 tons of lend-lease flour and a consignment of American Red Cross medical supplies.³ In March that shipment and the first cargo of wheat from the Near East were sent to Greece. Those constituted the first actual shipments into the blockaded area. Swedish vessels, chartered by the Greek Government, and also used for the eastern Mediterranean transports, made several trips to Greece during the spring and summer of 1942 until the entire approved quantity had been delivered. During that first year of emergency relief measures the organization of the IRCC received and distributed

¹ BULLETIN of Sept. 27, 1941, p. 232.

² BULLETIN of Jan. 31, 1942, p. 93.

³ BULLETIN of Mar. 7, 1942, p. 208.

in Greece a total of over 40,000 tons of food supplies.

The winter of 1941-42 was a period of unparalleled misery in Greece with practically no transport, no fuel, and no food. Reports of suffering from insanitation and death from starvation reaching this Government from the IRCC and its own observers in Greece were appalling beyond belief. Aside from the feeble attempts of a few Italian officials to ameliorate conditions, it was increasingly clear that the Axis was indifferent to the fate of its victims, and that a major breach of the blockade was required if the Greek Nation was to be saved from extinction. The decision to permit regular shipments to Greece was reached in February 1942, culminating the extended discussions of the Greek situation which the United States, British, and Greek Governments had carried on among themselves and with interested groups in all parts of the world. The reasons impelling that decision are suggested above. They may be summarized as follows:

1. By their gallant resistance to the Fascist and Nazi aggression, unflinching even against hopeless odds, the Greeks had made a major contribution to the war, not only in a direct military sense but also in restoring the morale of the freedom-loving peoples at a particularly dark moment. Tremendous sympathy was felt for all Allied countries, large or small, which had been temporarily overwhelmed by Axis might. Their situation was a source of constant concern. Greece's agricultural poverty presented a problem requiring special consideration.

2. In all conscience, the Allies could not allow an associate to pay the price of national extinction for the preservation of national honor, if there were any feasible means to prevent it. Moreover, from the point of view of their own war interests, the Allied powers had to realize that the fate of Greece might well influence the decision of any remaining neutrals faced with Axis aggression.

3. The Greeks were notably unsubmitive to the occupation. They were harboring hundreds of British soldiers and were continuing their resistance in many other ways. Aid from their allies would sustain them spiritually as well as physically.

4. Despite their obligations under international law and practice, the Germans were obviously prepared to allow the Greek Nation to die of star-

vation, for the reason, apparently conclusive to them, that Greece had no industrial resources of value to the German war machine.

5. There was reason to believe, nevertheless, that the Germans were merely indifferent to the fate of Greece, rather than intent upon destroying the Greek race, and that the Germans in Greece were not wholly unaffected by contact with the horrible misery which met their eyes. In addition, they would be under some impulsion to live up to their public declarations in the hope of forcing other blockade concessions of value to them.

6. Greece's geographic location would facilitate the operation of a relief scheme. Lying on the extreme fringe of German-occupied Europe, Greece was tied to the continent only by precarious shipping lanes and a single-track railroad, for which she provided no fuel, and which was already overburdened with war traffic. There was thus little likelihood that the Germans would be tempted to remove foodstuffs from Greece, either native or imported, in any large quantity, when they could secure supplies from nearby sources at less expense to their transport system. On the other hand, Greek ports were readily accessible by sea, and supplies could be delivered directly into the hands of the relief authorities.

7. The experience with the previous small-scale relief shipments had been satisfactory.

8. While the Allied peoples generally supported their governments' policy of holding the Germans directly responsible for the feeding of the populations of the occupied territories, public opinion strongly favored action to bring an end to the appalling situation in Greece, which had been widely publicized.

The plan for large-scale relief, drawn up by British blockade experts and agreed to by the British and United States Governments, contemplated the chartering of Swedish shipping sufficient to carry to Greece, initially, a quantity of 15,000 tons of wheat a month which the Canadian Government had generously offered to donate for the purpose. The vessels would be chartered in the name of the Swedish Red Cross, against payment guarantee of the Greek Government.¹ The scheme was based on Axis acceptance of appropriate conditions governing the distribution of those imports and Greek native produce in the interests of the Greek people

¹The Greek War Relief Association had offered to defray these expenses to the limit of its resources.

and on the receipt of guarantees that a neutral commission would receive the necessary control and reporting facilities from the occupation authorities. Operations were to be placed under the general auspices of the International Red Cross Committee, which had handled with remarkable effectiveness the distribution of the previous relief supplies. It was agreed, however, that the authority of a strong and independent government was essential to secure acceptance and to insure observance by the Axis of the indispensable conditions, and that an enlarged, strengthened, relief organization, based upon the responsibility of the sponsoring government, would be required to handle an operation of the magnitude envisaged.

During the first week of March 1942 the United States and British Ministers at Stockholm laid the plan before the Swedish Government, which not only agreed to make shipping tonnage available and to undertake the necessary negotiations with the Axis Governments but also offered to provide Swedish control personnel at its own expense. Negotiations required several months, during which time the above-mentioned emergency shipments were going forward, but the Axis powers finally agreed to the basic Allied conditions:

1. All belligerents were to give safe-conduct in both directions.
2. The neutral Commission to be set up in Greece was to have under its direction and control all distribution of relief supplies.
3. The imported foodstuffs were to be reserved for the Greek population and to be distributed wherever in the opinion of the Commission the need was greatest.
4. Foodstuffs originating in Greece were to be reserved solely for persons normally resident in Greece in peacetime, except in so far as any foodstuffs consumed in Greece by the armed forces or officials of the occupation powers were replaced by equivalent imports of foodstuffs from Axis sources into Greece for the Greek population; and except in so far as the Commission might approve the export of any genuine surplus of olive oil or dried or fresh fruits in exchange for foodstuffs of other kinds.
5. The Commission was to have the right and duty to verify by direct observation that the conditions were fulfilled, and they were to have sufficient staff and enjoy such freedom of movement as would be necessary for inquiry and inspection.

Meanwhile, arrangements were being made between Swedish authorities and the IRCC regarding the organization of the distribution machinery in Greece. Responsibility for relations with the occupying authorities was to be assumed by the Swedish Chargé d'Affaires, who would also provide reporting facilities through the Swedish Foreign Office. A joint Swedish-Swiss Commission was set up, under Swedish presidency, consisting originally of 15 but subsequently expanded to its present 30 official members, including representatives of the Medical Mission of the Swiss Red Cross, which was assigned general responsibility for the distribution of milk and medicines. The first three Swedish vessels, of the eight originally made available, left for Greece on August 7, 1942, carrying cargoes of Canadian wheat and medical supplies furnished by the American Red Cross. The Relief Commission began its humanitarian labors on September 1. Despite the overwhelming difficulties of operation in occupied territory, the Commission had soon created the effective distributing machinery which has gradually expanded throughout the country to include:

- A central organization at Athens with 25 neutral officers and 1,200 local employees, assisted by some 3,000 volunteer workers (in children's canteens and soup kitchens);
- Branch offices at Salonika, Tripolis, Volos, and on Crete, with 5 to 10 neutral officers and 350 local employees;
- Voluntary central committees in 50 provincial capitals on the mainland and in the islands and 3,000 local committees throughout the provinces, having over 9,000 members;
- The Medical Mission of 5 Swiss doctors and several nurses, assisted by 42 Greek doctors and 1,000 Greek women volunteers, handling medical aid and the distribution of medical supplies.

The Commission took over direct control of flour mills for the grinding of the relief wheat, using the bran and millings to trade for milk and eggs for children and hospitals. After securing the passage of a law permitting closure of any establishment guilty of abuses, the Commission arranged for distribution of food rations through registered local bakers and grocers. In accordance with the results of a plebiscite of the Athens population, soup kitchens were kept open only for the small number completely indigent or homeless who were unable to prepare their own food.

While those kitchens had necessarily been the chief reliance of the IRCC during the previous miserable winter, serving three fourths of the people of the capital area, the walking and waiting in line in winter weather had a deleterious effect on health, and the system had threatened a breakdown of family life.

Since the greatest distress was naturally centered in urban areas, the Commission's labors have, therefore, been concentrated primarily in the Athens-Piraeus metropolitan district, containing 1,200,000 people or over one-seventh of the entire Greek population, and in secondary urban centers such as Salonika, Patras, Volos, Tripolis, Kalamata, Heraclion, Canea, Mytilini, and Chios. However, despite overwhelming transport difficulties and military restrictions, the Commission has endeavored with ever-increasing success to extend the scheme effectively to rural areas on the mainland and to the islands. Considerable railway and shipping facilities were secured from the occupation authorities, and the Commission obtained control of some 100 motor trucks, well worn but still usable. These facilities have been supplemented by shipments of motor vehicles, spare parts, and accessories, together with gasoline and oil from North America, and by the chartering of small Swedish vessels to ply among the islands.

After September 1, 1942 the Swedish Chargé was successful in securing a stoppage of Axis food exports from Greece, and in effecting arrangements for the implementation of item 4 of the original Allied conditions. Under his plan the occupation authorities reported to the Commission the consumption of their troops in Greece, giving the Commission facilities to verify and control the figures presented. That consumption was evaluated in terms of calories, and Axis foodstuffs of equal caloric content (mainly sugar, dried vegetables, and potatoes) were imported through Venice in a Swedish vessel chartered for the Germans by a Greek firm with Allied authorization. The latest report on this "compensation" scheme showed that the Axis had a favorable balance, and, despite the difficulties connected with verification of Axis consumption and the evaluation of caloric content of foods, it may be considered to have operated satisfactorily. However, the operation has recently come to an end, as a result of the disintegration of the German position in Italy and Europe generally, and the Swedish vessel has returned to Swedish waters.

Financing of the distribution in Greece has presented a most difficult problem. It was obviously undesirable to transfer Allied funds into occupied Greece, for funds are more fluid than commodities and more difficult to control. Even had such transfer been desirable, it was quite impossible in practice, for the nominal pre-war rate of 150 drachmas a dollar was maintained for banking purposes, while the free-market purchasing power of the dollar rose quickly to 300, to 600, to 6,000, to 60,000, to 120,000 drachmas. The rate has recently soared to the dizzy figure of 400,000 drachmas! It would thus have cost more to pay the expenses from Greek port to Greek consumer by transfer of foreign exchange than from the supply source in North America to the Greek port. The Commission was accordingly authorized to collect charges on food distributed that would be sufficient to cover its own handling expenses in Greece, subject to the provision that no person should be denied relief for lack of means of payment.

In November 1942, 3,000 tons of dried vegetables and 300 tons of canned milk were added to the monthly allotment of 15,000 tons of wheat. The shipments have subsequently been steadily expanded both in quantity and quality. At present, monthly allocations of foodstuffs total about 35,000 tons per month and include, in addition to wheat, dried vegetables, fish, milk, soup concentrates, and miscellaneous products, supplied by the United States under lend-lease to the Greek Government. Medicines have also gone forward in increasing quantities, together with a steady flow of supplies, equipment, and motor transport and fuel for the Commission's own use. The relief fleet of Swedish vessels has grown correspondingly. Sixteen are now in service and two more are authorized, despite the fact that four have unhappily been lost in the performance of their humanitarian task—one shipwrecked, two mined, and one bombed. The United States Government has paid the charter-hire on these vessels since January 1943, except for crew insurance and miscellaneous expenses, which are still met by the Greek War Relief Association,¹ the available reserves of the Greek Government having been exhausted and it having become apparent that the

¹ For operational details see BULLETIN of Apr. 24, 1943, p. 347, and press releases of the Foreign Economic Administration, in cooperation with the Department of State, dated Mar. 17 and Sept. 1, 1944.

burden was too great for a private organization to support in its entirety.

Up to March 31, 1944 relief to Greece had cost over \$40,000,000. In addition to the devoted services of their nationals—including the life of one Swedish official—the Swedes and the Swiss had contributed approximately \$1,000,000 each. The United States Government and public had made payments of more than \$20,000,000, three fourths through lend-lease to the Greek Government and one fourth through the Greek War Relief Association and the American Red Cross. The Canadian Government and private Canadian organizations had made a notable contribution exceeding \$12,000,000. The United Kingdom had advanced over \$6,000,000 for the account of the Greek Government to cover the early relief shipments from the Near East.

It will be apparent that Greek relief has been, at the least, an outstanding example of international good-will and a remarkable venture in practical international cooperation.

It will be some time before the results of the relief work in Greece can be fully and accurately evaluated because of the lack of communications, of vital statistics, and of information of all kinds under the chaotic conditions prevailing in the country. Principally because of military operational restrictions, the Commission has been unable to function in the Bulgarian-occupied northern provinces of Thrace and eastern Macedonia, and has been able to deliver only irregularly supplies to Epirus, to the central mountain districts, and to the Sporades and Cyclades Islands. With those exceptions, relief has effectively reached the rest of the non-producing population, particularly in urban areas, or approximately 3,000,000 persons.

The daily bread ration was originally set and has been maintained at 7 ounces per person, with supplementary rations of $4\frac{2}{3}$ ounces for certain laborers, particularly in public utilities, and for invalids. Twice monthly, rations of dried vegetables, soup concentrates, fish, and other products have been distributed. The hospitals receive special treatment, and nursing mothers and children have received regular allotments of milk and special baby foods. The mounting spiral of death from starvation was definitely checked in 1943, and the birth rate has slowly been climbing back toward normal. Evaluation of the caloric composition of relief foodstuffs in the Athens area, where distribution has been most effective, has

varied from a low of 450 to a recent high of 1,040 calories a day. Most of the population has usually been able to supplement those rations with native foodstuffs varying between 30 to 200 calories per day, but the total has at best been considerably less than half of the American standard of consumption. The supply of native produce has gradually decreased, with the declining internal production which has resulted from guerilla warfare and lack of fertilizers, seeds, draft animals, and agricultural machinery. Recently, domestic supplies have entirely disappeared because of the virtual elimination of the drachma as an acceptable medium of exchange and because of the general chaos caused by savage German reprisals on the eve of their military collapse.

It may safely be said that the Greek-relief scheme has saved the Greek Nation from extinction by starvation. It has not, however, saved the Greek people from the ravages of malnutrition and its accompanying diseases, the results of which will be eradicated only after many years.

By the time this account is printed, Greece will probably be liberated or will be on the verge of liberation. That is the full relief—the spiritual as well as the physical relief—which the Greek people have so long awaited.

CIVIL AVIATION—Continued from page 299

United States extends a cordial invitation to your Government to participate in an international conference along the above lines, to take place in the United States beginning November 1, 1944; and in view of the time element would appreciate receiving an early response as to whether your Government can arrange to have a delegation at such conference.

“This invitation is being extended to the following governments and authorities:

- “a) all members of the United Nations;
- “b) nations associated with the United Nations in this war;
- “c) the European and Asiatic neutral nations, in view of their close relationship to the expansion of air transport which may be expected along with the liberation of Europe.

“The Danish Minister and Thai Minister in Washington will be invited to attend in their personal capacities.”

Gifts to Chinese Institutions

[Released to the press September 12]

There are now being distributed to institutions in China a total of about 380 pounds of books, instruments, and other cultural materials which were selected in Washington by the Department of State and carried to China in the plane which arrived in Chungking this week bearing Mr. Donald M. Nelson, chairman of the War Production Board, and Maj. Gen. Patrick Hurley.

Included in the shipment were 11 packages of current technical and professional journals (such titles as *Journal of Agricultural Research*, *Biological Abstracts*, *American Economic Review*, and *Railway Age*). One package contained over 40 pounds of technical books on engineering, metallurgy, and mechanics requested by the director of the government arsenal at Chungking. Another package consisted of 50 pounds of small tools for the Chinese industrial cooperatives. A selection of important reference works on America and recently published biographies of leading American figures, such as Jefferson, Justice Holmes, and William James, were sent to Nanking University for use in its course in American civilization. A package of books on the manufacture of pulp and paper, beet sugar, and cane sugar, and on practical metallurgy were sent upon request to the provincial government of Sinkiang, Chinese Turkestan.

The bulk of the shipment went to leading university centers in Chungking, Chengtu, Kunming, and Kiating and consisted of a wide range of recently published books. These dealt with problems of public health, practical medicine, and child care, as well as modern architecture, recent American plays and poetry, and current opinion in this country in regard to the present war effort and post-war planning.

To indicate the origin of these, each book and journal sent carries on its inside cover "From the People of the United States of America." The Department has received grateful acknowledgment from Chinese schools and libraries of similar books carried to China in Vice President Wallace's plane in June.¹ Both shipments are tokens of America's desire to break down as far as possible the wartime isolation of the Chinese people.

¹ BULLETIN of June 24, 1944, p. 586.

Anniversary of Mexican Independence

[Released to the press September 16]

The President has sent the following message to His Excellency General Manuel Avila Camacho, President of the United Mexican States, on the occasion of the anniversary of Mexican independence:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
September 16, 1944.

I am happy once more to send to Your Excellency on this anniversary of Mexican independence the most cordial felicitations of this country and all good wishes for the continued welfare of your great nation. It is deeply gratifying that this anniversary finds your country and mine collaborating more closely than ever in support of the cause of the United Nations and of liberty for nations and people.

With particular pleasure I have noted that the friendly cooperation between our Governments has steadily extended during the past year, in measures calculated to benefit the two countries both now and in the future. Among many illustrations the steps taken in the fields of industry, fisheries and agriculture in which both our countries are vitally interested may deserve special mention.

I am confident that this close cooperation will result in additional benefits alike to Mexico and to the United States and that these benefits will extend far beyond the war years.

United in common war aims we must be reunited also in the aims of fruitful peace.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The following message was sent by Secretary of State Cordell Hull to His Excellency Ezequiel Padilla, Secretary of Foreign Relations of Mexico:

SEPTEMBER 16, 1944.

This anniversary of Mexican independence affords me the opportunity to send hearty congratulations and to express the deep interest of my countrymen in the continuing welfare and progress of the people of Mexico.

Let me likewise renew to Your Excellency my most cordial personal greetings, and to pay tribute to the high personal esteem in which you are held.

CORDELL HULL

TREATY INFORMATION

Inter-American Coffee Agreement

There is printed in the *Federal Register* of September 12, 1944, page 11208, Public Notice 1 issued September 8, 1944 stating that the Inter-American Coffee Agreement, signed at Washington on November 28, 1940,¹ which was continued without change for one year from September 30, 1943,² is being continued in force without change for a further period of one year from September 30, 1944. This continuation has been effected in accordance with the procedure outlined in article XXIV of the agreement.

Protocol on Pelagic Whaling

Canada

The American Embassy in London transmitted to the Department of State, with a despatch of September 4, 1944, a copy of a note of August 30, 1944 from the British Foreign Office in which the Government of the United Kingdom informs the Government of the United States, in accordance with article 7 of the protocol relating to pelagic-whaling operations signed at London on February 7, 1944, of the deposit on August 24, 1944 in the archives of the Government of the United Kingdom of the instrument of ratification of that protocol by the Government of Canada.

Railway Convention, Brazil and Paraguay

The American Embassy at Rio de Janeiro informed the Department of State by a despatch of August 17, 1944 of the signature on August 11, 1944 by representatives of the Governments of Brazil and Paraguay of a railway convention covering the construction and operation of a railway line from Pedro Juan Caballero, the Paraguayan border town opposite Ponta Porã in Brazil, to the Paraguayan city of Concepción. Provision is made for the extension of the Brazilian Govern-

ment-owned railway, the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil, to Ponta Porã. Under the terms of the convention the Paraguayan Government may purchase the line constructed within Paraguay by the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil after five years have elapsed. In the event that the Paraguayan Government decides at that time to sell or lease the road to foreigners, preference will be given to the Brazilian line. Under article 3 of the convention, the Brazilian Government agrees to furnish all of the capital for the construction and equipment of the new line.

THE DEPARTMENT

Responsibility of the Special War Problems Division³

Purpose. In order that all divisions and offices of the Department shall be familiar with the responsibility of the Special War Problems Division, Office of Controls, for liaison with the President's War Relief Control Board and the American Red Cross, attention is called to the nature of this function and the need to assist that Division in carrying out its responsibility.

1 *Responsibility of the President's War Relief Control Board.* (a) Executive Order 9205, July 25, 1942, established the President's War Relief Control Board "for the purpose of controlling in the public interest charities for foreign and domestic relief, rehabilitation, reconstruction, and welfare arising from war-created needs . . ." The Board was authorized to utilize the services of available and appropriate personnel of the Department of State, and other Government departments and agencies, and such other services, equipment, and facilities as might be made available by those departments and agencies.

(b) The Chairman of the Board, Mr. Joseph E. Davies, wrote the Secretary of State on June 26, 1944, as follows:

"It would be of assistance, therefore, if the Department of State could arrange to transmit regularly to the Board copies of reports received from abroad on war relief matters, and on matters related thereto, which would help the Board in

¹ Treaty Series 970 and 979.

² BULLETIN of Oct. 16, 1943, p. 267.

³ Administrative Instruction (General Administration 5) dated and effective Sept. 5, 1944.

guiding the activities of private war relief agencies subject to visitorial supervision. If appropriate the Board would also be glad to see copies of extracts from general reports which might have specific reference or application to relief matters.

"Such a current relief intelligence service would aid in liaison relationships with the Department of State and other departments, and in the determination of the extent to which voluntary relief resources should complement the public resources made available through the Army, Lend-Lease, the Red Cross, UNRRA or other public authority."

2 *Liaison responsibility of the Special War Problems Division.* By Departmental Order 1218, January 15, 1944 (p. 8), the Special War Problems Division, Office of Controls, is responsible for "(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." This responsibility continues and applies to all geographical areas, including liberated areas, and ex-enemy areas. It includes responsibility for facilitating contacts of the President's War Relief Control Board and the American Red Cross with other divisions and offices of the Department, as well as furnishing to the Board and, where appropriate, to the American Red Cross selected information and reports received by the Department. Within the Special War Problems Division the Relief Branch handles matters of this nature.

3 *Cooperation of other divisions and offices.* All divisions and offices of the Department are hereby requested to take note of the character of this liaison responsibility of the Special War Problems Division and to give assistance by forwarding to that Division pertinent materials for the information of the Board and of the American Red Cross, and by bringing matters of interest to those two agencies to the attention of the Division. The Special War Problems Division and other interested divisions, particularly the divisions of the Office of Wartime Economic Affairs and the office of the Adviser on Refugees and Displaced

Persons, shall work together in close collaboration in maintaining this liaison responsibility effectively.

JOHN ROSS

Director, Office of

Departmental Administration.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1944.

Appointment of Officers

Bernard F. Haley as Director of the Office of Economic Affairs, effective September 11, 1944.

Edwin A. Plitt as Chief of the Special War Problems Division to succeed James H. Keeley, Jr., effective September 14, 1944.

ECONOMIC CONTROLS—Continued from page 297

are reconstruction goods for transportation and for power, and raw materials for manufacturing of various important kinds. The sooner we can get these countries on an export basis, the sooner we can sell them our products. We all need to begin this process (and business and labor have an important part of this responsibility) by pounding into the consciousness of our people that exports of other countries are the only way in the long run they can pay us for our exports to them.

During the transitional period before exports, lend-lease can help in those plans that are related to the war, but with the ending of hostilities that loses its authority. Action will be needed and the people of this country must understand its necessity. These remarks have perhaps on the surface been too far removed from tires and automotive equipment and roller bearings and vacuum cleaners. That is only on the surface, for now as never before the tendencies of this planet of ours are centripetal. We shall move closer together. Unfortunately the closer they move together, the great nations and small nations, the greater the opportunity for friction. Sound foreign trade, and sound economies as its foundation in each nation, are the only lubricant that can avoid that friction and make possible the smooth-running machinery of a peaceful and happy world.

PUBLICATIONS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Foreign Service List (Abridged), July 1, 1944. Publication 2161. ii, 61 pp. Subscription, 50¢ a year (65¢ foreign); single copy, 20¢.

Diplomatic List, September 1944. Publication 2174. ii, 124 pp. Subscription, \$1.50 a year; single copy, 15¢.

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Economic Problems of the Reconversion Period: Fourth Report of the House Special Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning, pursuant to H. Res. 408, a resolution creating a special committee on post-war economic policy and planning. [VIII. Foreign Trade and Shipping, pp. 54-60.] H. Rept. 1855, 78th Cong., iv, 79 pp.

The article listed below will be found in the September 16 issue of the Department of Commerce publication entitled *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, copies of which may be

obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, for 10 cents each:

"Plastic Situation—Brazil," by Aldene Barrington Leslie, economic analyst, American Embassy, Rio de Janeiro.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Consular Offices

The Consulate at Rosario, Argentina, was closed on September 9, 1944.

With the departure of Selden Chapin for Paris on September 6, 1944, the office at Algiers, Algeria, reverted to the rank of consulate general.

The Consulate at Kweilin, China, was closed on September 11 instead of on June 25 as reported earlier.¹

The American Mission at Paris, France, was re-established on September 8, 1944.

¹ BULLETIN of July 23, 1944, p. 103.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Nov. 9, 1944

BULLETIN

VOL. XI, NO. 274

SEPTEMBER 24, 1944

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CHANGES IN THE LAWS GOVERNING IMMIGRATION AND
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INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION WITH
THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS: *By Raymund L. Zwemer* ☆ ☆ ☆



THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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September 24, 1944

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication compiled and edited in the Division of Research and Publication, Office of Public Information, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes press releases on foreign policy issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest is included.

Publications of the Department, cumulative lists of which are published at the end of each quarter, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

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Recognition of Syrian and Lebanese Independence

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press by the White House September 20]

I have sent to the Senate the name of George Wadsworth for confirmation as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary near the Governments of Syria and Lebanon. Recognition of the independence of Syria and Lebanon by the United States Government is a step in which I, like every American, can take whole-hearted pleasure. Our civilization has deep roots in the culture and wisdom of the Middle East. It is wholly fitting, therefore, that these spiritual bonds should find

this new expression in closer political relations with these two free Arab states. The peoples of Syria and Lebanon have given ample evidence of their adherence to the principles of democracy and international collaboration. In welcoming them into the society of free sovereign nations, I am glad to pay tribute to the French people, who, while fighting gallantly for their own liberation, have given practical illustration of their ideals by taking action to implement the independence of the Syrian and Lebanese peoples.

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press September 19]

The recognition by the United States of the independence of Syria and Lebanon by the accrediting of an American Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Governments of those countries is a matter of gratification to the people and Government of the United States.

The eventual right of Syria and Lebanon to independence was recognized by the terms of the mandate entrusted to France. Since the proclamation issued at Damascus regarding the independence of Syria and the proclamation issued at Beirut regarding the independence of Lebanon, in 1941,¹ effective powers have been transferred to

the Governments of both countries, subject to the exigencies of war. In that process French cooperation has been of great assistance.

I am confident that the free nations of Syria and Lebanon will play a helpful part in the cooperative task of international peace and progress which lies before us.

The rights of the United States and its nationals in Syria and Lebanon, as defined in the convention between the United States and France dated April 4, 1924,² will remain unchanged pending the conclusion of new accords between the United States and Syria and Lebanon, respectively. The notes exchanged on this subject between this Government and the Governments of Syria and Lebanon will be made public in the near future.

¹ BULLETIN of November 29, 1941, p. 440.

² Treaty Series 695.

EXCHANGE OF NOTES BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES AND SYRIAN
AND LEBANESE GOVERNMENTS

[Released to the press September 23]

The note of the American Diplomatic Agent and Consul General to Syria and Lebanon, George Wadsworth, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Syria follows:

SEPTEMBER 7, 1944.

EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that my Government has observed with friendly and sympathetic interest the accelerated transfer of governmental powers to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments since November 1943 and now takes the view that the Syrian and Lebanese Governments may now be considered representative, effectively independent and in a position satisfactorily to fulfill their international obligations and responsibilities.

The United States is, therefore, prepared to extend full and unconditional recognition of the independence of Syria, upon receipt from Your Excellency's Government of written assurances that the existing rights of the United States and its nationals, particularly as set forth in the treaty of 1924 between the United States and France, are fully recognized and will be effectively continued and protected by the Syrian Government, until such time as appropriate bilateral accord may be concluded by direct and mutual agreement between the United States and Syria.

I am to add that, following the receipt of such assurances, my Government proposes to appoint an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary as its representative near the Syrian Government and would be pleased to receive in the United States a diplomatic representative of Syria of the same grade.

Accept [etc.]

GEORGE WADSWORTH

The reply by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Syria to Mr. Wadsworth's note follows:

DAMAS, *le* 8/9/44.

SIR:

I have the honour to inform you that I have received with satisfaction your note dated 7th. September, 1944, in which you conveyed the view of the United States Government that the Syrian

Government may now be considered representative, effectively independent and in a position satisfactorily to fulfill its international obligations and responsibilities; and that therefore the United States is prepared to extend full and unconditional recognition of the independence of Syria, upon receipt of written assurances that the existing rights of the United States and its nationals, particularly as set forth in the Treaty of 1924 between the United States and France, are fully recognised and will be effectively continued and protected by the Syrian Government, until such time as appropriate bilateral accord may be concluded by direct and mutual agreement between the United States and Syria.

The Syrian Government have taken note of the friendly attitude of the United States Government, and they highly appreciate this noble geste. It is my pleasant task to convey to you the assurances of the Syrian Government that the existing rights of the United States and its nationals, particularly as set forth in the Treaty of 1924 between the United States and France, are fully recognised and will be effectively continued and protected, until such time as appropriate bilateral accord may be concluded by direct and mutual agreement between Syria and the United States.

I have the honour to add that the Syrian Government welcome the proposed appointment by the Government of the United States, of an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary as representative accredited to the President of the Syrian Republic, and propose to appoint a representative of the same rank to be accredited near the President of the United States.

I avail [etc.]

JAMIL MARDAM BEY

Mr. Wadsworth's note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lebanon follows:

SEPTEMBER 7, 1944.

EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that my Government has observed with friendly and sympathetic interest the accelerated transfer of governmental powers to the Lebanese and Syrian Governments since November 1943 and now takes

the view that the Lebanese and Syrian Governments may now be considered representative, effectively independent and in a position satisfactorily to fulfill their international obligations and responsibilities.

The United States is, therefore, prepared to extend full and unconditional recognition of the independence of Lebanon, upon receipt from Your Excellency's Government of written assurances that the existing rights of the United States and its nationals, particularly as set forth in the treaty of 1924 between the United States and France, are fully recognized and will be effectively continued and protected by the Lebanese Government, until such time as appropriate bilateral accord may be concluded by direct and mutual agreement between the United States and Lebanon.

I am to add that, following the receipt of such assurances, my Government proposes to appoint an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary as its representative near the Lebanese Government and would be pleased to receive in the United States a diplomatic representative of Lebanon of the same grade.

Accept [etc.]

GEORGE WADSWORTH

The reply by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lebanon to Mr. Wadsworth's note follows:

BEYROUTH, *le 8 Septembre 1944.*

SIR:

I have the honour to inform you that I have received with satisfaction your note dated 7th September, 1944, in which you conveyed the view of the United States Government that the Lebanese Government may now be considered representative, effectively independent and in a position satisfactorily to fulfill its international obligations and responsibilities; and that therefore the United States is prepared to extend full and unconditional recognition of the independence of Lebanon upon receipt of written assurances that the existing rights of the United States and its nationals, particularly as set forth in the Treaty of 1924 between the United States and France, are fully recognized and will be effectively continued and protected by the Lebanese Government until such time as appropriate bilateral accord may be concluded by direct and mutual agreement between the United States and Lebanon.

The Lebanese Government have taken note of the friendly attitude of the United States Government, and they highly appreciate this noble geste. It is my pleasant task to convey to you the assurances of the Lebanese Government that the existing rights of the United States and its nationals particularly as set forth in the Treaty of 1924 between the United States and France, are fully recognized and will be effectively continued and protected, until such time as appropriate bilateral accord may be concluded by direct and mutual agreement between Lebanon and the United States.

I have the honour to add that the Lebanese Government welcome the proposed appointment by the Government of the United States, of an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary as representative accredited to the President of the Lebanese Republic, and propose to appoint a representative of the same rank to be accredited near the President of the United States.

I avail [etc.]

SÉLIM TAKLA

Boundary Settlement By Costa Rica and Panama

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press September 18]

The Secretary of State made the following statement on the meeting on September 18 between President Teodoro Picado of Costa Rica and President Ricardo Adolfo de la Guardia:

"The Presidents of Costa Rica and Panama are meeting today at a point near the border of their two countries to celebrate an auspicious event—the final demarcation of their common boundary. As a tribute to the collaboration of the Chilean adviser to the Boundary Commissions, they have selected today, the Chilean national holiday, to celebrate the conclusion of this task.

"In arriving by mutual agreement at a definitive settlement of this old and difficult problem, the Governments of Costa Rica and Panama have not only shown great statesmanship but have also demonstrated the effectiveness of the inter-American principle of the settlement of disputes by peaceful means and have provided another example of the practical value of hemisphere solidarity and cooperation."

Denial of Previous Information On Pearl Harbor Attack

[Released to the press September 22]

The Secretary of State has received the following letter from Sir Owen Dixon, Minister of Australia:

AUSTRALIAN LEGATION,
WASHINGTON, D. C.,
21st September, 1944.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

I have just been informed over the telephone by a representative of the press that Congressman Church informed the House of Representatives this afternoon that he held a sworn statement that on some private occasion I had said that in Australia, forty-eight hours before Pearl Harbour, I knew that a Japanese task force was about to attack somewhere and that a little later I learned that it was about to attack American territory. I at once informed the press, as the fact is, that I had never had any information that any Japanese force was about to attack any territory of the United States or any information that any warlike measures were likely to be taken against the United States and never said so.

I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing the Congressional Record or any other report of what actually took place in the House, but I felt that I should not delay acquainting you with the matter.

Yours sincerely,

OWEN DIXON

Freedom of Information

[Released to the press September 18]

A correspondent submitted the following question to the Secretary of State:

"In view of the developing wide-spread interest on the subject of international news freedom, is there any thought that you would care to express about your own views on this subject?"

The Secretary of State made the following statement in reply:

"The whole question of freedom of information has been under study in the Department of State

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 1, 1944, p. 300, and July 16, 1944, p. 60.

for some time. I have consistently supported the cause of freedom of news and I would support any practical measure to give international recognition to this principle."¹

Entry of Allies into the Netherlands

Statement by THE PRESIDENT

[Released to the press by the White House September 18]

For four long years the Netherlands has suffered under the heel of German oppression. For four long years its liberties have been crushed, its homes destroyed, its people enslaved. But the spark of freedom could never be extinguished. It has always glowed in the hearts of the Netherlands people. It now emerges as an avenging flame.

The armies of liberation are flowing across the borders of Holland. A gallant Queen is returning to her gallant people. The Netherlands again stands on the threshold of her ancient liberties.

But the fight will not end with the restoration of freedom to Holland. It will not end with the inevitable defeat of Germany. The people of the Netherlands know as the people of the United States know that final victory cannot be achieved until Japan has likewise been vanquished.

Only then can peace and freedom return to the world.

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press September 18]

The entry of Allied troops into the Netherlands heralds the restoration of freedom to a gallant and heroic people. The day of retribution for the treacherous attack on peaceful Holland and the barbaric destruction of defenseless Rotterdam is now at hand.

Defeated but never vanquished, occupied but never conquered, the people of the Netherlands have never wavered in their belief in the final victory. Side by side with their Allies the Netherlands people at home and abroad have fought in the common cause. Side by side they will continue the fight until the Netherlands Indies as well as the homeland have been liberated.

Commercial Policy Objectives

Address by WILLIAM A. FOWLER¹

[Released to the press September 20]

Public awareness of the importance of international trade to our material welfare and to our general relations with other countries has grown remarkably during the past 15 years. There now appears to exist, throughout the country and among leaders of both major political parties, a large measure of agreement on the objectives of post-war trade policy. Put briefly, these objectives are: (1) an expansion of international trade great enough to make an important contribution to our material welfare, in terms of jobs and higher standards of living, and (2) the strengthening of the economic foundation for a peace that will last for more than one or two generations.

The wide-spread agreement on these broad objectives is most encouraging. It means that we have come to realize, from the disheartening years of economic depression and from the supreme tragedy of a second world war within a single generation, that in the interest of our own welfare we must learn how to live in harmony with the peoples of other countries. It means that we are determined to avoid a repetition of the economic warfare we and others engaged in after 1918. It means, above all, that we will strive, through forward-looking national and international measures, to bring about the kind of world we want—a world in which dynamic economic forces, capable of providing productive full employment and of satisfying the expanding wants of mankind, are permitted to operate without unreasonable restraints and without the repressions and distortions that stem from fear of war and preparation for war. Achievement of this kind of world will depend, to a very important degree, upon cooperative action to remove unreasonable trade barriers in order to make possible a progressive expansion of international trade after the war.

The feeling of optimism encouraged by the general agreement on post-war trade objectives should

not lull us into the belief that, without any special effort, we can roll along toward those objectives. There is urgent need for general, non-partisan agreement on a dynamic trade policy suited to the post-war needs of the country. It is hoped that the stage of plans and counter-plans will soon be over; that there will emerge, before long, one that will command general public support.

Early agreement on such a policy is needed for several reasons. First, the urgency of the problem of reconverting production from a wartime to a peacetime basis is each day becoming more apparent. A definite foreign-trade policy would provide the businessmen of America, and of other countries, with a basing point to guide them in making their individual plans for the future.

Second, there must be a solid foundation for the resumption and expansion of private international trade as soon as hostilities cease. If we are to have productive employment of those now engaged in war work and of the millions now serving in the armed forces we must not allow restrictive pre-war trade barriers and wartime trade restrictions to stand in the way of the earliest and fullest possible development of mutually beneficial trade.

Moreover, as long as there is uncertainty about post-war trade relations, there will be uncertainty about general post-war economic relations. The currency-stabilization and international-investment projects worked out at the Bretton Woods conference merit support as integral parts of a broad program of international economic cooperation. The successful functioning of these proposed financial institutions, however, will be closely related to the success of international efforts to bring about an expansion of trade, on a multi-lateral basis, through appropriate action in regard to trade barriers and other matters affecting the volume and flow of trade between countries.

In evaluating proposals concerning our post-war trade policy, a number of rather simple tests can be applied:

One. *Does the proposal give real promise of producing, year after year, a substantial increase in trade over pre-war levels?* There is a sharp

¹ Delivered before the Christ Church Forum, New York, N. Y., Sept. 20, 1944. Mr. Fowler is Chief of the Division of Commercial Policy, Office of Economic Affairs, Department of State.

contrast, in this respect, between a trade program based largely on a policy of importing principally raw materials for industrial use or national stock-piles and one based upon a world-wide reduction of restrictive trade barriers of all kinds. Increased imports of raw materials alone will not begin to solve the post-war trade problem. What is needed is the substantial reduction of all restrictive tariffs, elimination of harmful trade discriminations, and the removal of unreasonable prohibitions and restrictions on trade, throughout the world. International cooperation is needed also to deal with restrictive practices of monopolies and cartels and with commodities the world supply of which tends to exceed effective demand. What is needed, in short, is a comprehensive program of action along the lines indicated in the Atlantic Charter, to which the governments of all the United Nations have subscribed or adhered, and in article VII of our mutual-aid agreements with many of the same nations.

Two. *Does the proposal involve discriminatory treatment of friendly countries?* The suggestion is sometimes made that the reduced rates of duty on selected items provided for in an agreement with one country should be applied only to imports from that country, while similar articles from other friendly countries remain subject to higher rates of duty. That would be a good way to lose friends and business too. If this country ever threw overboard its traditional policy of tariff equality—known as the unconditional most-favored-nation policy—our export trade would immediately lose valuable benefits and protection. It would at once become vulnerable to counter-discriminations on the part of other countries, and our general relations with them would be embittered. Our international obligations stand in the way of our adoption of any such suggestion. So does plain common sense.

Three. *Does the proposal involve more governmental control of our foreign trade than there has been in the past?* During the war, a very large part of our foreign trade has been under government regulation or management. This has been generally accepted as necessary to the most effective mobilization of our resources. The same is true of the meshing of our wartime trade controls with those of our Allies—particularly the United Kingdom and Canada—through combined boards. Some post-war trade plans contemplate a rather

extensive regulation of private trading in time of peace and a considerable amount of state trading, that is, government purchases of foreign goods for resale in the home market, or government purchases of domestic products for sale abroad. Several forms of federal foreign-trade boards have also been suggested. Such a board would control every trade transaction through its power to give or withhold a required license. Traditionally, of course, the American people have favored private enterprise and private initiative, and most Americans realize that government control of foreign trade would mean government control of domestic business also.

Just one more observation. Many proposals or measures of national importance have failed of adoption or, if adopted, have had their effectiveness impaired because of apathy or inaction on the part of the general public. Almost every forward-looking measure suffers, also, because of lack of support from some of those who want to go in the same direction, but much farther and much faster. It is to be hoped that whatever post-war trade plan emerges, through public discussion and exploratory intergovernmental conversations, will receive wide-spread support by the public, including those who may feel that it falls short of goals they consider desirable. It may be expected that skillful and active minorities will fight any forward-looking trade policy. A vocal and active majority is needed now and will be needed in the critical months and years ahead if we are to make progress, with the help of our friends in other countries, toward the objective of an expanding world trade and the material benefits it can bring and if we are to make progress toward the closely related objective of a strengthened economic foundation for enduring peace.

LEGISLATION

Relating to the Imposition of Certain Penalties and the Payment of Detention Expenses Incident to the Bringing of Certain Aliens into the United States. S. Rept. 1099, 78th Cong., to accompany S. 963. [Favorable report.] 4 pp.

Civil Aviation. H. Rept. 1893, 78th Cong., pursuant to H. Res. 307. 16 pp.

Extending the Existence of the Alaskan International Highway Commission for an Additional 4 Years. S. Rept. 1108, 78th Cong., to accompany H. R. 4625. [Favorable report.] 1 p.

The Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation With the American Republics

By RAYMUND L. ZWEMER¹

More than six years ago the Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation With the American Republics was created as an instrument of the United States Government to undertake a permanent, cooperative program for the development of social, economic, cultural, and scientific relations with our sister republics. Throughout the war the Committee has carried forward the planning and execution of this long-range endeavor to promote mutual progress and understanding.

A review of the origin and activities of the Committee will demonstrate the role for which it was conceived. At the suggestion of the President the Committee was established early in 1938 to coordinate the activities of departments and agencies of the Government, under the leadership of the Department of State, in undertaking cooperative projects in the Western Hemisphere. The Congress showed great interest in the objective and passed two acts implementing the operations of the Committee.

"AN ACT authorizing the temporary detail of United States employees, possessing special qualifications, to governments of American republics and the Philippines, and for other purposes" was approved on May 25, 1938, followed by the amended act of May 3, 1939 (Public Law 63, 76th Cong.; 53 Stat. 652), which expanded the first act to include the Government of Liberia and authorized the President to detail experts to those countries under certain conditions. These appointments are made *at the request of other governments, with all or part of the expenses being paid by the country desiring assistance or advice.*

The Committee's activities are for the most part, however, indicated in the act of August 9, 1939 (Public Law 355, 76th Cong.; 53 Stat. 1290), which provides that "in order to render closer and more effective the relationship between the American republics the President of the United States is hereby authorized, subject to such appropriations

as are made available for the purpose, to utilize the services of the departments, agencies, and independent establishments of the Government in carrying out the reciprocal undertakings and cooperative purposes enunciated in the treaties, resolutions, declarations, and recommendations signed by all of the twenty-one American republics at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace held at Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1936, and at the Eighth International Conference of American States held at Lima, Peru, in 1938."

As a result of this legislation the Committee was organized to operate under the immediate direction of the Under Secretary of State as chairman. Committee activities were coordinated by a secretariat composed of Department of State employees in the former Division of the American Republics. On April 15, 1942 these functions were transferred to the Division of Cultural Relations. On January 15, 1944 the secretariat was transferred to the Office of American Republic Affairs, where it was given a definitive place in the Department in keeping with its responsibilities.

The Committee, through its 27 members representing 19 departments or agencies of the Government, has at its disposal the vast funds of knowledge, experience, and technical skills which Federal agencies have developed over a period of many years, and it is through the utilization of these varied resources available in Washington that the Committee is able to conduct the well-rounded program of today.

While retaining the unity and cohesion necessary for a balanced and integrated program, the Committee is so organized that it receives the benefit of the advice from all its members who are specialists in diversified fields. The Committee is supported by Subcommittees on Projects, Long-Range Planning, Publications, and Fellowships and Intern Training. It is the general policy of the Committee to correlate projects in the economic, social, scientific, and intellectual fields to meet most effectively the needs of people in the American republics in all walks of life. The proj-

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"The purpose of this program has been, and will continue to be . . . the development of channels for the utilization of the people of this country and the peoples of the twenty other American republics in the consummation of their desires for a closer and more sympathetic understanding of each other's life, language, and culture. Although this is a long-term program, as distinguished from the program of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in those countries, many of the operations which are being performed within the scope of this appropriation are directly connected with the war effort, and the results that are being obtained have not only contributed considerably to a better social and political understanding between the United States and the republics to the south of us, so vital at this time, but also have directly aided the conduct of the war."—House Committee on Appropriations, Report No. 1149, presented by the Honorable Louis C. Rabaut, February 16, 1944.

ects range from teaching a back-country farmer the best way to raise sisal to arranging for an exchange-professorship in electronic physics. The Committee is particularly concerned with avoiding duplication of the functions of other organizations and agencies, public or private.

At the request of the Congress all items for cooperative programs with the other republics are combined into one appropriation, to eliminate the confusion and duplication which might be involved in the appearance of each department or agency before the Congress to obtain individual allocations for these 60 cooperative projects. On the basis of requests and background material furnished the 12 Government agencies participating at present in the Committee's program, the Projects Subcommittee presents the annual program to the Committee. After necessary modifications and changes have been made, these estimates of appropriations are turned over to the Division of Budget and Finance of the Department of State where the actual preparation of the budget is made for incorporation into the budget request of the Department.

In addition to their interdepartmental responsibilities the chairman and the vice chairman of the Committee are members of the staff of the Office of American Republic Affairs, their relation to the Committee secretariat in the Office corresponding to that of Division Chief and Assistant

Division Chief. The secretariat is divided into two sections: Program Operations and Program Control.

The Program Operations Section is responsible for utilizing the facilities and services of all departments and agencies of the Federal Government in reciprocal and cooperative projects and for implementing the general policies of the Department and the Committee. It facilitates clearance of all projects and handles budgetary procedures.

The Program Control Section is, in turn, responsible for a continuous process of review and evaluation of current and past projects. This section is also responsible for the appraisal of future projects of the participating agencies in view of the Government's long-range objectives and policies. Its officers carry out the necessary liaison, research, planning, and reporting activities which afford the Committee and the Subcommittees accurate and detailed information from which the development of their cooperative program is analyzed.

One of the chief activities of the program includes 17 types of cooperative projects of a technical or scientific nature, such as: the development of vital statistics of the Western Hemisphere, which in part involves sending medical statisticians to work with the other American republics in reorganizing and improving their collection of vital statistics; the detail of medical officers for investigation in methods of insect eradication and control of malaria and bubonic plague; important research in anthropology and in labor standards. Child-welfare agencies have been established to investigate labor laws and conditions affecting children in the families of laborers. In the general field of biology studies have been made of marine and fresh-water resources and oceanographic investigations. Agricultural-experiment stations develop long-range programs of collaborative research on plant products produced in the tropics which complement those grown in the United States. A number of experimental investigations deal with quinine, essential oils, fibers, insecticide-producing plants, and other crops.

The cultivation of rubber under cooperative agreements with 14 of the other American republics has led to successful and economical control of the South American leaf blight in nurseries, together with crown budding with resistant strains

which permits safe field planting of the highest yielding Oriental strains. Improvement in methods of bud grafting and in the development of an assortment of unique hybrid strains has also resulted from this project.

Research on tides in Central and South America has provided valuable information for the use of the Navy and the merchant marine, while magnetic and seismological observations aid in aeronautical navigation and telecommunications.

Investigations of the mineral resources and weather forecasting in the other American republics are additional examples of the many projects undertaken.

For specialized training in government, fellowships are offered in many of the fields previously mentioned and others, ranging from budget administration and aviation to tariff problems and archival science. Funds are allocated by the Committee to the Division of Cultural Cooperation of the Department of State for exchanges of distinguished citizens, professors, and students; for assistance in the cooperative maintenance of United States cultural institutes abroad; for aid to United States schools and libraries in the other republics; and for the exchange of publications and translations.

One of the more effective means of promoting international cooperation is the exchange of stu-

dents and professional men and women who return to their respective countries with a better understanding of the problems of the nation visited. Those receiving technical training are generally placed in responsible positions in their respective government agencies or public institu-

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Members of the Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation With the American Republics

Norman Armour, Acting Director, Office of American Republic Affairs, *Department of State*

E. B. Brossard, Commissioner, *United States Tariff Commission*

Hugh S. Cumming (*ex officio*), Director, *Pan American Sanitary Bureau*

Stephen P. Dorsey, Vice Chairman, Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics, *Department of State*

Edward C. Ernst, Assistant Director, Pan American Sanitary Bureau (representing *Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency*)

Herbert E. Gaston, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, *Department of the Treasury*

John E. Graf, Associate Director, National Museum, *Smithsonian Institution*

Lewis Hanke, Director, Hispanic Foundation, *Library of Congress*

Roscoe R. Hill, Chief, Division of State Department Archives, *National Archives*

Kenneth G. Holland, Director, Division of Education, *Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs*

E. W. James, Chief, Inter-American Regional Office, Public Roads Administration, *Federal Works Agency*

Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief, Children's Bureau, *Department of Labor*

Frank J. Mahoney, Executive Assistant to Deputy Administrator Conway, War Shipping Administration, *Maritime Commission*

Ross E. Moore, Chief, Technical Collaboration Branch, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, *Department of Agriculture*

John C. Patterson, Chief, Division of Inter-American Educational Relations, *United States Office of Education, Federal Security Agency*

Warren Lee Pierson, President, *Export-Import Bank of Washington*

Ellis Reed-Hill, Captain, *United States Coast Guard, Department of the Navy*

Oswald Ryan, Member, *Civil Aeronautics Board, Department of Commerce*

C. I. Stanton, Deputy Administrator, *Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce*

Guillermo Suro, Acting Chief, Central Translating Division, *Department of State*

Charles A. Thomson, Adviser, Office of Public Information, *Department of State*

Benjamin W. Thoron, Director, Division of Territories and Island Possessions, *Department of the Interior*

Herbert Wechsler, Assistant Attorney General, War Division, *Department of Justice*

Marion Woodward, Chief, International Division, Engineering Department, *Federal Communications Commission*

George Wythe, Chief, American Republics Unit, *Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce*

Edgar B. Young, Executive Assistant, Division of Administrative Management, *Bureau of the Budget*

Raymond L. Zwemer, Chairman, Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics, *Department of State*

On December 17, 1943 the President approved an act of Congress "to repeal the Chinese Exclusion Acts, to establish quotas, and for other purposes." (Public Law 199, 78th Cong.) The adoption of that measure removed what had been for many years a cause of embarrassment and irritation and one of the few factors marring the traditionally friendly relations between the United States and China. The "ineligible to citizenship" provision in Section 13 (c) of the Immigration Act of 1924² has been a subject of criticism, but that provision was generic and not aimed expressly at persons having any given nationality, as were the Chinese exclusion laws. The repeal of the latter is therefore most fortunate, especially at a time when our country is fighting shoulder to shoulder with China in the greatest and most crucial war of history.

One hundred years ago we concluded our first treaty with China: the Treaty of Peace, Amity, and Commerce signed on July 3, 1844. Our principal concern then was not with regulating the entry of Chinese into this country, since none were seeking entry, but with the entry of Americans into China, especially for purposes of trade. The Chinese had been living pretty much to themselves for many centuries. As far back as the fifteenth century before Christ they had attained a high degree of civilization. Their way of life, however, differed greatly from that of the countries of Europe and America. They spoke of their country as the "Middle Kingdom", the center of the civilized world, and regarded Europeans and Americans as uncivilized. In 1844 they were reluctant to open their doors freely to the foreign merchants, including Americans, who had then become aware of the great possibilities to be found in trade with the Orient. Thus the Chinese Government regarded as a liberal concession the permission which it accorded to Americans in the treaty of 1844 "to frequent the five ports of Kwang-chow [Canton], Amoy, Fuchow, Ningpo and Shanghai" for purposes of trade.

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² 43 Stat. (pt. 1) 153.

³ *Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements Between the United States of America and Other Powers* (Malloy, 1910) 136.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁵ Tso-Chien Shen, *What "Chinese Exclusion" Really Means* (China Institute in America, Inc., 1942), p. 9.

Changes in the Laws Governing Immigration and Naturalization of Chinese

By RICHARD FLOURNOY¹

The next treaty with China, which was signed on June 18, 1858,² showed that the Chinese were still uneasy about Americans and their Minister. The latter was permitted to visit the capital city only for brief periods to transact official business. Article V contained the following remarkable provision:

"... His visits shall not exceed one in each year, and he shall complete his business without unnecessary delay. He shall be allowed to go by land or come to the mouth of the Peiho, into which he shall not bring ships of war, and he shall inform the authorities at that place in order that boats may be provided for him to go on his journey. He is not to take advantage of this stipulation to request visits to the capital on trivial occasions."

In 1848, in the interval between the two treaties, three events occurred which had far-reaching effects upon the future history of our country and upon our relations with China. In that year we acquired from Mexico the vast territory in the West which later became the States of California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and parts of Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico; gold was discovered in California; and the brig *Eagle* arrived from Hong Kong at the port of San Francisco with three Chinese immigrants on board, two men and a woman.³

The discovery of gold in California resulted in a rush of Americans, the "Forty-Niners", from the eastern States to the west coast; and it was also no doubt one of the causes of the great inflow of Chinese. It is said that at the end of the year 1852 there were 25,000 Chinese in California and that 10 years later the number had increased to 54,000, about one half of whom were engaged in mining; the others followed various occupations, including truck gardening and farm labor. Shortly afterwards the Southern and Central Pacific Railroads were built, to a great extent by Chinese labor. Upon the completion of the railroads in 1869 the Chinese turned to other forms of labor. They were willing to work for wages equal to about one

half of those demanded by Americans. American laborers objected to this competition, and the agitation began which gave rise to controversies and riots culminating in the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of May 6, 1882.⁴

The act of 1882 was passed in pursuance of the immigration treaty, which was signed November 17, 1880 and proclaimed October 5, 1881.⁵ Article I of that treaty, which is important in showing the grounds and scope of the restrictions which it was agreed this Government could properly place upon the entry of Chinese, reads as follows:

"Whenever in the opinion of the Government of the United States, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country or of any locality within the territory thereof, the Government of China agrees that the Government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers, other classes not being included in the limitations. Legislation taken in regard to Chinese laborers will be of such a character only as is necessary to enforce the regulation, limitation or suspension of immigration, and immigrants shall not be subject to personal maltreatment or abuse."

Article II of the treaty expressly provided that "Chinese subjects, whether proceeding to the United States as teachers, students, merchants or from curiosity, together with their body and household servants" should "be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord" and should "be accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities and exemptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation". Article III provided that "Chinese laborers, or Chinese of any other class" then residing in the United States should be given most-favored-nation treatment in the protection of their rights.

An obvious hiatus existed between the provisions of Articles I and II of the treaty of 1880: the former provided that "Chinese laborers" might be excluded; the latter provided for the admission of Chinese of four specified classes, "teachers, students, merchants", and persons coming "from curiosity", that is, tourists. Nothing was said about Chinese who on the one hand did not belong to any of the four classes just mentioned but on the other hand could hardly be classified as laborers—such, for example, as newspapermen (whether owners, editors, or reporters), physicians, architects, and builders. The history and object of the treaty would seem to indicate that the exclusion was directed only at laborers and that the four classes specified in Article II were mentioned only as examples or to make it entirely clear that Chinese belonging to those classes were not to be classified as laborers. It was a case of bad treaty drafting, a case in which the exercise of care in drafting might have prevented hardship on the part of those directly affected, to say nothing of difficulties on the part of administrative officers and judges who were called upon to construe and apply the provisions of the treaty.

The title of the act of 1882, "An Act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese", made it all the more important to construe the treaty in accordance with its true intent. However, notwithstanding the historical background and the fact that the agreement relates expressly to the exclusion of "laborers", the courts as well as the administrative authorities placed upon it a strict and narrow construction and held that it excluded all Chinese, whether or not they were "laborers" within the ordinary acceptance of that term, unless they belonged to one or another of the four classes specified in the treaty, or unless they were classifiable as returning resident laborers, Government officials, their families, and attendants, Chinese wives of American citizens (provided for in the act of June 13, 1930, 46 Stat. 581, 8 U.S.C. § 213), transients, and seamen.⁶

⁶ 22 Stat. 58.

⁷ *Treaties, etc.* (Malloy, 1910) 237.

⁸ See *Foreign Service Regulations* (Department of State), Visa Supplement B, Jan. 1941. See also *U. S. v. Crouch* (1911), 185 Fed. 907. For a history of this subject prior to 1909 see Mary Roberts Coahige, *Chinese Immigration* (Henry Holt and Co., 1909).

Amendments and additions to the above act were made in the act of July 5, 1884,⁹ and in 13 subsequent acts, all of which are mentioned in the repealing provision found in Section 1 of the act of December 17, 1943, referred to above. It is unnecessary to set forth in this article the various provisions found in this concatenation of statutes. They have given rise to hundreds of actions in the courts and have required the issuance of numerous administrative regulations. Thus they occupy not less than 125 pages of the U. S. Code Annotated (Title 8, Ch. 7).

Mention may be made of the fact that the act of 1884 "suspended" for 10 years "the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States". That 10 years' suspension was repeated in subsequent laws and finally was made indefinite.

Special mention may be made also of the provisions of Section 6 of the act of 1882, as amended, under which Chinese coming to the United States as members of the exempted classes were required to provide themselves with certificates issued by the Chinese Government giving a description of the bearer and showing that "such person is entitled conformably to the treaty in this act mentioned to come within the United States". Failure to present those "Section 6 certificates" and defects in certificates presented were causes of endless trouble and suits in the courts.¹⁰ In some cases administrative authorities, in order to prevent unreasonable obstruction to normal international intercourse, have in recent years resorted to a broad construction of the treaty and statutory provisions in question. Thus, in order to admit a Chinese newspaper editor he was classified as a "teacher".¹¹ On the other hand, as an example of a strict and narrow construction of the treaty, restaurant proprietors were classified as laborers and not as merchants.¹² In order to exclude Chinese gamblers and highbinders they were classified as laborers.¹³

⁹ 23 Stat. 115.

¹⁰ See, for example, *Xg Fuang Ho v. White* (1922), 250 U. S. 276.

¹¹ The Secretary of Commerce and Labor to the Secretary of State, Mar. 17, 1908 (111 Hackworth, *Digest of International Law*, p. 795).

¹² *In re Ah R. Yow*, 59 Fed. 561; *U. S. v. Chung Ki Foon*, 83 Fed. 143.

¹³ *U. S. v. Ah Fawn*, 57 Fed. 571; IV Moore, *International Law Digest*, 228.

¹⁴ 25 Stat. 476.

¹⁵ See Tso-Chien Shen, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

¹⁶ 43 Stat. 153, as amended.

A decision of unusual importance was rendered by the Supreme Court, May 13, 1889, in *Chae Chan Ping v. United States* (130 U. S. 581), in which it was held that the act of September 13, 1888, known as the Scott Act,¹⁴ prohibiting Chinese laborers who had previously resided in this country from returning after temporary visits abroad, was constitutional and enforceable, although it violated express stipulations in the treaties of 1868 and 1880 with China. In rendering the opinion Mr. Justice Field said: "The treaties were of no greater legal obligation than the Act of Congress." He expressed the view that a treaty "can be deemed . . . only the equivalent of a legislative act, to be repealed or modified at the pleasure of Congress".

That statement is no doubt sound as far as constitutional law is concerned, but whether the treaty violation was justified from the standpoint of international law is another question. The Chinese Minister did not seem to think so.¹⁵

After the effective date of the Immigration Act of 1924 Chinese persons were subject to exclusion under two sets of laws, that is, the statutes mentioned above which related expressly to Chinese laborers and the provision of Section 13 (c) of the act of 1924 which reads as follows:¹⁶

"No alien ineligible to citizenship shall be admitted to the United States unless such alien (1) is admissible as a non-quota immigrant under the provisions of subdivision (b), (d), or (e) of section 4, or (2) is the wife, or the unmarried child under 18 years of age, of an immigrant admissible under such subdivision (d), and is accompanying or following to join him, (3) is not an immigrant as defined in section 3, or (4) is the Chinese wife of an American citizen who was married prior to the approval of the Immigration Act of 1924, approved May 26, 1924."

Subdivision (b) of Section 4, referred to above, relates to wives, husbands, and children of citizens of the United States; subdivision (d), to ministers and professors; and subdivision (e), to students.

The exceptions specified in subdivision (c) coincided fairly well with the exemptions contained in Article II of the Immigration Treaty of 1880, and to most persons it seemed apparent that the Chinese exclusion laws had become, to say the least, a superfluity. The Commissioner General of Immigration, in his annual report for the year 1924, after a careful study of the Immigration Act of 1924, recommended the repeal of the Chinese ex-

clusion laws, "with some adjustments". In a letter of March 22, 1927 the Chinese chamber of commerce of San Francisco brought the matter to the attention of the Secretary of Labor.

There ensued a considerable period of time before governmental action for repeal was taken. However, the delay may have been to the advantage of the Chinese, since, when the matter finally came to a head and bills, including H.R. 1882 and H.R. 2309, were introduced in Congress for the repeal of the objectionable laws in question, the country seemed to be prepared to go further than repealing these laws; it seemed to be prepared to make Chinese persons eligible for naturalization as citizens of the United States. They had previously been denied naturalization upon the ground that they did not come within the purview of the old law. Under the old law (R.S. 2169) the right to naturalization was extended only "to aliens being free white persons, and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." By Section 303 of the Nationality Act of 1940¹⁷ eligibility for naturalization was also extended to "descendants of races indigenous to the Western hemisphere". Chinese persons may not be regarded as "aliens of African nativity" or "persons of African descent", since it is a matter of common knowledge that those provisions were inserted in the law after the Civil War for the purpose of making the African Negroes eligible for naturalization. Such being the case, a Chinese person born in Africa could hardly be regarded as an alien "of African nativity" within the meaning and intent of the law. The courts also held that Chinese could not be regarded as "white persons", since this term was intended to be applied to persons of European extraction, usually spoken of as "Caucasians", and Chinese persons were held to be ineligible.¹⁸

Hearings on H.R. 1882 and H.R. 2309 were held by the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House of Representatives in May and June 1943. They were conducted with unusual care and intelligence, the chairman and members of the Committee evidently appreciating fully the gravity of the problem and the far-reaching effect which the action of Congress would have with regard not only to the immediate domestic problem and the relations of the United States with China in the prosecution of the war but also to the future relations of our country with the Orient.

The repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws was opposed by representatives of certain organizations on the ground that it would result in an influx of hordes of Chinese. The chairman called attention to the errors in these statements and pointed out that, under the quota limitation, only about 107 Chinese could enter annually as immigrants.

The views just mentioned were not shared by most of the witnesses. At the end of the report there is a list of persons and organizations opposing the measure and one of those supporting it. The former occupies one page only, while the latter occupies more than 14 pages.

Altogether, the report of the House Committee hearings is instructive as well as interesting. One striking fact is that the supporters represented not only scientific and religious organizations but a number of the largest business organizations operating in China. Some represented no organization but gave the Committee the benefit of their personal views acquired from long residence in China and close association with the Chinese people.

It is impossible within the limitations of this article to quote at length from the testimony of the various persons who appeared before the Committee. Several who had personally acquired knowledge concerning China and the Chinese people through extensive travel and residence in China drew attention to the movement towards modernizing and industrializing the country and the feeling among the more advanced Chinese that China is entitled to a greater participation in world affairs, which should be accompanied by due respect and equal rights. It was significant that those who had had the most actual experience and contact with China and the Chinese were, in general, those who most strongly supported the bill.

Not only missionaries but representatives of large business concerns having commercial relations with China testified that the exclusion laws had caused a serious "loss of face" on the part of the Chinese, which had an injurious effect on our commercial relations. They were perhaps the strongest advocates of the measure to repeal the laws in question, not only for immediate purposes having relation to the prosecution of the war

¹⁷ 54 Stat. (pt. 1) 1137.

¹⁸ *Re Ah Yup*, 5 Sawy. 155, Fed. Cas. No. 104; *re Gee Hop*, 71 Fed. 274; *Fong Yue Ting v. U. S.* (149 U. S. 716).

against the Axis powers but for purposes of international cooperation and the mutual advantage of the United States and China in the years to come.

Pearl Buck, in the course of her remarks advocating the repeal, called attention to the fact that the Japanese were using the exclusion laws as propaganda in their attempts to prejudice the Chinese against this country. This point was also emphasized by Richard J. Walsh, editor of the magazine *Asia and The Americas*, who quoted at some length from Japanese radio broadcasts on the subject.

In his testimony Dr. Walter H. Judd, formerly a medical missionary in China and now a member of Congress from the State of Minnesota, made an extensive and enlightening statement. In the course of his remarks he said:

"There is no question but that our country, to say nothing of China, is in the most crucial hour in its whole history, and that the self-assurance and confidence with which we have always approached our problems is not wholly justified under present circumstances.

"We are fighting a war on many fronts and we have to consider those fronts in terms of the situation, not as we wish it existed, but as it actually does exist. . . .

"To make sure that China holds until we can defeat Hitler and bring our full force to bear on Japan, we must do two things: We must get more material help to China, more guns, planes, tanks, gasoline, medicines, supplies, technicians, and so forth; and we must get more spiritual help, more to strengthen morale and faith. We all see the necessity of our taking the military offensive in the Pacific as soon as possible; we have not seen how necessary it is that we take and win the political offensive even more quickly. . . . Is there any business before this Congress more important than taking every possible step to make sure the Chinese stay with us, now and in the decades and centuries ahead. There is no more powerful step we can take immediately than to remove the racial stigma in our immigration laws."

The following colloquy between Dr. Judd and Mr. Allen concerning the Chinese is of interest:

"MR. ALLEN. In other words, they want to assert their national pride?

"DR. JUDD. They want to be free.

"MR. ALLEN. A dignified and proud people; is that right?

"DR. JUDD. Yes, and properly so. They have a long heritage and high culture. If any American is inflated with a sense of his own importance and profound wisdom, it would be a good idea for him to go and study Chinese literature and he would come down to earth."

Mr. Farrington, delegate from Hawaii, in the course of his testimony said:

"The Chinese have yielded completely to American influence and constitute, as American citizens, an element of great strength in a community whose position today is of vital importance to the country in this war, and of tremendous significance in the future of the Pacific.

"The record of Hawaii is proof that the Chinese can be accepted into the life of this country without injurious or disastrous results, and on the contrary, can become a great asset to it."

President Roosevelt, in a message to Congress of October 11, 1943, strongly recommended the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws and an amendment of the law governing naturalization, to make it possible for Chinese to obtain naturalization. After mentioning the fact that China is now an important ally of the United States in the war against Japan and the other Axis powers, the President said:

"But China's resistance does not depend alone on guns and planes and on attacks on land, on the sea, and from the air. It is based as much in the spirit of her people and her faith in her allies. We owe it to the Chinese to strengthen that faith. One step in this direction is to wipe from the statute books those anachronisms in our law which forbid the immigration of Chinese people into this country and which bar Chinese residents from American citizenship.

"Nations like individuals make mistakes. We must be big enough to acknowledge our mistakes of the past and to correct them.

"By the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws, we can correct a historic mistake and silence the distorted Japanese propaganda. The enactment of

legislation now pending before the Congress would put Chinese immigrants on a parity with those from other countries. The Chinese quota would, therefore, be only about 100 immigrants a year. There can be no reasonable apprehension that any such number of immigrants will cause unemployment or provide competition in the search for jobs.

"The extension of the privileges of citizenship to the relatively few Chinese residents in our country would operate as another meaningful display of friendship. It would be additional proof that we regard China not only as a partner in waging war, but that we shall regard her as a partner in days of peace. While it would give the Chinese a preferred status over certain other oriental people, their great contribution to the cause of decency and freedom entitles them to such preference.

"I feel confident that the Congress is in full agreement that these measures—long overdue—should be taken to correct an injustice to our friends. Action by the Congress now will be an earnest of our purpose to apply the policy of the good neighbor to our relations with other peoples."

The unusual importance of this measure was emphasized in the report of the Senate Committee on Immigration presented by Senator Andrews on November 16, 1943 recommending the passage of H.R. 3070. Special attention is called to the following passages in the report:

"The original act of exclusion was not born of ill will toward the Chinese people. The motivation was exclusively economic. But profound changes have taken place in 60 years.

"We have had time and abundant occasion to reflect on the extraordinary qualities of the Chinese people. Above all, the tenacity and courage of the Chinese in their terrible ordeal of the last 7 years has impelled a respect that we are proud to acknowledge.

"It is clear today that only a few short years stand between the Chinese people and the full use of their vast resources, both human and material, for their own betterment and well-being, free from any outside control. It has always been the policy of the United States to help China in her struggle against encroachment upon her independence and sovereignty, and we are now brothers in arms in that cause. It is fitting, therefore, that the incon-

gruity of discriminatory legislation, inconsistent with the dignity of both our peoples, should be eliminated."¹⁹

In letters of October 1, 1943 the Honorable Richard B. Russell, chairman of the Committee on Immigration of the Senate, requested the views of the Department of State and the Department of Justice on Senate bill 1404 "to repeal the Chinese Exclusion Acts, to establish quotas, and for other purposes". This was the Senate companion bill to H.R. 3070.

In his reply of October 11, 1943 the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Stettinius, after summarizing the bill, said:

"As the bill will remove discriminations against the Chinese which have been a source of misunderstanding in the relations between the United States and China for over 60 years and have aroused widespread resentment among the Chinese people its enactment is recommended."

In his reply of October 13, 1943 Attorney General Biddle observed that the quota limitation introduced into the laws of this country by the Immigration Act of 1924 furnishes "a sufficient protection to this country against excessive immigration, generally, and against the possibility of an unreasonable number of immigrants from any one country." In this connection he said that under the proposed quota provisions the Chinese quota would be only 105, so that no useful purpose would be served by retaining the Chinese exclusion laws. He concluded as follows:

"The heroism of the Chinese people has won the respect and admiration of the United Nations. A repeal by the Congress of our antiquated exclusion laws can be an expression of our gratitude and a symbol of our esteem.

"Similarly, we should extend to Chinese residents in this country the same eligibility for citizenship that is now given peoples of other nations. While only approximately 45,000 Chinese residents who are in the United States would benefit directly by such action, the good will created would extend to the millions in China who are fighting at our side.

(Continued on page 331)

¹⁹ S. Rept. 535, 78th Cong., 1st sess.

Formation of Rubber Study Group

[Released to the press September 22]

As the outgrowth of the exploratory rubber talks recently concluded in London the Department of State announced United States participation in an informal Rubber Study Group. This group, composed of representatives of the Governments of the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States, will meet from time to time to discuss common problems arising from the production, manufacture, and use of rubber—crude, synthetic, and reclaimed.¹

Studies will be initiated and possible solutions to rubber problems will be considered. However, the group as such will not formulate and transmit recommendations to the participating governments, although the latter will be kept fully informed of the proceedings of the group through their representatives.

Arrangements will be made for other interested governments to be kept informed of the studies made and of the results of the discussions so far as practicable.

The Rubber Study Group will continue to function during such period as, in the opinion of each of the participating Governments, it continues to serve the purposes for which it is designed.

A first program of studies is under way on both sides of the Atlantic as a basis for future discussions.

The Proclaimed List

REVISION VIII AND SUPPLEMENT 1

[Released to the press September 20]

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 Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, pursuant to the proclamation by the President of July 17, 1941 providing for The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals, on September 13, 1944 issued Revision VIII of the Proclaimed List. Revision VIII supersedes Revision VII, dated March 23, 1944, and consolidates Revision VII with its six supplements.

No new additions to or deletions from the Proclaimed List are made in this revision. Certain minor changes in the spelling of names listed are made.

Revision VIII follows the listing arrangement used in Revision VII. The list is divided into two parts: Part I relates to listings in the American republics and part II to listings in countries other than the American republics. Revision VIII contains a total of 15,411 listings, of which 9,915 are in part I and 5,496 in part II.

[Released to the press September 23]

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 Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, on September 23 issued Cumulative Supplement 1 to Revision VIII of the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals, promulgated September 13, 1944.

Part I of Cumulative Supplement 1 contains 35 additional listings in the other American republics and 161 deletions. Part II contains 82 additional listings outside the American republics and 45 deletions.

Discussions by Cuban and United States Commissions

[Released to the press September 22]

Cuban and United States commissions have engaged in Washington in joint discussions involving further purchases by United States Government agencies of sugar, invert and blackstrap molasses, and alcohol from Cuba.²

After a careful analysis of the situation and mutually helpful discussions of the various problems involved, the two commissions have agreed to suspend the discussions because certain important matters require careful reexamination in both countries.

The negotiations have been conducted in the high spirit of mutual cooperation that has characterized previous negotiations between Cuba and the United States.

¹ BULLETIN of July 23, 1944, p. 84, and Aug. 13, 1944, p. 156.

² BULLETIN of Jan. 29, 1944, p. 132.

Visit of Venezuelan Agronomist

[Released to the press September 19]

Dr. R. Pinto Salvatierra, director of the Venezuelan Institute of Agriculture and dean of the Faculty of Agronomy in the University of Venezuela, is a guest of the Department of State. While on a tour of agricultural areas in this country Dr. Pinto will visit the potato-growing regions of Maine and will inspect rice and cotton fields in the south and citrus orchards in California.

Dr. Pinto will consult Government agronomists and other technical experts regarding construction plans of the Institute of Agriculture, which is soon to be transferred from Caracas to an enlarged establishment at Maracay.

The Department of Agriculture is cooperating in arranging plans for Dr. Pinto's itinerary in the United States. On a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation he will tour agricultural centers in Central America, and on the return voyage to Venezuela he will visit Puerto Rico in order to study agricultural development on that island.

ZWEMER—Continued from page 321

tions and serve as strong links of mutual understanding. Through the dissemination of advanced technical methods and procedures experts lent by the United States not only provide useful service to the receiving governments, but they also aid greatly in the prosecution of the war effort.

Such undertakings are planned for the purpose of utilizing fully the human and material resources of the hemisphere in the interest of mutual advancement of all the peoples of the American republics.

In a report to President Roosevelt the Under Secretary of State supported the activities of the Committee as a medium of effecting a lasting peace:

"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.

". . . 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 . . . 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."¹

Long-range policy of the Department of State tends "increasingly to encourage democratic international cooperation in developing reciprocal and desirable educational and cultural relations among the nations and peoples of the world, especially looking toward the promotion of free and friendly intellectual intercourse among them in the interest of international peace and security."²

¹ BULLETIN of Mar. 4, 1944, p. 217.

² BULLETIN of Apr. 1, 1944, p. 300.

THE DEPARTMENT

Establishment of a Division of Cryptography¹

Purpose. In order to assure the security of the Department's cryptographic system there is established by this order in the Office of Departmental Administration a Division of Cryptography which shall develop and operate the Department's cryptographic plan (that is, the construction of codes, the development of procedures, and methods for using such codes, and the selection of equipment, designed to meet the needs of the Department and Foreign Service posts) and maintain the security of information transmitted by means of cryptographic systems.

1 *Responsibilities of the Division.* The Division of Cryptography shall have responsibility in the following matters:

(a) Formulation, initiation, and coordination of policy and action with respect to a cryptographic plan for the Department;

(b) Responsibility for the cryptographic security of telegraphic communications between the Department and Foreign Service posts, including the formulation of rules, methods, and techniques to be observed;

(c) Establishment and operation of a continuing study of telegraphic communications and security practices in connection with the development of a security program and the determination of action to be taken in case of security violation;

(d) Initiation of a formal security training program for communication personnel in the Department and in Foreign Service posts and furnishing consultant and advisory services to visiting chiefs of missions and United States Foreign Service officers on security problems.

(e) Inspection of communication facilities and security practices at Foreign Service posts and recommendation for necessary corrective measures;

2 *Organization of the Division.* The Division shall be composed of a Security Section and an Operations Section which shall function under the direction of the Chief.

(a) *Functions of the Operations Section.* The Operations Section shall be responsible for (1) developing the Department's cryptographic plan;

(2) providing suitable cryptographic systems for implementation of the cryptographic plan; and (3) distributing and keeping account of cryptographic material.

(b) *Functions of the Security Section.* The Security Section shall be responsible for (1) reviewing telegraphic communications as a basis for the development of the Department's cryptographic plan and the detecting of security violations; and (2) rendering technical assistance on the preparation of cryptographic systems and instructions for their implementation.

3 *Relations with other divisions.* The Division of Cryptography shall work with officers of the Department and the Foreign Service in applying security techniques to the preparation of telegrams and shall work in collaboration with the Office of the Security Officer in all matters affecting overall security of telegraphic communications. The Division shall also work closely with the Division of Communications and Records in the development of security practices affecting the operation of cryptographic systems and in the formal training of communication personnel in such practices.

4 *Relations with other agencies.* The Division of Cryptography shall maintain liaison with the Joint Communications Board of the War and Navy Departments and with cryptographic security sections of other agencies of the government for the purpose of utilizing the latest developments and experience in the science of cryptography and cryptanalysis.

5 *Routing symbol.* The routing symbol of the Division of Cryptography shall be CY.

6 *Transfer of personnel and records.* The personnel and records now located in the Office of the Assistant Secretary in charge of administration which are involved in the performance of the functions outlined in this order, are hereby transferred to the Division of Cryptography.

7 *Previous order amended.* This order amends that section of Departmental Order 1218 of January 15, 1944 concerning the responsibilities and functions of the Office of Departmental Administration.

¹ Departmental Order 1288, dated and effective Sept. 20, 1944.

Appointment of Officers

[Released to the press September 21]

The Secretary of State announced on September 21 the appointment of Dr. Bryn J. Hovde of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, as Chief of the Division of Cultural Cooperation, effective October 3.

Dr. Hovde was born May 17, 1896 in Jersey City, New Jersey. He was graduated in 1915 from Luther College in Decorah, Iowa, with the B. A. degree. He received the M. A. degree in American and modern European history in 1919 and the Ph.D. degree in modern European history in 1924, from the University of Iowa.

Dr. Hovde is the author of the recently published two-volume *History of the Scandinavian Countries, 1720-1865*. He is also the author of *Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Sweden and Norway, 1792-1905*, and various articles on modern European history in professional journals, and has published a number of articles on public housing.

Dr. Hovde was an instructor at Luther College, Decorah, Iowa, from September 1916 to June 1917. He served as a second lieutenant in the Fortieth Coast Artillery Regiment during the last war, after which he returned to Luther College where he was instructor and acting dean of men until June 1923. He was assistant professor of history and political science at Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania, from 1924 to 1927. From 1927 to 1937 he served as associate professor of history at the University of Pittsburgh. During the year 1930-31 Dr. Hovde was abroad on a fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. He has traveled extensively in European countries. Dr. Hovde was appointed director of the Department of Public Welfare for the city of Pittsburgh in December 1936 and served in that capacity until September 1938. From September 1938 to the present he has been administrator of the housing authority of the city of Pittsburgh.

Mr. Charles A. Thomson, formerly Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations, who was appointed in January of this year to the position of Adviser in the Office of Public Information, will continue to give active attention to questions of policy in the development of the Department's cultural-cooperation program.

Robert E. Ward, Jr., has been appointed as Chief of the Division of Departmental Personnel, effective September 1, 1944.

Cavendish W. Cannon has been appointed as Chief of the Division of Southern European Affairs, effective October 1, 1944.

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"Accordingly, I recommend the enactment of the bill."

The Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House of Representatives, instead of reporting out either of the two bills originally introduced for the repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws, used them as the basis of a new bill (H.R. 3070) prepared in the Committee. Section 1 repeals the old exclusion laws; Sections 2 and 3 read as follows:

"Sec. 2. With the exception of those coming under subsections (b), (d), (e), and (f) of section 4, Immigration Act of 1924 (43 Stat. 155; 44 Stat. 812; 45 Stat. 1009; 46 Stat. 854; 47 Stat. 656; 8 U. S. C. 204), all Chinese persons entering the United States annually as immigrants shall be allocated to the quota for the Chinese computed under the provisions of section 11 of the said Act. A preference up to 75 per centum of the quota shall be given to Chinese born and resident in China.

"Sec. 3. Section 303 of the Nationality Act of 1940, as amended (54 Stat. 1140; 8 U. S. C. 703), is hereby amended by striking out the word 'and' before the word 'descendants', changing the colon after the word 'Hemisphere' to a comma, and adding the following: 'and Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent?'"

The bill was passed by large majorities in both houses of Congress and was promptly approved by the President on December 17, 1943. Telegraphic instructions to American Missions and Consular Offices concerning the administration of the law were sent by the Department on December 20, 1943, and these have of course been supplemented by special instructions.

The new Chinese quota of 105 was proclaimed by the President on February 8, 1944.²⁰

²⁰ Proclamation 2603. See *Federal Register*, Feb. 10, 1944.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Confirmations

On September 20, 1944 the Senate confirmed the following nominations:

Walter Thurston as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Bolivia.

John F. Simmons as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to El Salvador.

Arthur Bliss Lane as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Government of Poland now established in London.

Charles Sawyer as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Belgium, to serve concurrently as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Luxembourg.

Stanley K. Hornbeck as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Netherlands.

Richard C. Patterson, Jr., as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Government of Yugoslavia now established in London.

Lithgow Osborne as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Government of Norway now established in London.

John C. Wiley as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Colombia.

George Wadsworth as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Lebanese Republic, to serve concurrently as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Syria.

Death of Fay Allen Des Portes

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press September 18]

I have been deeply grieved to learn of the sudden death at Gorgas Hospital, Panama, on Saturday night of Mr. Fay Allen Des Portes. He had served his country faithfully and well for 11 years as Minister to Bolivia and then to Guatemala and more recently as Ambassador to Costa Rica. He was also chairman of the American Delegation to the Central American Regional Radio Conference in Guatemala in 1938. The country has lost a highly valued servant.

U. S. Representative in France

[Released to the press September 21]

The President has appointed Jefferson Caffery as Representative of the United States, with the personal rank of Ambassador, to the *de facto* French authority now established at Paris.

Mr. Caffery succeeds Edwin C. Wilson who was Representative of the United States to the French Committee of National Liberation at Algiers.

It is expected that Mr. Caffery will proceed to his new post in the near future.

Appointment of Special Assistant To Ambassador at London

[Released to the press September 23]

Mr. Hamilton Fish Armstrong has been appointed Special Assistant to Ambassador John G. Winant at London with the personal rank of Minister. He will leave for his post within a short time.

Mr. Armstrong was born in New York City on April 7, 1893. He was graduated from Princeton University, A. B., 1916. He was a 1st lieutenant in the first World War; was appointed Acting Military Attaché at Belgrade, Serbia, in December 1917, and resigned July 1918; was a member of the editorial staff of the *New York Evening Post* from 1919 to 1921; and since 1922 has been editor of *Foreign Affairs*. Mr. Armstrong was a delegate to the International Studies Conferences in Paris in 1929 and in London in 1933 and 1935. He is a trustee of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation (Vice President 1928-30 and President 1935-37), and a member of the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees. From time to time he has been a Consultant to the Department of State.

Embassy at Brussels

The American Embassy at Brussels, Belgium, was reestablished on September 14, 1944; it will function as a combined office.

Death of John James Meily

Statement by THE SECRETARY OF STATE

[Released to the press September 23]

I am distressed to learn of the tragic death in an airplane accident near Bahia, Brazil, of Consul General John James Meily and his wife while en route to his new post at Recife, Brazil.

Mr. Meily was a career officer with a record of more than 20 years' faithful service in the American Foreign Service. He died in the line of duty no less than our men at the battle fronts.

PUBLICATIONS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

During the quarter beginning July 1, 1944, the following publications have been released by the Department:¹

2106. Lease of Defense Sites: Agreement and Exchanges of Notes Between the United States of America and Panama—Agreement signed at Panamá May 18, 1942; effective May 11, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 359. 17 pp. 10¢.

2131. Establishment of the Inter-American Cooperative Food Production Service in Peru: Agreement Between the United States of America and Peru—Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Lima May 19 and 20, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 385. 9 pp. 5¢.

2135. Canal Project Areas: Agreement Between the United States of America and Canada—Effectuated by exchanges of notes signed at Ottawa January 18, February 17, and March 13, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 389. 4 pp. 5¢.

2136. Post-War Disposition of Defense Installations and Facilities: Agreement Between the United States of America and Canada—Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Ottawa January 27, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 391. 4 pp. 5¢.

2137. The Cultural-Cooperation Program, 1938-1943. Prepared by Haldore Hanson. ii, 71 pp. 15¢.

2140. Wheat: Memorandum of Agreement Between the United States of America, Argentina, Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom, and Related Papers—Memorandum of agreement initialed at Washington April 22, 1942; effective June 27, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 384. 25 pp. 10¢.

2141. The Statesman: A Handbook for the Employees of the Department of State. By Richardson Dougall and Madge S. Lazo, Personnel Relations Section, Division of Departmental Personnel. iv, 96 pp. Free.

2142. Lease of White Pass and Yukon Railway; Agreement Between the United States of America and Canada—Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Ottawa February 22 and 23, 1943. Executive Agreement Series 390. 6 pp. 5¢.

2143. International Convention Relating to the Regulation of Aerial Navigation with the Annexes to the Convention and Protocols of Proposed Amendments, Dated October 13, 1919. (Reproduced from Official Bulletin No. 28 of December 1938 of the International Commission for Air Navigation.) iv, 148 pp., charts. 60¢.

2146. The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 4, June 30, 1944, to Revision VII of March 23, 1944. ii, 46 pp. Free.

2147. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. X, no. 261, June 24, 1944. 28 pp. 10¢.²

2148. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XI, no. 262, July 2, 1944. 32 pp. 10¢.

2149. Diplomatic List, July 1944. ii, 123 pp. Subscription, \$1.50 a year; single copy, 15¢.

2150. Publications of the Department of State (a list cumulative from October 1, 1929). July 1, 1944. iv, 31 pp. Free.

2151. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XI, no. 263, July 9, 1944. 24 pp. 10¢.

2152. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XI, no. 264, July 16, 1944. 24 pp. 10¢.

2153. The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 5, July 28, 1944, to Revision VII of March 23, 1944. ii, 58 pp. Free.

2154. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XI, no. 265, July 23, 1944. 24 pp. 10¢.

2155. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XI, no. 266, July 30, 1944. 28 pp. 10¢.

2156. Index to the Department of State Bulletin, vol. X, nos. 236-261, January 1-June 24, 1944. 28 pp. Free.

2157. Diplomatic List, August 1944. ii, 123 pp. Subscription, \$1.50 a year; single copy, 15¢.

2158. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XI, no. 267, August 6, 1944. 20 pp. 10¢.

2159. State Department Aid to Cultural Exchange With China. By Willys R. Peck, Special Assistant in the Office of Public Information. Far Eastern Series 6. ii, 20 pp. 5¢.

2160. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XI, no. 268, August 13, 1944. 20 pp. 10¢.

2161. Foreign Service List (Abridged), July 1, 1944. ii, 61 pp. Subscription, 50¢ a year (65¢ foreign); single copy, 20¢.

2162. War Documents. iv, 40 pp. 10¢.

2163. The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 6, August 25, 1944, to Revision VII of March 23, 1944. ii, 74 pp. Free.

2164. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XI, no. 269, August 20, 1944. 24 pp. 10¢.

2165. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XI, no. 270, August 27, 1944. 36 pp. 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.

2166. Jurisdiction Over Criminal Offenses Committed by Armed Forces: Agreement Between the United States of America and India—Effected by exchange of notes signed at New Delhi September 29 and October 10, 1942; effective October 26, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 392. 10 pp. 5¢.
2170. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XI, no. 271, September 3, 1944. 20 pp. 10¢.
2174. Diplomatic List, September 1944. ii, 124 pp. Subscription, \$1.50 a year; single copy, 15¢.
2175. The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Revision VIII, September 13, 1944, Promulgated Pursuant to Proclamation 2497 of the President of July 17, 1941. ii, 382 pp. Free.
2176. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XI, no. 272, September 10, 1944. 36 pp. 10¢.
2178. The Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals: Cumulative Supplement No. 1, September 22, 1944, to Revision VIII of September 13, 1944. ii, 19 pp. Free.
2179. The Department of State Bulletin, vol. XI, no. 273, September 17, 1944. 24 pp. 10¢.

The Department of State also publishes the slip laws and Statutes at Large. Laws are issued in a special series and are numbered in the order in which they are signed. Treaties also are issued in a special series and are numbered in the order in which they are proclaimed. Spanish, Portuguese, and French translations, prepared by the Department's Central Translating Division, have their own publication numbers running consecutively from 1. All other publications of the Department since October 1, 1929 are numbered consecutively in the order in which they are sent to press; in addition, some of them are subdivided into series according to general subject.

To avoid delay, requests for publications of the Department of State should be addressed direct to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department. The Superintendent of Documents will accept deposits against which the cost of publications ordered may be charged and will notify the depositor when the deposit is exhausted. The cost to depositors of a complete

set of the publications of the Department for a year will probably be somewhat in excess of \$15. Orders may be placed, however, with the Superintendent of Documents for single publications or for one or more series.

The Superintendent of Documents also has, for free distribution, the following price lists which may be of interest: Foreign Relations of the United States; American History and Biography; Laws; Commerce and Manufactures; Tariff; Immigration; Alaska and Hawaii; Insular Possessions; Political Science; and Maps. A list of publications of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce may be obtained from the Department of Commerce.

OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

The article listed below will be found in the September 23 issue of the Department of Commerce publication entitled *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, copies of which may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, for 10 cents each:

"Chile Moves To Develop Local Edible Oil Supply", based on report from the American Embassy, Santiago, Chile.

TREATY INFORMATION

Military-Mission Agreement With Iran

There has been effected by an exchange of notes signed in Washington on August 4 and September 6, 1944, between the Minister of Iran in Washington and the Secretary of State, an extension, for a period of one year, of an agreement signed at Tehran on November 27, 1943 between the Governments of the United States of America and Iran which provides for the assignment of a United States military mission to Iran.¹ The extension is effective as of October 2, 1944.

¹ Executive Agreement Series 361. See also BULLETIN of July 23, 1944, p. 88.

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